

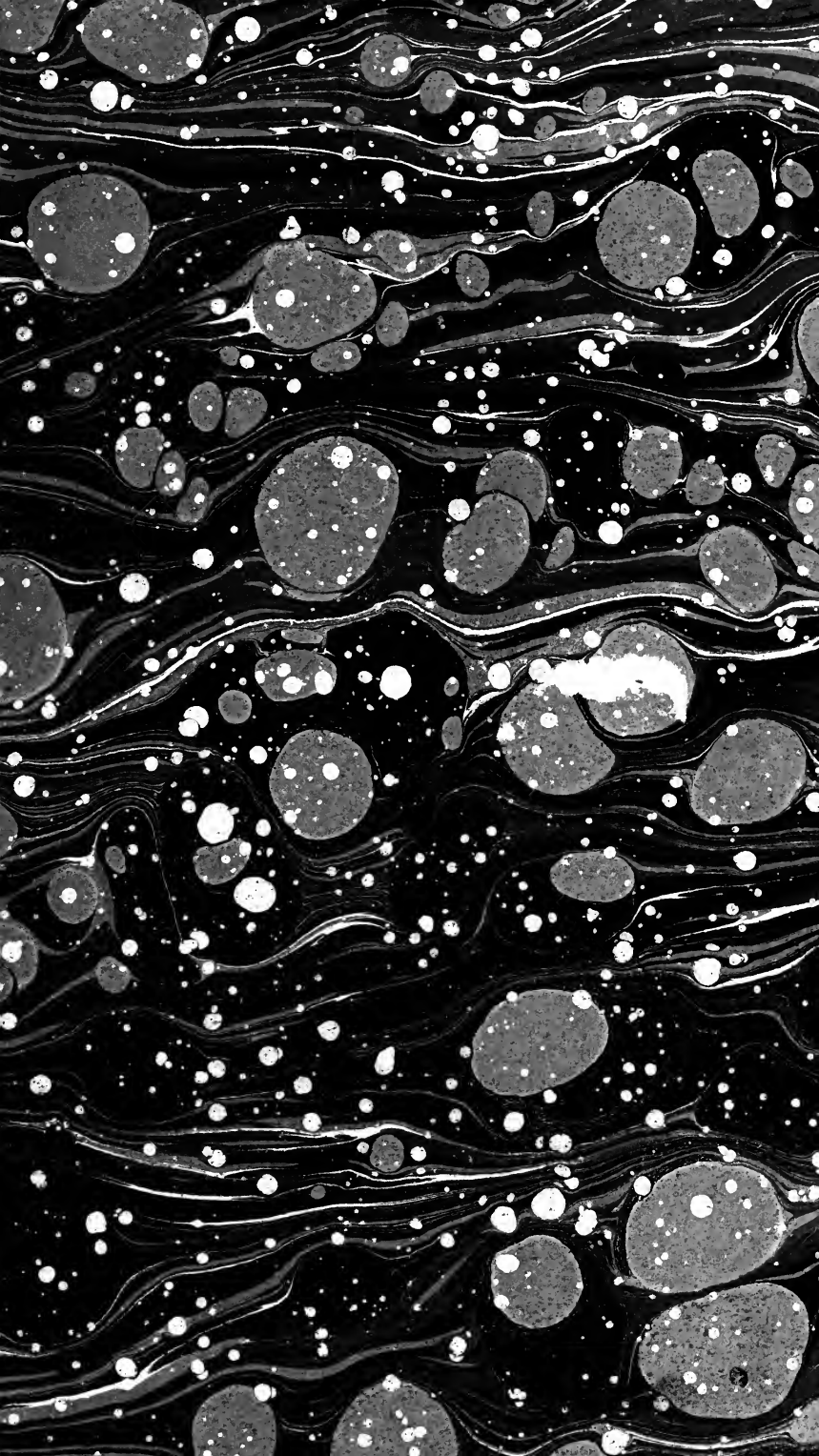




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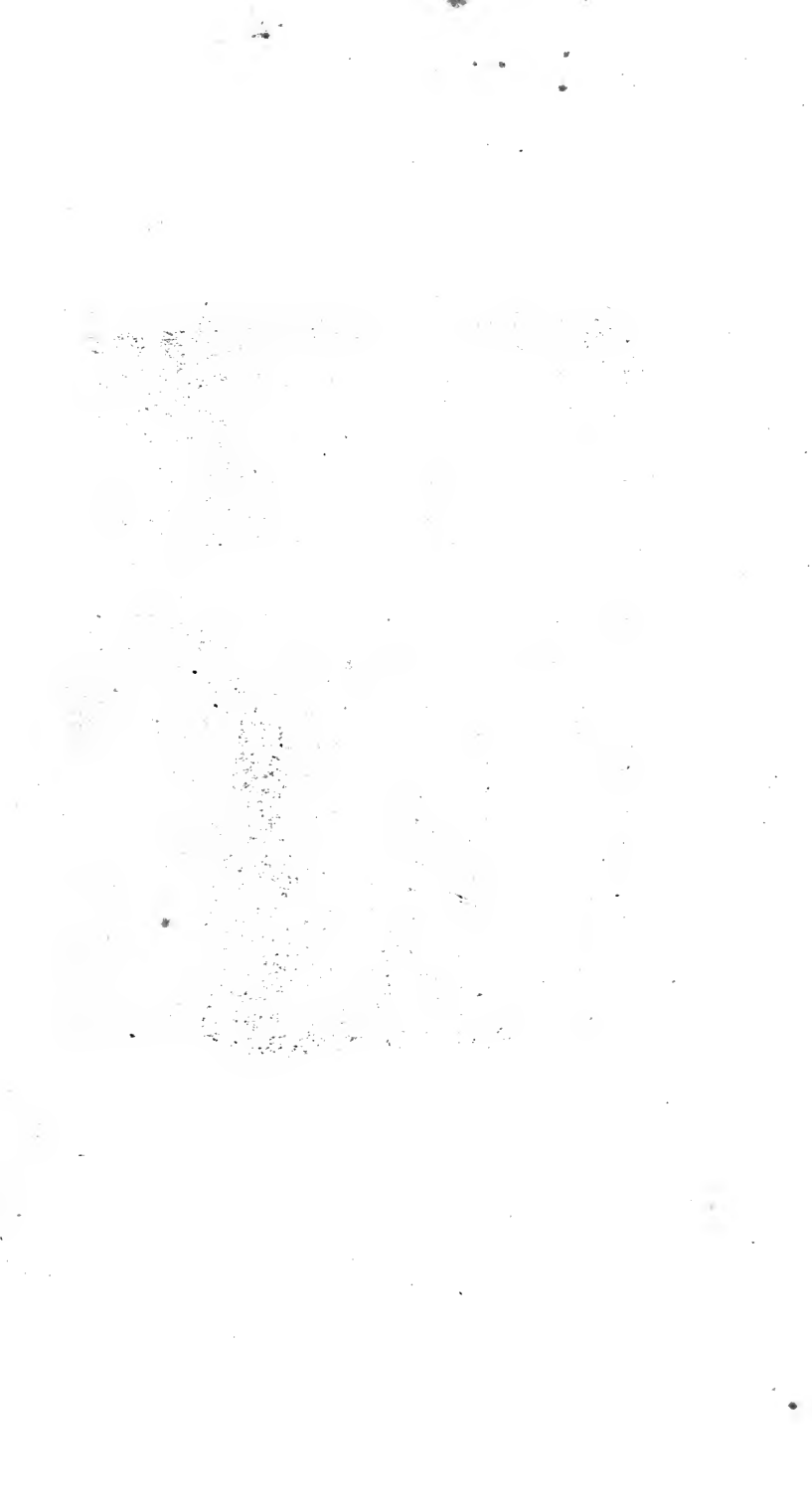
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T A Dean, sculp^r

JOHN J. BROWN, JR.

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ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

CONNECTED WITH THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION

TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D.

LATE MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND RECTOR OF BUXTED, WITH UCKFIELD, SUSSEX.

Fourth Edition,

WITH MANY ADDITIONAL HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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We exhort all that desire to be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus, that they decline from these horrid doctrines of the Papacy, which in their birth are new, in their growth are scandalous, in their proper consequents are infinitely dangerous to their souls.—But therefore it is highly fit that they should also perceive their own advantages, and give God praise that they are removed from such infinite dangers, by the holy precepts, and holy faith taught and commanded in the Church of England and Ireland; in which the *Word of God* is set before them as a lantern to their feet, and a light unto their eyes; and the *Sacraments* are fully administered according to Christ's institution; and *Repentance* is preached according to the measures of the Gospel; and *Faith in Christ* is propounded according to the rule of the Apostles, and the measures of the Churches Apostolical; and *Obedience to kings* is greatly and sacredly urged; and the authority and order of *Bishops* is preserved, against the usurpation of the Pope, and the invasion of Schismatics and Aërians, new and old; and *Truth* and *Faith* to all men is kept and preached to be necessary and inviolable; and the *Commandments* are expounded with just severity and without scruples; and *Holiness of Life* is urged upon all men as indispensably necessary to salvation, and therefore without any allowances, tricks, and little artifices of escaping from it by easy and imperfect doctrines; and every thing is practised which is useful to the saving of our souls; and *Christ's Merits* and *Satisfaction* are entirely relied upon for the pardon of our sins; and the necessity of *Good Works* is universally taught; and our *Prayers* are holy, unblameable, edifying, and understood; are according to the measures of the Word of God, and the practice of all Saints.—In this Church, the children are duly *Baptized*; and the baptized in their due time are *Confirmed*; and the confirmed are *Communicated*; and *Penitents* are absolved, and the *impenitents* punished and discouraged; and *Holy Marriage* in all men is preferred before unclean concubinate in any; and nothing is wanting that God and his Church hath made necessary to salvation.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

GEORGE HERBERT.

The world o'erlooks him in her busy search
Of objects more illustrious in her view ;
And occupied as earnestly as she,
Though more sublimely, he o'erlooks the world.
She scorns his pleasures, for she knows them not :
He seeks not her's, for he has found them vain.
Not slothful he, though seeming unemployed,
And censured oft as useless.——
Perhaps the self-approving haughty world
Receives advantage from his noiseless hours
Of which she little dreams. Perhaps she owes
Her sunshine and her rain, her blooming spring
And plenteous harvests to the prayer he makes,
Thinking for her who thinks not for herself.

COWPER.

INTRODUCTION.

IN a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story; and, more particularly, of what had passed betwixt our blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, saint Mary Magdalen. I call her saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possest with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed, to charm and insnare amorous beholders: but, I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had exprest a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as, after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wiped, and she most passionately kist the feet of her and our blessed Jesus. And, I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that, beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his gospel should be read; intending thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself) that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne, and sir Henry Wotton, by

declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives: and, though Mr. George Herbert (whose life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him; yet, since he was, and was worthy to be their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them, by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him, and my reader.

GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county. That castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possessed it; and, with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been blest with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent. But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, knight, the son of Richard Herbert, knight, the son of the famous sir Richard Herbert, of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, baronet, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our king Edward the fourth.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of sir Richard, and sister to sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, knight, and grandfather of Francis, lord Newport¹, now comptroller of his majesty's household. A family, that for their loyalty, have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

¹ *Francis, lord Newport.*] Afterwards, in 1675, created Viscount Newport, and in 1694, earl of Bradford: which titles, extinct in 1762, were revived in 1815, in the family of Bridgman, connected with the Newports by female descent.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, and wisdom and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons, and three daughters, which she would often say, was Job's number, and Job's distribution; and, as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes, or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made knight of the bath at that glorious time of our late prince Henry's being installed knight of the garter; and after many years useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by king James sent ambassador resident to the then French king, Lewis the thirteenth. There he continued about two years; but, he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court; so that upon a complaint to our king, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the duke, and all the court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good king Charles the first, who made him first baron of Castle-Island², and not long after³ of Cherbury, in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book *de veritate*; and by his History of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died fellow of New-college in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the crown in the days of king James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years: during all which time he hath been master of the revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blest him. The seventh son was Thomas, who being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which sir Robert Mansel was sent against Algiers⁴, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters, I need not say more, than that they were all

² *Baron of Castle-Island.*] In Ireland. ³ *Not long after.*] May 7, 1629.

⁴ *Against Algiers.*] In 1620.

married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes ; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family (for she was then a widow) where he continued, till about the age of twelve years ; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then dean of Westminster ; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school ; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a king's scholar,) he was elected out of that school for Trinity college in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608 ; and his prudent mother well knowing, that he might easily lose, or lessen that virtue and innocence which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil^s, who was then dean of Canterbury, and master of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor ; which he did most gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge ; where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother ; and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them. I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years. I am next to tell that she continued

^s *Dr. Nevil.*] Whose life has been written by the late archdeacon J. H. Todd, amongst those of the other deans of Canterbury.

twelve years a widow: that she then married happily to a noble gentleman⁶, the brother and heir of the lord Danvers earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward her eldest son, such advantages of learning, and other education as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery castle with him, and some of her younger sons to Oxford⁷; and, having entered Edward into Queen's college, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care; yet, she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself; and so much under her own eyes, as to see and converse with him daily; but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child; but, with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in

⁶ *A noble gentleman.*] Sir John Danvers, who was of very different opinions from his brother, the loyal earl of Danby. He was member for the university of Oxford in the last two parliaments of Charles I., and when the troubles began he became an open enemy to the king, taking a commission as colonel in the parliamentary army. He sat as one of the judges on the trial of Charles I., and signed the warrant for his execution. Lord Clarendon says of him, "Between being seduced, and a seducer, he became so far involved in their councils, that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honor to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once. Nor did that party of miscreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay." His brother, the earl of Danby, disinherited him, but the parliament declared the will to be void. He died before the Restoration, but his name was inserted in the act excepting him from pardon, as if living, by which means his wealth was lost to his heir. His excellent wife, whose influence might have saved him, was buried at Chelsea, June 8, 1627; Dr. Donne preached her funeral sermon. Sir John Danvers had no issue by her, but by his second wife Elizabeth, grandchild and heir of sir John Dauntsey of Lavington in Wiltshire, he had a daughter Elizabeth, wife of the notorious Robert Villiers, second Viscount Purbeck, who professed hatred to the name of Villiers, and took the name of Danvers. Their descendants claimed unsuccessfully the earldom of Buckingham.

⁷ *To Oxford.*] "For their education she went and dwelt in the university, to recompence the loss of their father" (as Barnabas Oley prettily expresses it) "by giving them two mothers."—*Life of Mr. George Herbert*, signat. K 9, subjoined to his Country Parson.

the company of his dear and careful mother ; which was to her great content ; for, she would often say, "That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to the meat on which we feed ; so, our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company : " and, would therefore, as often say, "That ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue : and, that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning." For these reasons she endeared him to her own company ; and continued with him in Oxford four years : in which time, her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth and learning, that were at that time in or near that university ; and particularly, with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there : it was that John Donne who was after doctor Donne, and dean of Saint Pauls, London : and he at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there in verse a character of the beauties of her body and mind. Of the first, he says,

" No spring nor summer-beauty, has such grace
As I have seen in an autumnal face."

Of the latter he says,

" In all her words to every hearer fit
You may at revels, or at council sit."

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of the Autumnal Beauty. For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time, and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls ; but, an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues ; an amity, like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias ; whom, in his letter he calls his saint : or, an amity indeed more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula ; whose affection to her was such, that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph ; wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity.—And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne, was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before he

entered into sacred orders) : a time, when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family : and in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors : and he, as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter, and sonnet.

“ Madam,

“ Your favours to me are every where : I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there ; and yet, find them at Mitcham. Such riddles as these become things unexpressible, and, such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning : but, my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained me ; and my coming this day, is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which she loved most ; and so did I. And, from her and myself, I return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe all the good opinion, that they whom we need most, have of us.—By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire) to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it : and I have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

“ Your unworthiest servant,

“ unless, your accepting him to be so,

“ have mended him,

“ *Mitcham, July 11, 1607.*

“ JO. DONNE.”

To the Lady Magdalen Herbert ; of St. Mary Magdalen.

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance

Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo ;

An active faith so highly did advance,

That she once knew, more than the church did know,

The resurrection ; so much good there is

Deliver'd of her, that some fathers be

Loth to believe one woman could do this ;

But, think these Magdalens were two or three.

Increase their number, lady, and their fame :
 To their devotion and your innocence :
 Take so much of th' example, as of the name ;
 The latter half ; and in some recompence
 That they did harbour Christ himself, a guest,
 Harbour these hymns, to his dear name address.

J. D.

These hymns are now lost to us ; but, doubtless, they were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship, and the many sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand) and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety : but, my design was not to write her's, but the life of her son ; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne, (who was then dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon, in the parish-church of Chelsea near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave : and, where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

——“ But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say, the Muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems, that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus ; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear mother) is in these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry, shall be all, and ever consecrated to God's glory : and I beg you to receive this as one testimony.”

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
 Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
 Besides their other flames ? Doth poetry
 Wear Venus' livery ? only serve her turn ?

Why are not sonnets made of thee? and lays
 Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
 Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
 As well as any she? Cannot thy dove
 Out-strip their Cupid easily in flight?
 Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,
 Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name!
 Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
 Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
 Than that, which one day worms may chance refuse?
 Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
 Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
 Cover the earth, so doth thy majesty:
 Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid
 Poets to turn it to another use.
 Roses and lilies speak thee; and to make
 A pair of cheeks of them, is thy abuse.
 Why should I women's eyes for chrystal take?
 Such poor invention burns in their low mind
 Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
 To praise, and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
 Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
 In the best face but filth; when, Lord, in thee
 The beauty lies, in the discovery.

G. H.

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother; about which time, he was in the seventeenth year of his age: and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially, to his brethren of the clergy; of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made batchelor of arts in the year 1611; major fellow of the college, March 15, 1615; and that, in that year, he was also made master of arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which, he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his

distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of heaven," before he possess them. And it may be noted, that from his first entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company ! by which he confirmed his native gentleness. And if during this time he express any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors ; and his cloaths seemed to prove that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time till he was master of arts, which was anno 1615, and in the year 1619 he was chosen orator for the university. His two precedent orators were sir Robert Nanton and sir Francis Nethersoll. The first was not long after made secretary of state ; and sir Francis, not very long after his being orator, was made secretary to the lady Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia. In this place of orator our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or since his time. For he had acquired great learning, and was blest with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen. Of all which there might be very many particular evidences ; but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of orator was manifested in a letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that university his book, called *Basilicon Doron*^s ; and their orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his majesty for such a condescension ; at the close of which letter he writ,

“ Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes !
Unicus est nobis bibliotheca liber.”

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the king, that he inquired the orator's name, and then asked William

^s *Basilicon Doron.*] The original, written in James's own hand, is preserved amongst the royal manuscripts in the British Museum.

earl of Pembroke if he knew him? whose answer was, "That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue than for that he was of his name and family." At which answer the king smiled, and asked the earl leave "that he might love him too; for he took him to be the jewel of that university."

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was, with them, to shew also his great affection to that church in which he received his baptism, and of which he profest himself a member; and the occasion was this. There was one Andrew Melvin⁹, a minister of the Scotch church, and rector of St. Andrew's, who, by a long and constant converse with a discontented part of that clergy which opposed episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to king James, when he was but king of that nation; who the second year after his coronation in England convened a part of the bishops and other learned divines of his church to attend him at Hampton Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this and the church of Scotland; and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster school, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflexion on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.—But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton Court conference: he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the king and others at this conference lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrew's and his liberty too; for his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment he found the lady Arabella¹ an innocent prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending, the next day after his commit-

⁹ *Melvin.*] Or Melville, the follower and successor of John Knox.

¹ *The lady Arabella.*] Lady Arabella Stuart.

ment, these two verses to the good lady², which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these³.

“Causa tibi mecum est communis carceris, Arabella
Bella tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.”

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him, Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected, and caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert and the cause he undertook.

And in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time king James came very often to hunt at New-Market and Royston; and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour, and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations, and the applauses of an orator; which he always performed so well that he still grew more into the king's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his majesty at Royston, where, after a discourse with him, his majesty declared to his kinsman, the earl of Pembroke, “That he found the orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit.” The year following, the king appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great secretary of nature and all learning, sir Francis Bacon (lord Verulam) and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, bishop of Winchester, both of which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our orator. Upon whom the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be

² *To the good lady.*] Rather to her husband, William Seymour, afterwards marquis of Hertford, who, as it is well known, was imprisoned for marrying her without the king's consent. Arabella Stuart was first cousin to James I., who was jealous, and not without reason, of her rights to the throne of England. Her story is best told by lady Theresa Lewis in *The Gallery of Lord Chancellor Clarendon and his Contemporaries*, vol. i.

³ *Like these.*] Fuller, in his *Church History*, gives the lines thus:

“Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, Ara
Regia Bella tibi, regia sacra mihi.”

printed; and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned bishop, it is observable that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two, about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did not long after send the bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and sir Henry Wotton, and doctor Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned⁴ in the life of doctor Donne; namely, that a little before his death he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor (the emblem of hope,) and of which Dr. Donne would often say, *Crux mihi anchora*.—These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and at Mr. Herbert's death these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the doctor given to him.

“When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this seal, and so gave o'er.

“When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,
This anchor keeps my faith, that me secure.”

At this time of being orator he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a secretary of state, he being at that time very high in the king's favour, and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the court nobility. This, and the love of a court conversation, mixt with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the king wheresoever the court was, who then gave him a

⁴ *Also mentioned.*] At vol. iii. p. 667, and also, in the *Life of Hooker*, p. 540, n.

sinecure⁵, which fell into his majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same that queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth an hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for cloaths and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the king were there, but then he never failed; and at other times left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now prebend of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the university, and decline all study, which he thought did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and to other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, "He had too thoughtful a wit: a wit, like a pen-knife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the university or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother, but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; it is one of those that bears the title of Affliction: and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says,

Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
 The way that takes the town:
 Thou didst betray me to a ling'ring book,
 And wrap me in a gown:
 I was entangled in the world of strife
 Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threatened oft the siege to raise,
 Not simp'ring all mine age:
 Thou often didst with academic praise,
 Melt and dissolve my rage:
 I took the sweetened pill, till I came where
 I could not go away nor persevere.

⁵ *A sinecure.*] The place of cup-bearer to the king.

Yet, least perchance I should too happy be
 In my unhappiness,
 'Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me
 Into more sicknesses.
 'Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making
 'Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
 None of my books will shew :
 I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
 For then sure I should grow
 'To fruit or shade ; at least, some bird would trust
 Her houshold with me, and I would be just.

Yet, though thou troublest me, I must be meek ;
 In weakness must be stout :
 Well, I will change my service, and go seek
 Some other master out :
 Ah, my dear God ! though I am clean forgot,
 Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to court ; God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did in a short time put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick duke of Richmond⁶, and James marquis of Hamilton⁷ ; and not long after him, king James⁸ died also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's court hopes : so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this manner of retirement he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders ? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him.) These were such conflicts as those only can know that have endured them ; for ambitious desires and the outward glory of this world are not easily laid aside ; but at last God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did at his return to London acquaint a court friend with

⁶ *Duke of Richmond.*] Died Feb. 16, 1624-5.

⁷ *Marquis of Hamilton.*] Died March 3, 1624-5.

⁸ *King James.*] Died March 27, 1625.

his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment⁹, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly judged that the domestic servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest families¹ on earth; and though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him that hath done so much for me as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn; but that he was about that time made deacon is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made prebend of Layton Ecclesia², in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626, and that this prebend was given him by John³, then lord bishop of that see. And now he had a fit occasion to shew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother and his other memorable ancestors; and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden⁴, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little,

⁹ *Too mean an employment.*] "And for our author (*The Sweet Singer of the Temple*), though he was one of the most prudent and accomplished men of his time, I have heard sober men censure him, as a man that did not manage his brave parts to his best advantage and preferment, but *lost himself in an humble way*. That was the phrase, I well remember."—Life of Mr. George Herbert by Barnabas Oley, prefixed to his *Country Parson*.

¹ *Of the noblest families.*] Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iii. p. 348; Barrow, and n.

² *Layton Ecclesia.*] Leighton, in Huntingdonshire, five and a half miles N.E. of Kimbolton. Dr. Zouch confounds it with Leighton Buzzard, in Bedfordshire. Both places are attached to prebends in Lincoln.

³ *John.*] John Williams, afterwards archbishop of York.

⁴ *Spalden.*] Or rather, Spaldwick, about two miles from Leighton. Spalden, or Spalding, is in Lincolnshire.

and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises ; and thus it had been for almost twenty years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success till Mr. Herbert undertook it ; and he, by his own, and the contribution of many of his kindred and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands⁵ ; being, for the workmanship, a costly mosaic ; for the form, an exact cross ; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured it is the most remarkable parish church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscoated as to be exceeded by none ; and by his order the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height ; for he would often say, “ They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other ; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation.”

Before I proceed farther I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebend, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was like to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea, (where she then dwelt,) and at his coming, said——“ George, I sent for you, to persuade you to commit simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given to you ; namely, that you give him back his prebend ; for, George, it is not for your weak body and empty purse to undertake to build churches.” Of which he desired he might have a day's time to consider, and then make her an answer. And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she had given it him, his next request was, “ That she would, at the age of thirty-three years, allow him to become an undutiful son, for he had made a vow to God, that if he were able he would rebuild that church.” And then shewed her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors, and undertook to solicit William earl of Pembroke to become another, who sub-

⁵ *As it now stands.*] A view of the church is given in Dr. Zouch's edition of Walton's *Lives*, ii. 54.

scribed for fifty pounds ; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James duke of Lenox⁶, and his brother sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered ; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer and Mr. Arthur Woodnot, the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten ; for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of master Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place ; but before I proceed farther I will give this short account of master Arthur Woodnot.

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them ; and considered that there be many discontents that riches cure not ; and did therefore set limits to himself as to desire of wealth : and having attained so much as to be able to shew some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and to be useful for his friends ; and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert ; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church ; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was a useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him till he closed his eyes on his death-bed, I will forbear to say more till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert.—From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

A Letter of Mr. GEORGE HERBERT to his mother, in her sickness.

Madam,

At my last parting from you I was the better content, because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family ; but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you : and would quickly make good my wish, but that my

⁶ *Duke of Lenox.*] Brother of Lodowick, duke of Richmond and Lenox, mentioned in p. 18.

employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our commencement; wherein my absence by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation.—In the mean time, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin.—What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter!—Madam! as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys; therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those two comforts.—Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and I hope kept heavenly for yourself: but would you divide and choose too? Our college customs allow not that, and I should account myself most happy if I might change with you; for I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances: happy is he whose bottom is wound up and laid ready for use in the New Jerusalem.—For myself, dear mother, I always feared sickness more than death, because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children that they have attained to the years of discretion, and competent maintenance.—So that now if they do not well, the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience; insomuch that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet.—And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind.—For those of estate; of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we had riches we are commanded to give them away? so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them.—But perhaps being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion.—But, O God! how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in the holy Scripture

are never given to the rich but to the poor. I never find, Blessed be the rich, or Blessed be the noble; but *Blessed be the meek, and Blessed be the poor, and Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted.*—And yet, O God! most carry themselves so as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed.—And for afflictions of the body, dear madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had an end; and yours (which praised be God are less) are not like to continue long.—I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know, that if any of your's should prove a Goliath-like trouble, yet you may say with David, —*That God who hath delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.*—Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul: consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor.—And above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the psalmist: *Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee.* (Psal. 55.) To which join that of St. Peter, *Casting all your care on the Lord, for he careth for you.* (1 Pet. v. 7.)—What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burthen! and entertains our care for us that we may the more quietly intend his service.—To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you, (Philip. iv. 4.) St. Paul saith there, *Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say Rejoice.* He doubles it, to take away the scruple of those that might say, What, shall we rejoice in afflictions? yes, I say again Rejoice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice or not rejoice: but whatsoever befalls us we must always, at all times rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us: and it follows in the next verse: *Let your moderation appear to all men, the Lord is at hand: be careful for nothing.* What can be said more comfortably? trouble not yourselves, God is at hand to deliver us from all or in all.

Dear madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Your most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll. May 25, 1622.

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end he went to Woodford, in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted, that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then, and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end. And his remove was to Dantsey, in Wiltshire, a noble house, which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the lord Danvers⁷, earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness: and then he declared his resolution both to marry and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it; and the more willingly that he might be succeeded

⁷ *The lord Danvers.*] Henry Danvers, created Lord Danvers of Dantsey, 27th July, 1603, and earl of Danby in 1626. He was the founder of the Botanic Garden at Oxford. He died in 1643, when his titles became extinct. His brother was George Herbert's stepfather, see p. 8.

by his friend Robert Creighton, who is now Dr. Creighton, and the worthy bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage ; in order to which it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.—He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness ; his body was very straight and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman, for they were all so meek and obliging that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the earl of Danby ; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers, of Bainton, in the county of Wilts, esq. This Mr. Danvers, having known him long and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many) but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter. And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself ; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing : and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a Platonic as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage ; but, alas ! her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dantsey ; yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting, at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprised city ; and love having got such possession, governed, and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist ; insomuch that she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a love-phrensy, or worse ; but it was not ; for they had wooed so like princes as to have select proxies : such as were true friends to both parties, such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estate so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence ; and the more,

because it proved so happy to both parties ; for the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections and compliance ; indeed so happy that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot and continued in them such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective ; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation by such daily obligingness to each other as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then rector of Bemerton, in Wiltshire, was made bishop of Bath and Wells, (and not long after translated to Winchester,) and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the earl of Pembroke, (who was the undoubted patron of it,) but to the king, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement : but Philip⁸, then earl of Pembroke, (for William was lately dead⁹,) requested the king to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert ; and the king said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance : " and the earl as willingly and suddenly sent it to him without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had put on a resolution for the clergy, yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account that he was to make for the cure of so many souls made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month ; in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, "He endured" (as he would often say) "such spiritual conflicts as none can think but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations), and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health, and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the earls of Pembroke ; at which time the king, the earl, and the whole court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr.

⁸ *Philip.*] A great favourite of James, who had previously created him earl of Montgomery.

⁹ *Lately dead.*] 10th April, 1630.

Herbert presented his thanks to the earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why ; but that night, the earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, and after archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert that the refusal of it was a sin ; that a taylor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical cloaths, against next day : which the taylor did ; and Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before), and he was also the same day (which was April 26, 1630) inducted into the good and more pleasant than healthful parsonage of Bemerton : which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life ; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it ! A life that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety : for, they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas ! who is fit to undertake it ! I confess I am not : and am not pleased with myself that I must ; and profess myself amazed, when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now.—But, it becomes not me to censure : my design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows ; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell, (as the law requires him :) he staid so much longer than an ordinary time, before he returned to those friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar : at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he set

some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life ; and then and there made a vow, to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot, " I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for. And, I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly, that it is made up of frauds and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary, painted pleasures: pleasures, that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed; but, in God and his service, is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependants to a love and reliance on him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the virtuous life of a clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least, to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples, than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires, and resolutions; so, he will by his assisting grace give me ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect. And I beseech him that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my master and governor; and I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe, and obey, and do his will; and always call him Jesus my master¹; and I will always condemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of being a priest, and serving at the altar of Jesus my master."

And that he did so, may appear in many parts of his book of Sacred Poems; especially in that which he calls the Odour. In

¹ *Jesus my master.*] "To testify his independency upon all others, and to quicken his diligence, he used in his ordinary speech, when he made mention of the blessed name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to add, *My Master.*"—Printer's Preface to *The Temple, or Sacred Poems, &c.*

"His motto, with which he used to conclude all things that might seem to end any way to his own honour, was,

"Less than the least of God's mercies."—*Ibid.*

which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word Jesus, and say that the adding these words *my master* to it, and the often repetition of them, seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place of his poems (the Pearl, Matth. xiii.) to rejoice and say—"He knew the ways of learning; knew, what nature does willingly; and what when it is forced by fire: knew the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions: knew the court: knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his master Jesus," and then concludes, saying,

"That, through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
But, thy silk-twist, let down from heaven to me,
Did, both conduct, and teach me, how by it,
To climb to thee."

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk cloathes into a canonical coat, he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton: and, immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—"You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and, I am sure, places so purchased do best become them. And, let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife, "as to assure him that it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a chearful willingness." And indeed her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original as to be born with her! made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places, as inseparably, as shadows follow substances in sun-shine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed, to rebuild almost three parts of his house which was fallen down, or decayed by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-

house ; namely, at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind ; but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her ; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, " Speak, good mother, be not afraid to speak to me ; for I am a man that will hear you with patience ! and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able : and this I will do willingly, and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire." After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, " He would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care : " and having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience) he like a Christian clergyman comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel : but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a chearful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy, and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly, was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes : and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman ; with which she was so affected, that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman : and with them a message, " That she would see and be acquainted with her, when her house was built at Bemerton."

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related ; but I shall first tell, that he hasted to get the parish church repaired ; then to beautify the chapel (which stands near his house) and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to re-build the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very compleatly, and at his own charge ; and having done this good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon it, or engraven in the mantle of the chimney in his hall.

“ To my successor.

“ If thou chance for to find
 A new house to thy mind,
 And built without thy cost :
 Be good to the poor,
 As God gives thee store,
 And then my labour's not lost.”

We will now by the reader's favour suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth), and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church at Bemerton ; but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore longed for the next ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time, the reverend doctor Humphrey Hinchman, now lord bishop of London (who does not mention him, but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning,) tells me, “ He laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and (alas !) within less than three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave.”

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be, ought to observe ; and, that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might shew him his variations from this year's resolutions ; he therefore did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order, as the world now sees them printed in a little book called, *The Country Parson*, in which some of his rules are :

The Parson's Knowledge.
 The Parson on Sundays.
 The Parson Praying.
 The Parson Preaching.
 The Parson's Charity.

The Parson comforting the Sick.
 The Parson Arguing.
 The Parson Condescending.
 The Parson in his Journey.
 The Parson in his Mirth.
 The Parson with his Churchwardens.
 The Parson blessing the People.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these, and the other holy rules set down in that useful book. A book, so full of plain, prudent and useful rules, that that country parson, that can spare twelve pence and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oly, who published it² with a most conscientious, and excellent preface; from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this life of Mr. Herbert.—The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, *Keep thy heart with all diligence*. In which first sermon, he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man. And delivered his sermon after a most florid manner; both with great learning and eloquence. But at the close of this sermon, told them, "That should not be his constant way of preaching; for, since almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but, that for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future ser-

² *Who published it.*] The *Country Parson* has been lately reprinted at the Clarendon Press, by the University of Oxford, in a volume intitled *The Clergyman's Instructor*; which contains also Bishop Burnet's *Pastoral Care*, Bishop Bull's *Directions to Candidates for Holy Orders*, and some other excellent tracts on the ministerial duties; the whole forming a very valuable addition to the highly important services which have recently been rendered by that University to the cause of religion, and of the Church of England in particular, by the republication of a collection of works of our English divines, for the use of the younger clergy, and students in theology. The collection comprises the Homilies, Hooker's *Works*, Pearson on the *Creed*, Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*, Barrow's *Works*, Walton's *Lives*, Wheatly on the *Common Prayer*, &c. &c.

mons." And he then made it his humble request, that they would be constant to the afternoon's service, and catechising. And shewed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which God knows were not many) were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day; and he did as constantly declare why the church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read: and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the gospel, or to the epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession of ourselves to be vile, miserable sinners: and that we begin so, because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need, and pray for: but having in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confest; and hoping that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, *to open our lips, that our mouths may shew forth his praise*; for till then, we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*; and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily repeated in our church-service: namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past; and such a composition of prayers and praises, as ought to be repeated often, and publickly; for with such sacrifices, God is honoured, and well-pleased. This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared

or preached by the priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, *That their souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God their Saviour.* And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, *That their eyes have also seen their salvation*; for, they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: and he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it, but, they live to see it daily, in the history of it, and therefore ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God, for that particular mercy. A service, which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin, and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessors of heaven: and, where they are at this time interchangeably, and constantly singing, *Holy, holy, holy Lord God, glory be to God on high, and on earth peace.*—And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable service to God, because the prophet David says in his psalms, *He that praiseth the Lord, honoureth him.*

He made them to understand, how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our fore-fathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like: and he made them know, that having received so many, and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to almighty God, for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath (in our days) visited and redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembered, and shewed that mercy which by the mouth of the prophets he promised to our forefathers: and this he hath done, according to his holy covenant made with them.* And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it, in his birth, in his life, in his passion, his resurrection and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his, and our Father: and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, *Blessed be that Lord God of Israel,*

that hath thus visited, and thus redeemed his people.—These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms, and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them also, when the priest did pray only for the congregation, and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying—*The Lord be with you*—And when they pray for him, saying—*And with thy spirit*; and then they join together in the following collects; and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God almighty; and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart, and one voice, and in one reverend and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also, why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often³ in every full service of the church; namely, at the

³ *Why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often.*] “Marvel not that I use at the sermons end to make prayer, for I do it not of singularitie: but when I am at home, and in the countrey where I goe, sometime when the poore people come and aske it me, I appose them my selfe, or cause my servant to appose them of the Lordes Prayer, and they aunswere some, ‘I can my Latin *Pater noster*’; some, ‘I can the old *Pater noster*, but not the new.’ Therefore, *that all that can it not may learne*, I use before the Sermon and after to say it. Wherefore now I beseeche you let us say it together; *Our Father whiche art in heaven, &c.*” Latimer’s *Sermons*, fol. 100, edit. 1584. Calvin “ever concluded his prayer before or after sermon with repeating of the Creed and Lord’s Prayer, conceiving it to be of good use to have these often sounding in the ears of the people, as Beza tells us in writing his life.” Bernard’s *Life of Archbishop Usher*, p. 84. “It is no wonder you are thought a legal preacher” (says Mr. Clark, in a letter to Dr. Doddridge, when a young man) “when you have the ten commandments painted on the walls of your chappel: besides, you have a clerk, it seems, so impertinent as to say *Amen*, with an audible voice. *O tempora! O mores!* that such a rag of popery should ever be tolerated in a congregation of protestant dissenters: and to conclude all, you, the minister, conclude your prayers with a form called the Lord’s Prayer.—It may be you are surprised what this means. In a few words then, Mr. Chandler of Bedford, being on his return home, at Mr. Eccles’s, desired him upon my motion to write to Hertford, to recommend you to them in his name, as a very fit man to be their minister. Upon

conclusion of the several parts of that service ; and prayed then, not only because it was composed, and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also, that as by the second commandment we are required, not to bow down, or worship an idol, or false god ; so by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them, why the church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the creeds ; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter creed or doxology so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief⁴ to be, that *the God that they trusted in was one God, and three persons ; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; to whom they and the priest gave glory* : and because there had been heretics that had denyed some of these three persons to be God, therefore the congregation stood

this, two members of that congregation went the other day to Kibworth to hear you preach : but no sooner did they come into the place but they found themselves disappointed : and what they heard at the close confirmed them so much in their prejudices, that they thought it needless to say any thing of their intention to you. Going to preach last Sunday at Ware, I heard all this there ; and afterwards at Hertford." *Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge*, p. 14.

⁴ *To testify their belief.*] "I know a minister" (says Fuller in his *Church History*, speaking of the times when the liturgy was forbidden by an ordinance of the parliament, and the presbyterian directory was established) "I know a minister who was accused for using the *Gloria Patri* (conforming his practice to the directorie in all things else,) and threatened to be brought to the committee. He pleaded the words of Mr. Cartwright in his defence, 'confessing' (*Reply against Whitgift*, p. 107, sect. 4.) 'the *gloria Patri* founded on just cause, that men might make their open profession in the church of the divinity of the Son of God, against the detestable opinion of Arius and his disciples. But now (saith he) that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why those things should be used.' But seeing (said the minister) it hath pleased God for our sins to condemn us to live in so licentious an age, wherein the divinity both of Christ and the Holy Ghost is called frequently and publickly into question, the same now (by Mr. Cartwright's judgment) may lawfully be used, not to say cannot well be omitted.—I remember not that he heard any more of the matter." *Church History of Britain*, Cent. 17, p. 224. Compare Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book 5, c. 42.

up and honoured him, by confessing, and saying, *It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end.* And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, *Amen.*

He instructed them also, what benefit they had by the church's appointing the celebration of holidays⁵, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from almighty God; and (as reverend Mr. Hooker says) to be the land-marks to distinguish times; for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us; and, that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note that the year is appointed to begin⁶ the 25th day of March; a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that she should conceive and bear a son, that should be the redeemer of mankind; and she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas: a day in which we commemorate his birth, with joy and praise; and that

⁵ *Celebration of holidays.*] "In the year 1643, the ministers of the city of London met together to consult whether they should preach on the Christmas-day following, as they had been wont to do, or take no notice at all of the day. One of them, whom I shall not name, of great authority amongst them, was against their preaching, and was very near prevailing with the rest of his brethren to forbear. Our author" (Dr. John Lightfoot) "was at that meeting (being at that time minister at St. Bartholomew's aforesaid), who was so far from consenting to the advice of that person who gave it, that he took him aside, and argued the point with him; and did not only maintain the *lawfulness* of the thing in question, but the *expediency* of it also: and shewed that the omitting it would be of dangerous consequence, and would reflect very much upon those men who made profession of no other design but reforming what was culpable and faulty. In a word, he so far prevailed with the company, that when it was put to the question, it was carried in the affirmative, and there were not above four or five of the whole who dissented." Strype's *Life of Lightfoot*, prefixed to his works, p. 3. See also Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book 5, c. 69. The first distaste of the celebration of holy-days in the church of England, was contracted at Geneva. See Goodman's *How to obey*, A.D. 1558, p. 158.

⁶ *Appointed to begin.*] "I shall observe (though perhaps every body knows it), that we use two different computations in this nation, viz. the common or Julian, which begins the year on the first day of January; and the *ecclesiastical*, which begins the year on the *twenty-fifth of March.*" Bennet's *Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 247. On this subject see the note at vol. ii. pp. 491, 492.

eight days after this happy birth, we celebrate his circumcision ; namely, that day which we call New-year's day. And that upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles : and that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three wise men from the east to Bethlem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was, forty days after his birth, presented by his blessed mother in the temple ; namely, on that day which we call the purification of the blessed virgin, saint Mary. And he instructed them, that by the lent-fast, we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days ; and, that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And, that on Good-friday, we commemorate and condole his crucifixion. And, at Easter, commemorate his glorious resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples, to be *that Christ that was crucified, dead and buried* ; and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his resurrection, he then, and not till then, *ascended into heaven*, in the sight of those disciples ; namely, on that day which we call the ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples, at or before his ascension ; namely, *that though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their comforter* ; and that he did so on that day which the church calls Whitsunday.—Thus the church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times, as they pass by us ; of such times, as ought to incline us to occasional praises, for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy commemorations.

He made them know also, why the church hath appointed ember-weeks ; and, to know the reason why the commandments, and the epistles and gospels were to be read at the altar, or communion table : why the priest was to pray the litany kneeling ; and, why to pray some collects standing ; and he gave them many other observations, fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention ; for, I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise, which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it.—But I have done, when I have told the reader that he was constant in catechising every Sunday

in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after the second lesson, and in the pulpit, and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient, and a full congregation.

And, to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was, in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour, in the time of divine service; and of those ministers that huddled up the church-prayers, without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's prayer, or a collect, in a breath; but for himself, his custom was, to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God, before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence, to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised, and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was, to appear constantly with his wife, and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family, twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour, and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only *his own household thus to serve the Lord*; but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day. And some of the meaner sort of his parish, did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him: and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour.—Thus powerful was his reason, and example, to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect

his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form, and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the church hath appointed for the day or week.— Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol; and, though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "That his time spent in prayer, and cathedral music¹, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part, at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates, and sets rules to it."

And, as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others: of which, I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city, and in their walk together, Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some account of his faith, and said, "I do this the rather, because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tythe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes, that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh."

After which expression, Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him, and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton; and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

¹ *Cathedral music.*] See above, vol. i. p. 314, note.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolment for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say,

“One cure for these distempers, would be for the clergy themselves to keep the ember-weeks⁸ strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious clergy.

“And another cure would be, for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of catechizing⁹, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend ; but principally, that the clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably ; and that the dignified clergy especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility, and charity in their lives ; for this would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all that knew them to be such.” (And for proof of this, we need no other testimony, than the life and death of Dr. Lake¹, late lord bishop of Bath and Wells.) “This” (said Mr. Herbert) “would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity : for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must do it ; and till then, the fault must lie at our doors.”

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man, with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load. They were both in distress, and needed present help ; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horse. The poor man blest him for it ; and he blest the poor man ; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse ; and told him, “That if he loved himself, he should be merciful to his beast.”—Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, which used to be so trim and clean, came into

⁸ *To keep the ember-weeks.*] See vol. iii. *Life of Hooker*, p. 526, or Index, under *Ember-weeks*.

⁹ *Duty of catechizing.*] See above, *Life of Colet*, vol. i. p. 438, n. See also Index, under *Catechizing*.

¹ *Of Dr. Lake.*] See a *Short View of the Life and Virtues of Dr. Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells*, prefixed to his *Sermons*, fol. 1629.

that company so soiled and discomposed ; but he told them the occasion : and when one of the company told him, “ He had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment ; ” his answer was, “ That the thought of what he had done, would prove music to him at midnight ; and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place ; for, if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound so far as it is in my power to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life without comforting a sad soul, or shewing mercy ; and I praise God for this occasion :—and now let’s tune our instruments.”

Thus, as our blessed Saviour after his resurrection did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleophas and that other disciple, which he met with and accompanied in their journey to Emmaus ; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction ; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife’s unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tythe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn ; which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty, for she rejoiced in the employment ; and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes, for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This, as to *her* charity.—And for his own, he set no limits to it ; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them ; especially his poor neighbours ; to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in distress, and, would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it.—And, when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, “ He would not see the danger of want so far off ; but, being the Scripture does so commend charity, as

to tell us, that charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith : and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come ; being these, and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O charity, and that, being all my tithes, and church-dues, are a deodate from thee, O my God ! make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee ; and, by thy grace, I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my master. Sir," (said he to his friend) "my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death, and therefore as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall by God's grace be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part² of his life ; and, thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it ; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak ; in one of which times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and, that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him : and he confessed it did, but said, "His life could not be better spent, than in the service of his master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him. But," said he, "I will not be wilful : for though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak ; and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death.—This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease.—And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music-meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's

² *The active part.*] "His time he ever measured by the *pulse*, that *native watch* which God has set in every one of us." *Life* by Barnabas Oley.

sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now rector of Fryer Barnet in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden-hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and, Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallat; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon, he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness enquired the health of his brother Farrer; of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him; and after some discourse of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon—"Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me;" which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him "what prayers?" to which, Mr. Herbert's answer was, "O sir, the prayers of my mother, the church of England, no other prayers are equal to them! but, at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper, and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest.—This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me, that at his first view of Mr. Herbert, he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and says, "his discourse was so pious, and his motion so gentle and meek, that after almost forty years, yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days, and he did so; but before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Farrer.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being called saint Nicholas, at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly, was at an early age made fellow of Clare-hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. —About the twenty-sixth year of his age, he betook himself to travel; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world; and understood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship.

—In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church which calls itself catholic : but, he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance ; and not long after his return into England, Mr. Farrer had by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of 4 or 500*l.* a year ; the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden³, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge : which place, he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish church, or chapel belonging, and adjoining near to it ; for, Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, “a nothing between two dishes ;” did so condemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death.—And his life was spent thus.

He, and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent, and all ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting, and using all those mortifications and prayers that the church hath appointed to be then used : and he and they did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the vigils, or eves appointed to be fasted before the saints-days : and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor : but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life ; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner.—He being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common prayers (for he was a deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish church which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned ; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the

³ *Little Gidden.*] About four or five miles from Leighton.

village before Mr. Farrer bought the manor; and, he did also constantly read the mattins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house: and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns, or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the psalms: and, in case the psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Farrer, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers, and lauding God, and reading the psalms that had not been read in the day; and, when these, or any part of the congregation grew weary, or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before, and sometimes after midnight: and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions, (as hath been mentioned) until morning.—And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the psalter, or whole book of psalms, was in every four and twenty hours, sung or read over, from the first to the last verse: and this was done as constantly, as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer, and his happy family, serve God day and night: thus did they always behave themselves, as in his presence. And, they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so, as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God.—And it is fit to tell the reader that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety, and devotion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden-hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Farrer, and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night; and these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch

was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it; and the parlour was fitted for that purpose; and this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Farrer maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrer's, and Mr. Herbert's devout lives, were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity, gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And, one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Farrer's commending the *Considerations of John Valdesso*⁴ (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it: and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Farrer.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great emperor Charles the fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old,

⁴ *John Valdesso.*] Juan Valdes, a noble Spaniard, knighted by Charles V., was one of the first who introduced the doctrines of the Reformation into Naples. He died there in 1540. The original Spanish text of his "Considerations" has never been printed. An Italian version of the work, (by whom made is uncertain,) was taken to Basle by Pietro Paolo Vergerio, when he threw up his bishopric of Capo d'Istria, in order to join the reformed church, and it was placed by him in the hands of Celio Secondo Curione, who added a preface, and published it at Basle in 1550. Another edition was printed at Lyons in 1563. From the Italian it was translated into French by C. K. (Claude de Kerquifinem,) and printed at Paris in 1565. In the French version the author's name is turned into "Jean de Val de d'Esso." Nicholas Farrer's English version was made from the Italian, and, with a preface by Dr. Jackson, was printed at Oxford, by L. Lichfield, in 1638, in 4to. Copies of the English translation are in the Bodleian and Sion College libraries. The Bodleian and the British Museum possess the first Italian edition, and the Bodleian has also the French translation. It may be remarked as singular, that at the present time, (1852) when so many books have been reprinted, a work translated by Nicholas Farrer, having notes by George Herbert, and a preface by Thomas Jackson, should have remained unnoticed.

and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the emperor, that his resolution was to decline his majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying.—The emperor had himself, for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution : but, God and himself did, till then, only know them ; and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse : which Valdesso promised to do.

In the mean time, the emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again, and, after a pious and free discourse they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly : and, appointed an eloquent and devout friar, to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life ; which the friar did most affectionately.—After which sermon, the emperor took occasion to declare openly, “That the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life.” And, he pretended, he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like ; but this is most certain, that after the emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the emperor, and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer : and, the reader may note, that in this retirement, John Valdesso writ his one hundred and ten considerations, and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Farrer to procure, and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Farrer, and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him : and therefore the discourse could not be long ; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose—“Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him, I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me : and, let him know, that I have considered, That God only is what he would be ; and, that I am by his grace become now so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth

him; and tell him, that I do not repine but am pleased with my want of health; and tell him, my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found, and, that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience." Having said this, he did with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him—"Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Farrer, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have past betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom: desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public: if not, let him burn it: for, I and it are less than the least of God's mercies."—Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of *THE TEMPLE: or, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations*; of which, Mr. Farrer would say, "There was in it the picture of a divine soul in every page; and, that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." And, it appears to have done so: for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the vice-chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses,

"Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,
Ready to pass⁵ to the American strand,"

⁵ *Ready to pass.*] "Now, I beseech you, let me know what your opinion is of our English plantations in the New World. Heretofore I have wondered in my thoughts at the providence of God concerning that world, not discovered till this old world of ours is almost at an end; and then no foot-steps found of the knowledge of the true God, much less of Christ. And then considering our English plantations of late, and the opinion of *many grave divines concerning the Gospel's fleeting westward*, sometimes I have had such thoughts, why may not that be the place of New Jerusalem? But you have handsomely and fully cleared me from such odd conceits. But what? I pray you, shall our English there degenerate and join themselves with Gog and Magog. We have heard lately divers ways, that our people there have no hope of the conversion of the natives. And the very week after I received your last letter, I saw a letter written from New England, discoursing of an impossibility of subsisting there; and seems to prefer the confession of God's truth in any condition here in Old England, rather than run over to enjoy

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the book to be printed, and want them. But after some time, and some arguments, for and against their being made public, the vice-chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet, but, I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I licence the whole book." So that it came to be printed, without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only, that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent preface that is printed, before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert, (which was about three weeks before his death) his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him, till he had seen him draw his last breath; and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the bishop and prebends of the cathedral church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family) and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose.—"I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, in music, and pleasant conversation, are now all past by me, like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to them; and I see that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) *make my bed also in the dark*; and, I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise him, that I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need of it; and, that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and, my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley

their liberty there: yea, and that the Gospel is likely to be more dear in New England than in Old: and lastly, unless they be exceeding careful, and God wonderfully merciful, they are like to lose that life and zeal for God and his truth in New England, which they enjoyed in Old: as whereof they have already woeful experience, and many there feel it to their smart." Letter of Dr. W. Twisse to Joseph Mede, dated March 2, 1634. Mede's *Works*, p. 799.

Barnabas Oley, in his *Life of Herbert*, referring to the same lines, says, "I pray God he may prove a true prophet *for poor America, not against poor England.*"

of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain : and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it ; and this being past, I shall dwell in the new Jerusalem, dwell there with men made perfect ; dwell, where these eyes shall see my master and Saviour Jesus ; and, with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends.—But I must die, or not come to that happy place. And, this is my content, that I am going daily towards it ; and, that every day which I have lived hath taken a part of my appointed time from me ; and, that I shall live the less time, for, having lived this, and the day past.”—These and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven, before he enjoyed it.—The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said—

“ My God, my God,
My music shall find thee,
And every string
Shall have his attribute to sing.”

And having tuned it, he played and sung :

“ The Sundays of man’s life,
Threaded together on time’s string,
Make bracelets, to adorn the wife
Of the eternal, glorious King :
On Sundays, heaven’s door stands ope ;
Blessings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope.”

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels and he, and Mr. Farrer, now sing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death ; and on that day, said to Mr. Woodnot, “ My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery ; but the first is pardoned : and a few hours will now put a period to the latter ; for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen.” Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy ; to which he made answer, saying, “ They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise.” After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle ; and this uneasiness became so visible, that

his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer.—As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble ; and observed him to fall into a sudden agony ; which so surprised her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know, “how he did?” to which his answer was, “That he had past a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his master Jesus.” After which answer, he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, “If they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him, for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable.” To which request, their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply : but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him, Mr. Woodnot, and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, “Pray sir open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand ;” which being done Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, “My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces ; and I desire you to shew kindness to them, as they shall need it. I do not desire you to be just : for, I know you will be so for your own sake ; but, I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them.” And having obtained Mr. Woodnot’s promise to be so ; he said, “I am now ready to die :” after which words he said, “Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me : but grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus ; and now Lord, Lord now receive my soul.” And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance : Mr. Woodnot, and Mr. Bostock, attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life ; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation :

“ . . . All must to their cold graves ;
But the religious actions of the just,
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.”

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations.—I have but this to say more of him: that if Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy.—I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

Iz. WA.

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself, and complaining, "that she had lost the delight of her eyes," but more "that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul;" and would often say, "O that I had like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart: but since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also." And she would often say (as the prophet David for his son Absalom) *O that I had died for him!* Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of sir Robert Cook of Highnam in the county of Gloucester knight: and though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body; and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet, she would even to him often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, "That name must live in her memory, till she put off mortality."—By sir Robert, she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them, gives a fair testimony, that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning, and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam: Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a grave-stone without any inscription.

This lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public: but they, and Highnam house, were burnt together, by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity.

I. W.

LETTERS *written by Mr. GEORGE HERBERT, at his being in Cambridge: with others to his mother, the lady MAGDALEN HERBERT, written by JOHN DONNE, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.*

Mr. GEORGE HERBERT to N. F.⁶ *the translator of Valdesso.*

My dear and deserving brother, your Valdesso I now return with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care, which I forbear not in the midst of my griefs; first for your sake; because, I would do nothing negligently that you commit unto me; secondly for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God; and to such, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence; thirdly for the church's sake, to whom by printing it, I would have you consecrate it. You owe the church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as he sent the fish with money to St. Peter) to discharge it: happily also with this (as his thoughts are fruitful) intending the honour of his servant the author, who being obscured in his own country, he would have to flourish in this land of light, and region of the gospel, among his chosen. It is true, there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will express, when you read them; nevertheless, I wish you by all means to publish it; for these three eminent things observable therein: first, that God in the midst of popery should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly and excellently the intent of the gospel in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness: (as he sheweth through all his considerations,) a thing strangely buried, and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he every where bears towards our dear master and lord; concluding every consideration almost with his holy name, and setting his merit forth so piously; for which I do so love him, that were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about mortification, and observation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof; of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the

⁶ N. F.] Nicholas Ferrar, see p. 47.

author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive) towards the publishing thereof.

*From his Parsonage of Bemerton, near
Salisbury, Sept. 29, 1632.*

To SIR J. D.⁷

Sir,

Though I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tire me, to find out variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so ; but, I profess it not : and therefore let it be sufficient for me, that the same heart, which you have won long since, is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses, but a constancy of obedience ; only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests ; for, since your favours come on horseback, there is reason, that my desires should go on foot : neither do I make any question, but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me, and I will strive to imitate the completeness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

For my dear sick sister⁸.

Most dear Sister,

Think not my silence forgetfulness ; or, that my love is as dumb as my papers ; though businesses may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you : and which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness, that becomes your

⁷ *Sir J. D.*] Sir John Danvers, step-father to George Herbert.

⁸ *Sick sister.*] Elizabeth, the eldest, married to Sir Henry Jones. "The latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London." *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, p. 15.

griefs, and my love. God who knows and sees this writing, knows also that my soliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you ; judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value

Your most truly,
 most heartily,
 affectionate brother,
 and servant,

Decem. 6, 1620.

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll.

Sir^o,

I dare no longer be silent, least while I think I am modest, I wrong both myself, and also the confidence my friends have in me ; wherefore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least ; and it is this, I want books extreamly. You know sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life, and shall I then be fain always to borrow books, and build on another's foundation ? What tradesman is there who will set up without his tools ? Pardon my boldness sir, it is a most serious case, nor can I write coldly in that wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and of atchieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to say, if I had taken ill courses, "Follow your book, and you shall want nothing." You know sir, it is their ordinary speech, and now let them make it good ; for since I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let not them deceive mine.—But perhaps they will say, "You are sickly, you must not study too hard." It is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not so but that every day I may step one step towards my journey's end ; and I love my friends so well, as that if all things proved not well, I had rather the fault should lie on me, than on them.—But they will object again, "What becomes of your annuity ?" Sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last vacation, neither am I yet

^o Sir.] Sir John Danvers.

recovered, so that I am fain ever and anon, to buy somewhat tending towards my health, for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to diet in my chamber at mine own cost; for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fish and whit-meats. Out of Lent also twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for fresh air; all which tend to avoiding of costlier matters, if I should fall absolutely sick. I protest and vow, I even study thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance, shake hands with the other: and yet if a book of four or five shillings come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea, sometimes of ten shillings. But alas sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day swell, and grow bigger. Noble sir, pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things. First, the bulk of divinity. Secondly, the time when I desire this (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life.) Thirdly, what I desire, and to what end, not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If then, sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I desire you, sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reason, by the patents of your perpetual favour to do so still, for I am sure you love

Your faithfullest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

March 18, 1617.

Trin. Coll.

Sir¹,

This week hath loaded me with your favours. I wish I could have come in person to thank you, but it is not possible; presently after Michaelmas, I am to make an oration to the whole university of an hour long in Latin, and my Lincoln journey hath set me much behind hand. Neither can I so much as go to Bugden, and deliver your letter, yet have I sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day. I beseech you all, you and my dear mother and

¹ *Sir.*] Sir John Danvers.

sister to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tie me here, than your's to London. If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to sir Fr. Nethersole for me; he and I are ancient acquaintance, and I have a strong opinion of him, that if he can do me a courtesy, he will of himself; yet your appearing in it affects me strangely. I have sent you here inclosed a letter from our master in my behalf, which if you can send to sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the university's inclination to me; yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The orator's place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the university, though not the gainfullest. Yet that will be about 30%. per an. but the commodiousness is beyond the revenue; for the orator writes all the university letters, makes all the orations, be it to king, prince, or whatever comes to the university. To requite these pains, he takes place next the doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the proctors, is regent or non-regent at his pleasure, and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.

I long to hear from sir Francis. I pray sir send the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see, that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble sir, I thank you for your infinite favours, I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance, yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so, but that I have both time and work to be

Your extream servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Sir²,

I have received the things you sent me, safe; and now the only thing I long for, is to hear of my dear sick sister; first, how her health fares, next, whether my peace be yet made with her

² Sir.] Sir John Danvers.

concerning my unkind departure. Can I be so happy, as to hear of both these, that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son, and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eye-sight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her: when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my pen is ready.—Concerning the orator's place all goes well yet: the next Friday it is tried, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands; your courtesy will pardon the haste of

Your humble servant,
GEORGE HERBERT.

Jan. 19, 1619.

Trin. Coll.

Sir³,

I understand by sir Francis Nethersol's letter, that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from divinity, at which, not without cause he thinks I aim. But, I have wrote him back, that this dignity hath no such earthiness in it, but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for ought I yet knew: and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in his next letter. I pray sir therefore, cause this inclosed to be carried to his brother's house of his own name (as I think) at the sign of the Pedler and the Pack on London-bridge, for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my lord, or sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I shall shortly. Though for the reckoning of your favours I shall never find time and paper enough, yet I am

Your readiest servant,
GEORGE HERBERT.

Octob. 6, 1619.

Trin. Coll.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother, who cannot think me lazy, since I rode two hundred miles to see a sister, in a way I knew not, in the midst of much business, and all in a fortnight, not long since.

³ *Sir.*] Sir John Danvers.

To the truly noble SIR J. D.⁴

Sir,

I understand by a letter from my brother Henry, that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pound upon her, which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of herself, but upon the want of those books which were not to be got in England. For that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather fly to my old ward, that if any cause could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I entered into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surplusage of these books, and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient, that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon

Your humble servant,
GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excused.

I pray sir, pardon my boldness of inclosing my brother's letter in your's, for it was because I know your lodging, but not his.

To the worthiest Lady, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

Madam,

Every excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation, and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing? By my troth, as desperate and perplexed men grow from thence bold; so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a curtain betwixt me and your pur-

⁴ Sir.] Sir John Danvers.

poses, as that I had no glimmering, neither of your goings, nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet, I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor it. It is therefore rather a pinnacle to discover; and the intire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow; whose employment is more honourable, than that which our state meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that country, of which that is a wretched inch; for you have a better treasure, and a harmlessness. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as rigid a puritan, as Cæsar was to his wife. I can as ill endure a suspicious and misinterpretable word as a fault; but remember that nothing is flattery which the speaker believes; and of the grossest flatteries there is this good use, that they tell us what we should be. But madam, you are beyond instruction, and therefore there can belong to you only praise; of which though you be no good hearer, yet allow all my letters leave to have in them one part of it, which is thankfulness towards you.

Your unworthiest servant,

Except your excepting
have mended him,

JOHN DONNE.

Michin,
July 11, 1607.

To the worthiest Lady, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

Madam,

This is my second letter, in which though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worst that I must be a great part of it; yet to me that is recompensed, because you must be mingled. After I knew you were gone (for I must little less than accusingly tell you, I knew not you would go) I sent my first letter, like a Bevis of Hampton, to seek adventures. This day I came to town, and to the best part of it, your house; for your memory is a state-cloth and presence, which I reverence, though you be away; though I need not seek that there, which I have about and within me. There, though I found my accusation, yet any thing to which your hand is, is a pardon; yet I would not burn my first letter, because as in great destiny no small passage can be omitted or frustrated, so in my resolution of

writing almost daily to you, I would have no link of the chain broke by me, both because my letters interpret one another, and because only their number can give them weight. If I had your commission and instructions to do you the service of a legier ambassador here, I could say something of the countess of Devon, of the states, and such things. But since to you, who are not only a world alone, but the monarchy of the world yourself, nothing can be added, especially by me; I will sustain myself with the honour of being

Your servant extraordinary,

And without place,

JOHN DONNE.

London, July 23, 1607.

To the worthiest Lady, MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

Madam,

As we must die before we can have full glory and happiness, so before I can have this degree of it, as to see you by a letter, I must almost die, that is, come to London, to plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the court be gone. And such it will be, till your return redeem it. Not that the greatest virtue in the world, which is you, can be such a marshal, as to defeat, or disperse all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove, or contract themselves when better come, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. Yet madam, you are not such an Ireland, as produceth neither ill, nor good; no spiders, nor nightingales, which is a rare degree of perfection; but you have found and practised that experiment, that even nature, out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work, to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To abstain from it, was therefore but the childhood, and minority of your soul, which had been long exercised since, in your manlier active part, of doing good. Of which since I have been a witness and subject, not to tell you sometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to such a step of goodness, as to be thankful, were both to accuse your power and judgment of impotency and infirmity.

Your ladyship's in all services,

August 2, 1607.

JOHN DONNE.

*On MR. GEORGE HERBERT'S Book, intituled The Temple of
Sacred Poems, sent to a Gentlewoman.*

Know you, fair, on what you look ?
 Divinest love lies in this book :
 Expecting fire from your eyes,
 To kindle this his sacrifice.
 When your hands untie these strings,
 Think you've an angel by the wings,
 One that gladly will be nigh,
 To wait upon each morning sigh ;
 To flutter in the balmy air,
 Of your well-perfumed prayer.
 These white plumes of his he'll lend you,
 Which every day to heaven will send you,
 To take acquaintance of the sphere,
 And all the smooth-fac'd kindred there.
 And though Herbert's name do owe
 These devotions, fairest, know
 That while I lay them on the shrine
 Of your white hand, they are mine.

*To the Right Honourable the Lady ANNE, Countess of PEMBROKE
and MONTAGUE⁵, at Court.*

Madam,

What a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services? Now they creep in a vessel of metheglin, and still they will be presenting or wishing to see if at length they may find out something not unworthy of those hands at which they aim. In the mean time a priest's blessing, though it be none of the courtstile, yet doubtless madam, can do you no hurt. Wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of

⁵ *Montague.*] An error for Montgomery; Anne Clifford, sole daughter and heir to George, earl of Cumberland, widow of Richard, earl of Dorset, and afterwards wife of Philip, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. "She was the oldest, but the most independent courtier in the kingdom: had known and admired queen Elizabeth: had refused what she deemed an iniquitous award of king James; rebuilt her dismantled castles in defiance of Cromwell; and repelled, with disdain, the interposition of a profligate minister under Charles the Second."—Whitaker's *Craven*.

your mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence,
prayers and tears, to bud, blow and bear fruit in your soul, to
his glory, your own good, and the great joy of

Madam,

Your most faithful servant

in Christ Jesu,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Dec. 10, 1631, Bemerton.

Madam, your poor colony of servants present their humble
duties.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

. . . . Tandem hoc didicit, ANIMAS SAPIENTIORES FIERI QUIESCENDO.

PREFACE TO WOTTON ON ARCHITECTURE.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON (whose life I now intend to write) was born in the year of our redemption 1568, in Bocton-hall (commonly called Bocton, or Boughton-place, or palace,) in the parish of Bocton Malherb, in the fruitful country of Kent; Bocton-hall being an ancient and goodly structure¹, beautifying and being beautified by the parish church of Bocton Malherb adjoining unto it, and both seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a hill as gives the advantage of a large prospect and of equal pleasure to all beholders.

But this house and church are not remarkable for any thing so much as for that the memorable family of the Wottons² have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church: the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour; whose heroic acts and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this nation, which they have served abroad faithfully in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negotiations with several princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof, in the various times both of war and peace.

¹ *Goodly structure.*] See some engravings, with descriptions of its present remains, in Henry Shaw's *Elizabethan Architecture*.

² *Family of the Wottons.*] Catharine Wotton, eldest daughter and coheir of Thomas, second lord Wotton, and great niece of sir Henry Wotton, married Henry, lord Stanhope, son of Philip, first earl of Chesterfield. She was created countess of Chesterfield for life. Her grandson, Charles Stanhope (younger brother of the third earl of Chesterfield), inherited her estates and took the name of Wotton. He died without issue.

But lest I should be thought by any that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree, and our chronicles, a part (and but a part) of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged; and shall then leave the indifferent reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherb, knt. was born about the year of Christ 1460: he lived in the reign of king Edward the fourth, was by him trusted to be lieutenant of Guisnes, to be knight porter, and comptroller of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton³, of Bocton Malherb, knight, (son and heir of the said sir Robert) was born in the year of Christ 1489, in the reign of king Henry the seventh: he was made treasurer of Calais, and of the privy council to king Henry the eighth, who offered him to be lord chancellor of England; but (saith Hollinshed, in his Chronicle) out of a virtuous modesty he refused it.

Thomas Wotton, of Bocton Malherb, esquire, son and heir of the said sir Edward, (and the father of our sir Henry that occasions this relation,) was born in the year of Christ 1521: he was a gentleman excellently educated, and studious in all the liberal arts, in the knowledge whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful estate, and the ancient interest of his predecessors) many invitations from queen Elizabeth to change his country recreations and retirement for a court, offering him a knighthood, (she was then with him at his Bocton-hall,) and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly refused both, being a man of great modesty, of a most plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom and integrity of mind. A commendation which sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from

³ *Sir Edward Wotton.*] His sister, Margaret, married Thomas Grey, second marquis of Dorset, and was grandmother of lady Jane Grey.

whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover, and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added, that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary Mr. William Lambert⁴, in his *Perambulation of Kent*.

This Thomas⁵ had four sons, sir Edward, sir James, sir John, and sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted by queen Elizabeth, and made comptroller of her majesty's household. He was (saith Cambden) a man remarkable for many and great employments in the state during her reign, and sent several times ambassador into foreign nations. After her death he was by king James made comptroller of his household, and called to be of his privy council, and by him advanced to be lord Wotton, baron of Merly in Kent, and made lord lieutenant of that county.

Sir James (the second son) may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was in the 38th of queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert earl of Sussex, count Lodowick of Nassau, don Christophoro, son of Antonio king of Portugal⁶, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour) knighted in the field near Cadiz⁷ in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries by taking that town.

Sir John, being a gentleman excellently accomplished both by learning and travel, was knighted by queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of sir Henry my following discourse shall give an account.

The descents of these fore-named Wottons were all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those

⁴ *Lambert.*] More properly Lambard.

⁵ *This Thomas.*] Who died 11th January, 1587.

⁶ *King of Portugal.*] Antonio of Portugal, prior of Crato, was a natural son of the infant Dom Luis, and grandson of the king Dom Emanuel. After the death of the king Dom Sebastian, in 1578, Antonio was one of the pretenders to the throne of Portugal, and he was supported in his claims by Elizabeth of England and by France.

⁷ *Near Cadiz.*] In June and July, 1596, by the earl of Essex, who gave offence to queen Elizabeth by the number of knights he then made.

with whom we have conversed ; but if I had looked so far back as to sir Nicholas Wotton, (who lived in the reign of king Richard the second,) or before him, upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious ; and yet others may more justly think me negligent if I omit to mention Nicholas Wotton, the fourth son of sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was doctor of law, and sometime dean both of York and Canterbury ; a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments^a ; having been nine times ambassador unto foreign princes ; and by his being a privy councillor to king Henry the eighth, to Edward the sixth, to queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth ; who also, after he had been during the wars between England, Scotland, and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in committees for settling of peace betwixt this and those kingdoms, died (saith learned Cambden) full of commendations for wisdom and piety.—He was also by the will of king Henry the eighth made one of his executors, and chief secretary of state to his son, that pious prince Edward the sixth.—Concerning which Nicholas Wotton^{*}

^a Camden in his *Britannia*.

^{*} *Concerning which Nicholas Wotton.*] When we consider the numerous and very important negotiations in which Nicholas Wotton was engaged, it appears at first sight somewhat strange that so few of his letters or papers should be known to exist : that such is the case is owing in all probability to the caution of lord Burghley, with whom even from early life Wotton was intimate, and whose secrets he possessed. After the death of dean Wotton, lord Burghley applied to the nephew (the Thomas Wotton who was saved by the well-timed dream mentioned at p. 74, father of sir Henry), and received from him, on the 18th of March, 1583, the great bulk of the dean's papers. They are not now however to be found amongst the Cecil Papers, which belonged to lord Exeter, and which are now in the British Museum, neither are they amongst those belonging to the marquess of Salisbury, who possesses only the few letters of Wotton which are printed by Murdin and Haynes. There are some few in the State Paper Office which have been recently brought to light by Mr. Fraser Tytler, and are printed in his *England during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*. Two very curious volumes of historical and genealogical collections in the handwriting of the dean are preserved in the British Museum, and the late sir George Nayler possessed a similar volume, which now (1852) belongs to sir Thomas Phillipps, bart. These volumes sufficiently attest the writer's great knowledge and research.

I shall say but this little more: that he refused (being offered it by queen Elizabeth) to be ^b archbishop of Canterbury; and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of abbeys.

More might be added: but by this it may appear, that sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred as left a stock of reputation to their posterity; such reputation as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if of his many surviving friends some one of higher parts and employment had been pleased to have commended his to posterity. But since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborne to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of some ^c that still live solicitous to see this duty performed; these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which truly I have not done but with some distrust of mine own abilities, and yet so far from despair, that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all readers with a commixture of truth and sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the reader, that the father of sir Henry Wotton was twice married, first to Elizabeth, the daughter of sir John Rudstone ⁹, knight; after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in law, in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents) he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a remarriage; to whom he as often answered, That if ever he

^b Hollinshead.

^c Sir Edward Bish, clarencieux king of arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nick Oudert, sometime sir Henry Wotton's servant.

⁹ *Sir John Rudstone.*] Who had been lord mayor of London in 1528, and died in 1531. There was a triple alliance between his family and that of the Wottons, as two of his children married two of sir Edward Wotton's, sir Edward himself having married sir John's widow. He seems to have been possessed of great wealth. The Harleian MS. 1231 contains nothing else than his will, inventories of his goods, and deeds relative to his widow and her marriage.

did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons :

namely, those { that had children.
that had law-suits.
that were of his kindred.

And yet, following his own law-suit, he met in Westminster-hall with Mrs. Elionora Morton, widow to Robert Morton¹ of Kent, esquire, who was also engaged in several suits in law ; and he, observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition and affect her person (for the tears of lovers, or beauty drest in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted,) which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton ; for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew then so strong, that he resolved to solicit her for a wife ; and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of sir William Finch², of Eastwell, in Kent,) he had only Henry his youngest son.—His mother undertook to be tutoress unto him during much of his childhood ; for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in learning as turned her employment into a pleasing trouble, which she was content to continue till his father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a tutor in his own house at Bocton.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal to an higher form (which was very early) he was sent to Winchester school, a place of strict discipline and order ; that so he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way to make the future part of his life both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was at a fit age removed from that school to be commoner of New college

¹ *Robert Morton.*] By whom she was mother of sir Albertus Morton.

² *Sir William Finch.*] Ancestor of the earls of Winchelsea and Nottingham, and Aylesford.

³ *To be commoner.*] He was admitted in 1584.

in Oxford, both being founded by William Wickham, bishop of Winchester.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into Queen's college, where within that year he was by the chief of that college persuasively enjoined to write a play for their private use, (it was the tragedy of *Tancredo*;) which was so interwoven with sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared he had in a slight employment given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sour dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wise knight Baptista Guarini⁴ (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded master of arts, and at that time read in Latin three lectures *de oculo*; wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye; and demonstrated how of those very many, every humour and nerve performs his distinct office, so as the God of order hath appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger, teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred. After he had made these observations he fell to dispute this optique question, "Whether we see by the emission of the beams from within, or reception of the species from without?" and after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he in the conclusion of his lectures took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of seeing; by which we do not only discover nature's secrets; but with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great light of the world, and by it discover the fabric of the heavens, and both the order and motion of the celestial orbs; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosom of the earth, our

⁴ *Guarini.*] Giovanni Battista Guarini, the author of the *Pastor Fido*.

common mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various flowers, which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralize his own condition, who in a short time (like those very flowers) decays and withers, and quickly returns again to that earth from which both had their first being.

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis⁵ (then professor of the civil law in Oxford) to call him *Henrice, mi ocella*; which dear expression of his was also used by divers of sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note, during his stay in the university.

But his stay there was not long; at least, not so long as his friends once intended; for the year after sir Henry proceeded master of arts, his father (whom sir Henry did never mention without this or some like reverential expression, as *That good man my father*, or *my father the best of men* :) about that time this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concern him may not be buried without a relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose they may so much concern the reader to know, that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

In the year of our redemption 1553 Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury (whom I formerly mentioned) being then ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do: but though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased, yet doubtless he could not but

⁵ *Gentilis*.] Of whom an account is given by Ant. a Wood.

consider, that all dreams are not to be neglected or cast away without all consideration, and did therefore rather lay this dream aside than intend totally to lose it ; and dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh, (of which double dreams the learned have made many observations) and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it, and remembered that almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure Monica^d, the mother of St. Austin, that he, her son, for whom she wept so bitterly and prayed so much, should at last become a Christian. This I believe the good dean considered ; and considering also that almighty God (though the causes of dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also, by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep, discovered many things that human wisdom could not foresee : upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy, by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end he wrote to the queen (it was queen Mary) and besought her, “ That she would cause his nephew Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent ; and that the lords of her council might interrogate him in some such feigned questions as might give a colour for his commitment into a favourable prison ; declaring that he would acquaint her majesty with the true reason of his request when he should next become so happy as to see and speak to her majesty.”

It was done as the dean desired ; and in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton till I have told the reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our queen Mary and Philip king of Spain ; and though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion of her privy council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation, yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it ; believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And of this number sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley Abbey, in Kent, (betwixt whose family and the family of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship) was the principal

^d St. Austin's Confessions, book iii. ch. ii.

actor ; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially in Kent) to side with him, and he being defeated and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life⁶ : so did the duke of Suffolk, and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been if he had not been confined ; for though he could not be ignorant that another man's treason makes it mine by concealing it, yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit him in prison, that he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions, and thought he had not continued actually innocent if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison ; out of which place when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and then both joined in praising God for it ; that God who ties himself to no rules, either in preventing of evil, or in shewing of mercy to those whom of good pleasure he hath chosen to love.

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams ; of which I will also give the reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come and discovering things past ; and the particular is this :—This Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the university treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars ; and that the number was five : and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains as by a postscript in his letter to make a slight inquiry of it. The letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before,) came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed ; and when the city and university were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did sir Henry Wotton shew his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness, that the five guilty persons were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the university to so much trouble as the casting of a figure⁷.

⁶ *Lost his life.*] He was beheaded, April 11th, 1554.

⁷ *Casting a figure.*] In our days it sounds strangely that the university of Oxford should have resorted to astrology.

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer,) foresee and foretell the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age, who being then in London (where he died) and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Bocton; and though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument^s which he built for him in the cathedral church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction concerning himself to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral.—This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now seem more than time that I return to sir Henry Wotton at Oxford, where, after his optic lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis (whom I formerly named) that if it had been possible Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the mathematics and law, into the breast of his dear Harry, (for so Gentilis used to call him) and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian language, and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that this friendship between them did daily increase, and prove daily advantageous to sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several sciences during his stay in the university.

From which place, before I shall invite the reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to sir Henry Wotton, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun between him and Dr. Donne, (sometime dean of St. Paul's,) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must

^s *That noble monument.*] Of which an engraving by Cole is in Dart's *History of Canterbury Cathedral*: a smaller engraving is in Hasted's *History of Kent*.

not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented: and as it was begun in their youth, and in an university, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he staid till about two years after his father's death, at which time he was about the two and twentieth year of his age; and having to his great wit added the ballast of learning, and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure, as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years before his return into England, he staid but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza (then very aged), and with Isaac Casaubon, in whose house (if I be rightly informed) sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship⁹ with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life) where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men for learning, and all manner of arts; as picture, sculpture, chemistry, architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many, both for his person and comportment; for indeed he was of choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet discourse, and civilities, as gained him

⁹ *Worthy friendship.*] Wotton's improvidence in pecuniary matters appears to have brought Casaubon, who had become his bondsman, into very considerable anxiety and difficulty. The matter however, in the end, was settled satisfactorily. This was in the years 1594 and 1595. See Isaaci Casauboni *Epistolæ*, fol. 1709. p. 11, 12, 13. 17. 19.

much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest; that by time, travel, and conversation, was so polished, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as Robert earl of Essex (then one of the darlings of fortune, and in greatest favour with queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his secretaries; (the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe, sometime of Merton college in Oxford; and there also the acquaintance of sir Henry Wotton in his youth; Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the university for his learning; nor after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind; nor indeed, for the fatalness of his end.)

Sir Henry Wotton being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the earl of Essex, did personally attend his counsels and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniards, and also in that (which was the earl's last) into Ireland; that voyage wherein he then did so much provoke the queen to anger, and worse at his return into England; upon whose immoveable favour the earl had built such sandy hopes, as encouraged him to those undertakings, which with the help of a contrary faction suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.

Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction (for the earl's followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him, and divers of his confederation; yet, knowing treason to be so comprehensive, as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions as subtle statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention by absence out of England, a better security than to stay in it, and there plead his innocence in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Bocton; and was by the help of favourable winds and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore; where he heard shortly after, that the earl was arraigned, condemned, and be-

headed¹; and that his friend Mr. Cuffe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon sir Henry Wotton, as to invite his return into England; having therefore procured of sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went, happily renewing his intermitted friendship and interest, and indeed, his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation; and more particularly in Florence (which city is not more eminent for the great duke's court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts,) in which number he there met with his old friend seignior Vietta², a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be secretary to the great duke of Tuscany³.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where in the English college he had very many friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion,) and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befell him; an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but introduce him to a knowledge and an interest with our king James, then king of Scotland; which I shall proceed to relate.

But first, I am to tell the reader, that though queen Elizabeth (or she and her council) were never willing to declare her successor; yet James then king of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed; and the queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion (even Rome itself, and those of this nation) knowing that the death of the queen, and the establishing of her successor, were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the protestant religion in this

¹ *Beheaded.*] In 1600.

² *Seignior Vietta.*] Who is not to be confounded with the great mathematician François Viète, then living, a Frenchman, born at Fontenay, in Poitou, and master of requests to Margaret of Valois.

³ *Great duke of Tuscany.*] Ferdinand de' Medici.

nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a protestant prince to succeed her. And as the pope's excommunication⁴ of queen Elizabeth, had both by the judgment and practice of the jesuited papist, exposed her to be warrantably destroyed; so (if we may believe an angry adversary⁵, a "secular priest against a jesuit") you may believe, that about that time there were many endeavours, first to excommunicate, and then to shorten the life of king James.

Immediately after sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of queen Elizabeth) Ferdinand the great duke of Florence had intercepted certain letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James the then king of Scots. The duke abhorring the fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that king; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the duke, and the duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the duke, who after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the king, and with those letters, such Italian antidotes against poison, as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger; he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the king at Stirling; being there, he used means by Bernard Lindsey⁶,

⁴ *Pope's excommunication.*] Pius V.'s in 1576. "It deposed the queen's majesty from her royal seat, and tore the crown from her head. It discharged all her natural subjects from all due obedience. It armed one side of them against another. It emboldened them to burn, to spoil, to rob, to kill, to cut one another's throats; like Pandora's box sent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unwholesome evils." Bp. Jewel.

⁵ *An angry adversary.*] William Watson, who was hanged in 1603, with William Clark and George Brooke, the brother of lord Cobham. The titles of his books are, 1. *Dialogue betwixt a Secular Priest and a Lay Gentleman*, 4to., Rhemes, 1601. 2. *Decachordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions concerning Religion and State*, 4to., 1602.

⁶ *Bernard Lindsey.*] So read all the editions, as if a cadet of the houses of

one of the king's bedchamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his majesty, assuring him, "That the business which he was to negotiate, was of such consequence as had caused the great duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to impart it to his king."

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the king, the king after a little wonder (mixed with jealousy) to hear of an Italian ambassador, or messenger, required his name (which was said to be Octavio Baldi) and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier (which Italian-like he then wore) and being entered the chamber, he found there with the king three or four Scotch lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber; at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the king observing, "bade him be bold, and deliver his message; for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his message to the king in Italian; which, when the king had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table and whispers to the king in his own language, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised, and really performed by the king during all his abode there, (which was about three months) all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the king, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself, as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian⁷, as he came thither.

To the duke of Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment, and within some few months after his return, there came certain news to Florence, that queen Elizabeth was dead; and James king of the Scots proclaimed king of England. The duke knowing travel and business to be the best schools of wisdom, and that sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and

Crawford or Balcarres were meant: the real person was Bernard Lindley, mentioned by the scandalous chronicler Weldon as one of the Scots who obtained large grants from James, after his accession to the English throne.

⁷ *As true an Italian.*] Meaning that his disguise was not discovered.

there joy the king with his new and better title, and wait there upon fortune for a better employment.

When king James came into England, he found, amongst other of the late queen's officers, sir Edward, who was after lord Wotton, comptroller of the house, of whom he demanded, "If he knew one Henry Wotton, that had spent much time in foreign travel?" the lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother; then the king asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice, or Florence; but by late letters from thence, he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send for him," said the king, "and when he shall come into England, bid him repair privately to me." The lord Wotton after a little wonder, asked the king, "if he knew him?" to which the king answered, "You must rest unsatisfied of that, till you bring the gentleman to me."

Not many months after this discourse, the lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the king, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi, saying, "he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with:" and said, "Seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an embassy, I have sent for you to declare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter:" and indeed the king did so most of those two and twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the king having resolved, according to his motto (*Beati pacifici*) to have a friendship with his neighbour-kingdoms of France and Spain⁸, and also for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the state of Venice, and to that end to send ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to sir Henry Wotton; who considering the smallness of his own estate (which he never took

⁸ *France and Spain.*] With France Elizabeth had always maintained a close alliance, but even to the day of her death she held no diplomatic intercourse with Spain. By James, soon after his accession, sir Charles Cornwallis was sent to Spain, where he remained for several years. His negotiations are in the British Museum, and many of them have been printed in Winwood's memoirs. Sir Thomas Parry was the ambassador sent by James to France.

care to augment) and knowing the courts of great princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice⁹, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments; for both which fruitful Italy, that darling of nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian world.

Sir Henry having after some short time and consideration, resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the king for his voyage thither, and settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice, by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded. They were too many to name, but these two, for following reasons may not be omitted; sir Albertus Morton¹ his nephew, who went his secretary; and William Bedel², a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, who went his chaplain. And though his dear friend doctor Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of that number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of this following letter sent by him to sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

SIR,

After those reverend papers, whose soul is
Our good, and great king's loved hand, and feared name :
By which to you he derives much of his,
And how he may, makes you almost the same :

A taper of his torch; a copy writ
From his original, and a fair beam
Of the same warm and dazzling sun, though it
Must in another sphere his virtue stream :

⁹ *That of Venice.*] With the seignory of Venice Elizabeth had held no intercourse. She neither sent nor received an ambassador throughout her long reign. Immediately upon her death, the secretary of the republic, Scaramelli, was sent to congratulate James. The Venetian ambassadors in France were ordered to come over to England for the same purpose, and for more than a century and a half, with scarcely any intermission, a Venetian resident was at the court of England.

¹ *Sir Albertus Morton his nephew.*] Sir Albertus Morton was not Wotton's nephew, but his half-brother. See p. 72.

² *William Bedel.*] Afterwards bishop of Kilmore, whose life has been written by bishop Burnet.

After those learned papers which your hand
Hath stored with notes of use and pleasure too ;
From which rich treasury you may command
Fit matter whether you will write or do :

After those loving papers which friends send
With glad grief to your sea-ward steps farewell,
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend
To heaven on troops at a good man's passing-bell :

Admit this honest paper ; and allow
It such an audience as yourself would ask ;
What you would say at Venice, this says now,
And has for nature what you have for task :

To swear much love ; nor to be changed before
Honour alone will to your fortune fit ;
Nor shall I then honour your fortune more,
Than I have done your honour-wanting wit.

But 'tis an easier load (though both oppress)
To want, than govern greatness ; for we are
In that, our own and only business ;
In this, we must for others vices care.

'Tis therefore well, your spirits now are plac'd
In their last furnace, in activity ;
Which fits them : schools, and courts, and wars o'er past
To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me ! (if there be such a thing as I)
Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)
Finds that I bear so well her tyranny,
That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

But though she part us, to hear my oft prayers
For your increase, God is as near me here :
And to send you what I shall beg, his stairs
In length and ease, are alike every where.

J. DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the state of Venice with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture of time, as his master's friendship seemed useful for that republic. The time of his coming thither was about the year 1604, Leonardo Donato being then duke ; a wise and resolved man, and to all purposes such (sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the state of Venice could not then have wanted ; there having been formerly in the time of pope Clement the

eighth³, some contests about the privileges of churchmen, and power of the civil magistrate; of which for the information of common readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603, the republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay-persons giving lands or goods to the church, without licence from the civil magistrate; and in that inhibition they expressed their reasons to be, "For that when any goods or land once came into the hands of the ecclesiastics, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof (the lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption from all public service, and taxes, and from all secular judgment: so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be borne by the laity."

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two clergymen, the abbot of Nervesa, and a canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins, as I think not fit to name: nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling; (for holiness is not tied to ecclesiastical orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous and most vicious men of any nation.) These two having been long complained of at Rome in the name of the state of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this abbot and canon, and committed them to prison.

The justice, or injustice of such or the like power, then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former pope Clement the eighth, and that republic: I say, calm, for he did not excommunicate them; considering (as I conceive) that in the late council of Trent it was at last (after many politique disturbances, and delays, and endeavours to preserve the pope's present power) in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the church, declared by that council⁴, "That though discipline, and especially excommunication, be one of the chief sinews of church government, and intended to keep men in obedience to it: for which end, it

³ *Clement the eighth.*] Ippolito Aldobrandini, pope from 7th February, 1592, to 5th March, 1605.

⁴ *By that council.*] Concil. Trident. *sess. xxv. cap. iii.*

was declared to be very profitable ; yet, it was also declared and advised to be used with great sobriety and care : because experience had informed them, that when it was pronounced unadvisedly, or rashly, it became more contemned than feared.” And, though this was the advice of that council at the conclusion of it which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians ; yet this prudent, patient pope Clement dying, pope Paul the fifth⁵, who succeeded him (though not immediately⁶, yet in the same year) being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with the Venetians⁷ to a much higher contention : objecting those late acts of that state to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation ; threatening, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to excommunication of the republic, who still offered to show both reason and antient custom to warrant their actions. But this pope, contrary to his predecessor’s moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year ; the pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance, till at last, the pope’s zeal to the apostolic see did make him excommunicate the duke, the whole senate, and all their dominions ; and that done to shut up all their churches ; charging the whole clergy to forbear all sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of absolution.

But this act of the pope’s did but the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him. And to that end, upon the hearing of the pope’s interdict, they presently published by sound of trumpet, a proclamation to this effect :

“That whosoever hath received from Rome any copy of a papal interdict, published there, as well against the law of God, as against the honour of this nation, shall presently render it to the

⁵ *Paul the fifth.*] Camillo Borghese, pope from 16th May, 1605, to 28th January, 1621.

⁶ *Not immediately.*] After the death of Clement VIII., the cardinal of Florence, Alessandro Ottaviano de’ Medici, had been elected pope, 1st April, 1605, and he had taken the title of Leo XI., but he died on the 27th of the same month.

⁷ *Difference with the Venetians.*] A volume might be filled merely with an account of what has been written on both sides respecting this celebrated dispute and the consequent interdict.

council of ten, upon pain of death." And they made it loss of estate and nobility, but to speak in the behalf of the jesuits.

Then was Duado⁸ their ambassador called home from Rome, and the Inquisition presently suspended by order of the state; and the flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the pope, either by free speaking, or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the state advised with father Paul, a holy and learned frier (the author of the History of the Council of Trent, whose advice was, "Neither to provoke the pope, nor lose their own right:" he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the state, "That the pope was trusted to keep two keys; one of prudence and the other of power: and that if they were not both used together, power alone is not effectual in an excommunication."

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad, that the Venetians were all turned protestants: which was believed by many, for that it was observed, the English ambassador was so often in conference with the senate, and his chaplain Mr. Bedel more often with father Paul⁹, whom the people did not take to be his friend: and also, for that the republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano¹, then their ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the king of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require: and in the meantime they required the king's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to pope Clement, at his first coming to the crown of England; (that pope then moving him to an union with the Roman church) namely, "To endeavour the calling of a free council, for the settlement of peace in Christendom: and, that he doubted not, but that the French king, and divers other princes would join to assist in so good a work; and in the mean time, the sin of this breach, both with his, and the Venetians' dominions, must of necessity lye at the pope's door."

⁸ *Was Duado.*] More correctly Duodo. Pietro Duodo was ambassador in England with Badoero, in 1603: there is still extant in the British Museum an original letter of sir Henry Wotton, in which the circumstances here alluded to are given.

⁹ *Father Paul.*] Paolo Sarpi.

¹ *Gregory Justiniano.*] Or Giorgio Giustiniani, ambassador in 1606.

In this contention (which lasted almost two years) the pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless: still acquainting king James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their consulters of state, and with his pen to defend their just cause: which was by him so performed, that the pope saw plainly, he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain, by that which was scarce so much as a shew of acknowledging it: for, they made an order, that in that day in which they were absolved, there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge, that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault.

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with king James, for whose sake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent History of the remarkable Council of Trent; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto king James, and the then bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made public, both in English and in the universal language².

For eight years after sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the king's opinion, but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta³; where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness (those that are esteemed the *virtuosi* of that nation) with whom he passing an evening in merriment, was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his *albo*: (a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually⁴ carry about them) and sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some

² *Universal language.*] Latin.

³ *Augusta.*] Augsburg.

⁴ *Usually.*] In the British Museum are several hundred of these *albums*.

accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an ambassador, in these very words :

“*Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causa.*”

Which sir Henry Wotton could have been content should have been thus Englished :

“An ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.”

But the word for lie (being the hinge upon which the conceit⁵ was to turn) was not so exprest in Latin, as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a construction as sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this *albo*, almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, and a malicious pen: who with books against king James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the king, and his ambassador sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice: and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass windows, and spitefully declared to be sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of king James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in sir Henry Wotton, as caused the king to express much wrath against him: and this caused sir Henry Wotton to write two apologies, one to Velserus⁶ (one of the chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both of Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous books of Scioppius; and another apology to king James: which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, “That sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.”

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more con-

⁵ *The conceit.*] Being a mere pun upon the term *lieger*, to *lie* or remain in a place, applied commonly to a resident or fixed ambassador. The word was used in monasteries, which had their *lieger* books, or books which lay open for entries, and it is still used in every counting-house. It is probably also the *log* book of the seamen.

⁶ *To Velserus.*] Marc Welser, prefect of Augsburg.

firmed in his majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And as that man of great wit and useful fancy (his friend Dr. Donne) gave in a will of his (a will of conceits) his reputation to his friends, and his industry to his foes, because from thence he received both: so those friends, that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of sir Henry Wotton's, were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued: and those acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy; where notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius, yet his interest (as though it had been an intailed love) was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding dukes, during his employment to that state, which was almost twenty years; all which time he studied the dispositions of those dukes, and the other consulters of state; well knowing, that he who negociates a continued business, and neglects the study of the dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends: but in this sir Henry Wotton did not fail: for by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse; with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved such interest in the state of Venice, that it was observed (such was either his merit, or his modesty) they never denied him any request.

But all this shews but his abilities, and his fitness for that employment: it will therefore be needful to tell the reader, what use he made of the interest which these procured him; and that indeed was, rather to oblige others than to enrich himself; he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained, both in the German empire and in Italy; where many gentlemen whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and by his interest shelter, or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

And because these things may appear to the reader to be but

generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples: one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow.

There had been many English soldiers brought by commanders of their own country, to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turks; and those English, having by irregularities, or improvidence, brought themselves into several gallies and prisons, sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that state for their lives and enlargement; and his request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment, and unpitied poverty in a strange nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was (during his stay in those parts) as a city of refuge for the distressed of this and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the reader's clearer understanding of it, by telling him, that beside several other foreign employments, sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice ambassador⁷ to the republic of Venice; and at his last going thither, he was employed ambassador to several of the German princes, and more particularly to the emperor Ferdinando the second; and that his employment to him, and those princes, was to incline them to equitable conditions, for the restauration of the queen of Bohemia⁸, and her descendants, to their patrimonial inheritance of the palatinate.

This was by his eight months constant endeavours and attendance upon the emperor, his court and council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion without blood-shed: but there was at that time two opposite armies in the field; and as they were treating, there was a battle fought⁹; in the managery whereof, there was so many miserable errors on the one side, (so sir Henry Wotton expresses it in a dispatch to the king) and

⁷ *Thrice ambassador.*] In March, 1604; in 1605 (Harl. MS. 1875, art. 17, &c.) and 1622 (see Cabala, p. 364).

⁸ *Queen of Bohemia.*] Elizabeth of England, daughter of James I., and wife of the palgrave, or elector palatine Frederic, who had forfeited his dominions by his assumption of the throne of Bohemia.

⁹ *Battle fought.*] The battle of Prague, November, 1620.

so advantageous events to the emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty: so that sir Henry, seeing the face of peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that court; and at his departure from the emperor, was so bold as to remember him, "That the events of every battle move on the unseen wheels of fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next: and therefore humbly advised him to use his victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of peace." Which advice, though it seemed to be spoke with some passion, (his dear mistress the queen of Bohemia being concerned in it) was yet taken in good part by the emperor; who replied, "That he would consider his advice: and though he looked on the king his master as an abettor of his enemy the Palsgrave; yet for sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the treaty, that he took him to be a person of much honour and merit, and did therefore desire him to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him;" which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by sir Henry Wotton: but the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he at his taking leave of the countess of Sabrina (an Italian lady, in whose house the emperor had appointed him to be lodged, and honourably entertained) acknowledged her merits, and besought her to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities; presenting her with the same that was given him by the emperor: which being suddenly discovered, and told to the emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, "That though he received it with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his royal mistress the queen of Bohemia;" for so she was pleased he should always call her.

Many other of his services to his prince, and this nation, might be insisted upon: as namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German princes, and the republic of Venice, for the English merchants; and what he did by direction of king James with the Venetian state, concerning the bishop of Spalato's return¹ to the church of Rome. But for the particulars of these

¹ *The bishop of Spalato's return.*] See *M. Ant. de Dominis* archbishop of

and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform me (his late majesty's letter office having now suffered² a strange alienation) and indeed I want time too, for the printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring sir Henry Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the reader to make up what is defective in this place by the small supplement of the inscription under his arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last embassy into England.

“Henricus Wottonius Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri filius natus minimus, a serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Britt. rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad rempublicam Venetam legatus ordinarius, semel ad confœderatarum provinciarum ordines in Juliacensi negotio; his ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudiaë ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi; postremo ad archiducem Leopoldum, ducem Wittembergensem, civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, et ipsum Romanorum imperatorem Ferdinandum secundum, legatus extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,

“Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.”

To London he came the year before³ king James died; who having for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities, also granted him the reversion of the master of the rolls place, if he out-lived charitable sir Julius Cæsar, who then possessed it, and then was grown so old, that he was said to be kept alive beyond nature's course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

Spalato, his shiftings in Religion. London, printed by John Bill, A.D. 1624; Heylin's *Life of archbishop Laud*, p. 107—9; Barwick's *Life of bishop Morton*, p. 85—8; Wood's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 328, &c.

A copy of the first tract, as we learn from the Address to the Reader, “was by his majesty's special commandment sent to sir H. Wotton, his majesty's ambassador ordinary with the state of Venice, that he might, as occasion served, inform that state concerning the true carriage of that business with the archbishop.”

² *Now suffered.*] This *Life* was first published in the year 1651; a date which sufficiently accounts for the tone of expression in this passage.

³ *Year before.*] 1624.

But, these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support. For in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother the lord Wotton, the rent-charge left by his good father, and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the king's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists. This was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day; (for it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of sir Philip Sidney's wit, *That it was the very measure of congruity*) he being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, *Care not for to-morrow*, were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of providence, that in this juncture of time, the provostship of his majesty's college of Eton became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray⁴, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerful suiters⁵ to the king. And sir Henry, who had for many years (like Sisyphus) rolled the restless stone of a state employment, knowing experimentally, that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business; and that a college was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the king of his promised reversionary offices, and by a piece of honest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant of it⁶ from his majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind: but money was wanting⁷ to furnish him with those necessaries which attend

⁴ *Mr. Thomas Murray.*] Who had succeeded sir Henry Savile as provost.

⁵ *Powerful suiters.*] Two of these were lord Bacon and sir Wm. Becher. See Bacon's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 345, 6. edit. 1803. Sir William Becher asserts, in a letter to the duke of Buckingham, that he had from the king an express promise of the place. Amongst the other candidates were sir Albertus Morton, sir Dudley Carleton, and sir Robert Ayton.

⁶ *A grant of it.*] He was instituted 26th July, 1624.

⁷ *Money was wanting.*] "When he went to the election at Eton, soon after his being made provost, he was so ill provided, that the fellows of the college were obliged to furnish his bare walls, and whatever else was wanting." See Birch's *Letters of Lord Chancellor Bacon*, p. 338, note.

removes, and a settlement in such a place ; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey, for his assistance ; of which Nicholas Pey, I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way, a servant to the lord Wotton, sir Henry's brother ; and by him, when he was comptroller of the king's household, was made a great officer in his majesty's house. This, and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey (in whom there was a radical honesty) were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude express by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that family even till his death. To him sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all his interest at court, to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears, (for less would not settle him in the college) and the want of such a sum *wrinkled his face with care* (it was his own expression) ; and that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his college, and *Invidiæ remedium* writ over his study-door.

This money, being part of his arrears, was by his own, and the help of honest Nicholas Pey's interest in court, quickly procured him ; and he as quickly in the college ; the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have its beginning : the college being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage ; where, by the bounty of the pious founder⁸, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough ; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock, as the waves of want could not probably shake ; where he might sit in a calm⁹, and looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers ! And (as sir William Davenant has happily express the like of another person)

“ Laugh at the graver business of the state,
Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate.”

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his

⁸ *Where, by the bounty of the pious founder.]*

“ Where grateful science still adores
Her Henry's holy shade.”

Gray.

⁹ *In a calm.]*

Suave, mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.

Lucretius, ii. 1.

first study was the statutes of the college: by which he conceived himself bound to enter into holy orders, which he did; being made deacon¹ with all convenient speed: shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit; to whom sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the king, by whose goodness I now am in this condition; a condition, which that emperor Charles the fifth seemed to approve: who, after so many remarkable victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy retreat to a cloisteral life, where he might by devout meditations consult with God (which the rich or busy men seldom do) and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherein all flesh must make an account of their actions. And after a kind of tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from him, *that makes the out-goings of the morning to praise him*; even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular mercy, of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time in the college. After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and authors in divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But, when he was once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind; and those still increased by constant company at his table, of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling²,

¹ *Made deacon.*] A.D. 1627. Upon this occasion he wrote an interesting letter to the king, which is preserved in his *Remains*, p. 327, edit. 1685. His design was to have received orders at the hands of Williams, bishop of Lincoln, visitor of his college; but in that he was disappointed, by a sudden command from the king, that Williams should quit London. See *Remains*, p. 326.

² *Innate pleasure of angling.*] "My next and last example" (of the dear

which he would usually call, *his idle time, not idly spent*; saying often, he would rather live five May months, than forty Decembers.

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning, for whose encouragement, he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn, the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators: persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon: and he would often say, That none despised eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it. He would also often make choice of some observations out of those historians and poets: and would never leave the school

lovers and great practisers of angling, being at the same time eminent for learning) "shall be that undervaluer of money, the late provost of Eton college, sir Henry Wotton, a man with whom I have often fished and conversed; a man whose foreign employments in the service of this nation, and whose experience, learning, wit, and cheerfulness, made his company to be esteemed one of the delights of mankind. This man, whose very approbation of angling were sufficient to convince any modest censurer of it, was also a most dear lover, and a frequent practiser of my art: of which he would say, 'Twas an employment for his idle time, which was then not idly spent: for angling was, after tedious study, a rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits, a diverter of sadness, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a moderator of passions, a procurer of contentedness; and that it begat habits of peace and patience in those that professed and practised it. Indeed, my friend, you will find angling to be like the virtue of humility, which has a calmness of spirit, and a world of other blessings attending it.'

"Sir, this was the saying of that learned man. And I do easily believe that peace and patience, and a calm content, did cohabit in the cheerful heart of sir Henry Wotton, because I know that when he was beyond seventy years of age, he made this description of a part of the present pleasure that possessed him, as he sat quietly in a summer's evening on a bank a fishing. It is a description of the spring; which, because it glided as soft and sweetly from his pen, as that river does at this time by which it was then made, I shall repeat it to you.

"This day dame Nature seemed in love, &c. &c."

"These were the thoughts that then possessed the undisturbed mind of sir Henry Wotton."—Walton's *Compleat Angler*, p. 32, edit. 1772.

without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour, he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity.

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religion, concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to shew the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant priest, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper music at church, the priest seeing sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the quire this question, writ in a small piece of paper, "Where was your religion to be found before Luther?" To which question sir Henry presently underwrit, "My religion was to be found then, where your's is not to be found now, in the written word of God."

The next vesper, sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the quire boys with this question to his honest pleasant friend, the priest; "Do you believe all those many thousands of poor Christians were damned that were excommunicated, because the pope, and the duke of Venice, could not agree about their temporal power, even those poor Christians that knew not why they quarrelled? Speak your conscience." To which he underwrit in French, "Monsieur, excusez moi."

To one that asked him, "Whether a papist may be saved?" he replied, "You may be saved without knowing that. Look to yourself."

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice, "Pray sir, forbear till you have studied the points better; for the wise Italians have this proverb³; *He that understands amiss, concludes worse*: and take heed of thinking, *The farther you go from the church of Rome, the nearer you are to God*⁴."

³ *This proverb.*] "Chi mal intende peggio decide."

⁴ *The nearer you are to God.*] So Bishop Horsley. "Take especial care, before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism

And to another that spake indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose :

“ In my travel towards Venice, as I past through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius (then the professor of divinity in that university) a man much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy : and indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions (as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do) then I know I differ from him in some points ; yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild, appears by his proposals to our master Perkins ^s of Cambridge, from whose book, *of the Order and Causes of Salvation* (which was first writ in Latin) Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequents of his doctrine ; intending them (it is said) to come privately to Mr. Perkins’ own hands, and to receive from him a like private and a like loving answer : but Mr. Perkins died before those queries came to him ; and it is thought Arminius meant them to die with him ; for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them (but since his death, his sons did not). And it is pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself ; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning. And though since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy, yet, for the most part, they have rather satisfied themselves, than convinced the dissenting party. And doubtless, many middle-witted men, (which yet may mean well) many scholars that are not in the highest form for learning, (which yet may preach well) men that are but preachers, and shall never know, till they come to heaven, where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and the church of England, (if there be any) will yet in

and what is not : that in that mass of doctrine, which it is of late become the fashion to abuse under the name of Calvinism, you can distinguish with certainty between that part of it which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common Christianity and the general faith of the reformed churches, lest when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should unwarily attack something more sacred and of higher origin.”—*Charge at St. Asaph*, 1806, p. 26.

^s *Master Perkins.*] William Perkins.

this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the controversy, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof⁶ of St. Jude, for being *busy-bodies*, and for *meddling with things they understand not*.”

And here it offers itself (I think not unfitly) to tell the reader, that a friend of sir Henry Wotton's, being designed for the employment of an ambassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his negociations; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism; “That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his country, he should always, and upon all occasions speak the truth (it seems a state-paradox) for, says sir Henry Wotton, you shall never be believed; and by this means, your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account; and it will also put your adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings.”

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the

⁶ *Fall under the reproof.*] There were not wanting occasionally a few other learned men, who, in these turbulent times, had wisdom enough to discourage the promiscuous agitation of these thorny and perplexed controversies. Among others who might be cited, we shall be contented to refer to the example of Dr. Richard Field, author of *the Five Books of the Church*, who is said to have been the intimate friend of Richard Hooker; and whose writings display no small portion of the meekness of spirit, the depth of thought, and the learning of that admirable man.

“He did not like” (as his son informs us) “so much disputing about those high points of predestination and reprobation, which have so much troubled the church of late years, and in ancient times; about which the Dominicans and the Jesuites, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, are so much divided. He did not like that men should be so busy in determining what God decrees in heaven, *whose counsels are unsearchable, and whose ways are past finding out*.”

“Being at Oxford at the act, when doctor Abbot, who was then regius professor, and doctor of the chair, first began to read upon those points which are commonly called the *Arminian points*; after he had heard him, being returned unto his lodging, he was very much offended at it, and said unto doctor Bostock, who was then present with him, *You are a young man, and may live to see great troubles in the church of England, occasioned by these disputes. Oxford hath hitherto been free from these disputes, though Cambridge hath been much disquieted with them. They are disputes which have troubled the peace of the church above nine hundred years already, and will not now be ended*. In points of such extreme difficulty he did not think fit to be too positive in defining any thing; to turn matters of opinion into matters of faith.” *Short Memorials concerning the Life of Doctor Richard Field, written by his Son*, p. 21. Compare Barwick's *Life of Bishop Morton*, p. 153.

reader to look back with me, whilst, according to my promise, I shall say a little of sir Albertus Morton, and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my reader, that at sir Henry Wotton's first going ambassador into Italy, his cousin, sir Albert Morton, went his secretary: and am next to tell you, that sir Albertus died secretary of state to our late king; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possest sir Henry Wotton at his first hearing the news that sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world; and yet, the reader may partly guess by these following expressions; the first in a letter to his Nicholas Pey, of which this that followeth is a part.

“——And my dear Nick, when I had been here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of sir Albertus Morton's departure out of this world, who was dearer to me, than mine own being in it. What a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him, and know me, will easily believe: but, our Creator's will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own creatures, who is the Lord of all nature, and of all fortune, when he taketh to himself now one, and then another, till that expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and wrap up even the heaven itself as a scroll of parchment. This is the last philosophy that we must study upon earth; let us therefore that yet remain here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other; which of all virtues, both spiritual and moral, hath the highest privilege, because death itself cannot end it. And my good Nick,” &c.

This is a part of his sorrow thus exprest to his Nick Pey; the other part is in this following elegy, of which the reader may safely conclude, it was too hearty to be dissembled.

TEARS WEPT AT THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON,
BY HENRY WOTTON.

Silence in truth would speak my sorrow best,
For deepest wounds can least their feeling tell;
Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest,
A time to bid him whom I lov'd farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines! you that before
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,
And now congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore
Strength to accent, HERE MY ALBERTUS LIES.

This is that sable stone, this is the cave
 And womb of earth, that doth his corpse embrace ;
 While others sing his praise, let me engrave
 These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of woe ;
 Here will I pay my tribute to the dead ;
 And here my faithful tears in showers shall flow
 To humanize the flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone,
 And none between my weakness judge and me ;
 Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,
 Whose doleful echoes to my complaints agree.

But is he gone ! and live I rhyming here,
 As if some muse would listen to my lay ?
 When all distun'd sit waiting for their dear,
 And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,
 Discharged from nature's and from fortune's trust,
 Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,
 And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

This concerning his sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel I must prepare the reader by telling him, that when king James sent sir Henry Wotton ambassador to the state of Venice, he sent also an ambassador to the king of France⁷, and another to the king of Spain⁸; with the ambassador of France went Joseph Hall (late bishop of Norwich) whose many and useful works speak his great merit: with the ambassador of Spain went James Wadsworth; and with sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel.

These three chaplains to these three ambassadors, were all bred in one university, all of one^f college, all beneficed in one diocese, and all most dear and entire friends: but in Spain Mr. Wadsworth met with temptations⁹, or reasons, such as were so power-

⁷ *To the king of France.*] Sir Thomas Parry.

⁸ *To the king of Spain.*] Sir Charles Cornwallis.

^f Emmanuel College, in Cambridge.

⁹ *Met with temptations.*] We have the following account written by his son. "At his first arrival" (in Spain) "the Jesuits held with him a subtle dispute about the antiquity and the universality of the Church of Rome, which they make their preface to all seducements; his grand opposers being Joseph

ful, as to persuade him (who of the three, was formerly observed to be the most averse to that religion that calls itself Catholic) to disclaim himself a member of the church of England, and declare himself for the church of Rome; discharging himself of his attendance on the ambassador, and betaking himself to a monastical life; in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When Dr. Hall (the late bishop of Norwich) came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth (it is the first epistle in his printed decads) to persuade his return, or to shew the reason of his apostacy. The letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love; and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth, that he chose rather to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there past betwixt Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth divers letters, which be extant in print¹, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness: which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a book-war.

Cresswell and Henry Walpole, two the most expert politicians of our nation, that then maintained the state of the triple crown; whose understanding nevertheless would not prove captive either to the subtlest arguments, or most alluring promises. The ambassador seeing how wisely he quitted himself, sent letters to his majesty informing him how learnedly he was accompanied,—Meanwhile the Jesuits perceiving how little they prevailed, used other illusions stronger than their arguments, even strange apparitions of miracles: amongst others, the miracle which they pretend to be true to have happened to the eldest son of the lord Wotton at his death, in the city Valladolid, where a crucifix framed him this articulate sound, *Now forsake your heresy, or else you are damned*; whereupon the young lord and my father became proselytes to their juggling religion, the report whereof not long after became a load-stone also to the old lord Wotton his father, with many others, to draw them to popish idolatry. And so my father, leaving the ambassador's house privately, and discarding his wife and children, and fortunes in England, was conducted forthwith by the means of father Cresswell to the university of Salamanca, whereat the next day after his arrival, he was carried to the bishop's, then inquisitor's, house, where he was admitted with no little joy to their church; where he prostrating himself on the ground, and the inquisitor putting, as their custom is, his right foot on his head, said with a loud voice, *Here I crush the head of heresy*; the which ceremony and others ended, after a month's abode in the said university, he passed with Cresswell to the court of Madrid." *English Spanish Pilgrim*, p. 2, 3.

¹ *Extant in print.*] They were printed by (bishop) Burnet, at the close of his *Life of Bishop Bedel*, in the year 1685.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel, for the greatest part of which the reader is referred to this following letter of sir Henry Wotton's, writ to our late king Charles the first.

"May it please your most gracious majesty,

"Having been informed that persons have, by the good wishes of the archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble petition unto your majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) governor of your college at Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being required to render unto your majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel, who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man for that charge could have been propounded unto your majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church, and zeal to advance the cause of God, wherein his travels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians.

For it may please your majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days; of which all the passages were well known to the king your father, of most blessed memory. And so with your majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office: for the general fame of his learning, his life, and Christian temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

"Your majesty's

"Most humble and faithful servant,

"H. WOTTON."

To this letter I shall add this; that he was (to the great joy of sir Henry Wotton) made governor of the said college; and that after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence

§ August, 1627.

removed to be bishop of Kilmore^h. In both which places his life was so holy as seemed to equal the primitive Christians; for as they, so he kept all the ember-weeks, observed (beside his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the feasts and fast-days of his mother, the church of England; to which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such as shewed his affections were set upon *things that are above*; for indeed his whole life brought forth the *fruits of the spirit*, there being in him such a remarkable meekness, that as St. Paul advised his Timothy in the election of a bishop (1 Tim. iii. 7.) *That he have a good report of those that be without*; so had he; for those that were without, even those that in point of religion were of the Romish persuasion, (of which there were very many in his diocese) did yet (such is the power of visible piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence; and testified it by concealing and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction of persons; and yet there and then he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary persuasion; and there and then he died, not by violence or misuse, but by grief, in a quiet prison (1629). And with him was lost many of his learned writings, which were thought worthy of preservation; and amongst the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the Irish tongue, with an intent to have printed it for public use.

More might be said² of Mr. Bedel, who (I told the reader) was sir Henry Wotton's first chaplain; and much of his second chaplain, Isaac Bargrave³, doctor in divinity, and the late learned and hospitable dean of Canterbury; as also of the merit of many others, that had the happiness to attend sir Henry in his foreign employments: but the reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eton college, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his collegiate life, to write the Life of Martin Luther; and

^h Sept. 3, 1629.

² *More might be said.*] See *Life of William Bedel, D.D. bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland*, A.D. 1685, written by bishop Burnet.

³ *Isaac Bargrave.*] Of whom there is a life in *Todd's Account of the Deans of Canterbury*.

in it, the History of the Reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: for the doing of which he had many advantages by his several embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several princes of the empire, by whose means he had access to the records of all the Hans Towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as was well known to his worthy friend doctor Duppa, the late reverend bishop of Salisbury; but in the midst of this design, his late majesty king Charles the first, that knew the value of sir Henry Wotton's pen, did by a persuasive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of 500*l.* a year) force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the History of England, in which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of Henry the sixth, the founder of that college in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness of his present being; but sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment of his time in the college, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which that great blessing of a cheerful heart was still maintained, he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his foreign employments, for which his just arrears due from the king would have made satisfaction; but being still delayed with court promises, and finding some decays of health, he did about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire that none should be a loser by him, make his last will; concerning which a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit or conscionable policy? But there is no doubt but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the reader, as it was found writ with his own hand.

“In the name of God almighty and all-merciful, I Henry

Wotton, provost of his majesty's college by Eton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do, by this last will and testament thus dispose of myself and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My soul I bequeath to the immortal God my maker, father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed redeemer and mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect, in the number of whom I am one by his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his holy Spirit, the true eternal comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at or near Eton, to be buried in the chapel of the said college, as the fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived (my God knows) in all loving affection; or if I shall die near Bocton Malherb, in the county of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that parish church, as near as may be to the sepulchre of my good father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ."

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly: and considering that time moulders even marble to dust, (for monuments¹ themselves must die) therefore did he (waving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirac adviseth all men) by a useful apophthegm, than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits (of both which he might justly have boasted) but he was content to forget them, and did choose only this prudent, pious sentence, to discover his disposition and preserve his memory.

It was directed by him to be thus inscribed:

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus author,
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS⁴, ECCLESiarum SCABIES.
Nomen alias quære.

Which may be Englished thus:

Here lies the first author of this sentence,
THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB OF THE CHURCH.
Inquire his name elsewhere.

¹ "Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris."—*Juv.* x. 145.

⁴ *Disputandi pruritus.*] In a Panegyric addressed to king Charles I. on his

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence; but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time; to him I answer, that Solomon says, *Nothing can be spoken, that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the sun.* But grant, that in his various reading, he had met with this, or a like sentence; yet reason mixt with charity should persuade all readers to believe, that sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the communion of saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view, and censure of every critic. And questionless, it will be charity in all readers, to think his mind was then so fixed on heaven, that a holy zeal did transport him: and that in this sacred ecstasy, his thoughts were then only of the church triumphant (into which he daily expected his admission). And that almighty God was then pleased to make him a prophet, to tell the church militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble piety: and where men have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think: and where, as our reverend Hooker says, "Former simplicity, and softness of spirit, is not now to be found, because, zeal hath drowned charity, and skill meekness:" it will be good to think that these sad changes have proved this epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

return from Scotland, A.D. 1633, written in Latin, and translated by a friend, sir Henry thus expresses himself:

"There were hatched abroad some years ago, or perhaps raked up out of antiquity, certain controversies about high points of the Creed, which having likewise flown over to us, (as flames of wit are easily diffused) least hereabout also both pulpits and pews might run to heat and public disturbance, your majesty, with most laudable temper, by proclamation suppressed on both sides all manner of debates. Others may think what pleaseth them; in my opinion (if I may have pardon for the phrase) *The itch of disputing will prove the scab of churches.* I shall relate what I have chanced more than once to observe: two, namely, arguing about some subject so eagerly till either of them, transported by heat of contention, from one thing to another, they both at length had lost first their charity, and then also the truth." *Remains,* p. 147.

This by way of observation concerning his epitaph: the rest of his will follows in his own words.

“Further, I the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joint executors of this my last will and testament, my two grand-nephews, Albert Morton second son to sir Robert Morton knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece⁵. And I do pray the aforesaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison one of the fellows of Eton college, best acquainted with my books and pictures, and other utensils, to be supervisors of this my last will and testament. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his majesty’s exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my fore-named executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and discharge of my legacies now specified; or, that shall be hereafter added unto this my testament, by any codicil or schedule, or left in the hands, or in any memorial with the aforesaid Mr. John Harrison.—And first, to my most dear sovereign and master of incomparable goodness (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain and honest man) I leave four pictures at large of those dukes of Venice⁶, in whose time I was there employed, with their names on the back-side, which hang in my great ordinary dining-room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto. Likewise a table⁷ of the Venetian college, where ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantle of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous duke Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. Item, the picture of a duke of Venice⁸ hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some principal hand long before my time. Most humbly beseeching

⁵ *Niece.*] Elizabeth Dering, daughter of John Dering of Surrenden, by Elizabeth Wotton, sir Henry’s only sister.

⁶ *Dukes of Venice.*] The four doges of whom Wotton speaks were Marino Grimani, 1595-1605; Lionardo Donato, 1605-1612; Antonio Memmo, 1612-1615; Giovanni Bembo, 1615-1618. The portraits are now in the king’s dressing-room at Hampton Court palace.

⁷ *A table.*] This picture, on panel, is now in the second presence chamber at Hampton Court palace.

⁸ *Duke of Venice.*] The fate of this picture is uncertain.

his majesty that the said pieces may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.

“Item, I leave his said majesty all the papers and negociations of sir Nicholas Throgmorton knight, during his famous employment under queen Elizabeth, in Scotland and in France, which contain divers secrets of state, that perchance his majesty will think fit to be preserved in his paper-office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebanck, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by sir Arthur Throgmorton⁹ his son, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith, than by assigning them to the highest place of trust. Item, I leave to our most gracious and virtuous queen Mary¹, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolo², in the best language of Tuscany, whence her majesty is lineally descended³, for a poor token of my thankful devotion, for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful prince, the picture of the elected and crowned queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues through the clouds of her fortune. To my lord’s grace of Canterbury⁴ now being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the king’s galleries, of my presentation to his majesty; beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy lord bishop of London⁵, lord high treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity, and contempt of earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the world: most humbly beseeching the said lord archbishop his grace, and the lord bishop of London, of both

⁹ *Sir Arthur Throgmorton.*] Whose eldest daughter and coheir, Mary, was married to sir Henry Wotton’s nephew, Thomas, second and last lord Wotton.

¹ *Queen Mary.*] Henrietta Maria.

² *Matthiolo.*] Pietro Matthiolo of Sienna, physician to the emperor and to the archduke Ferdinand, who wrote *Discorsi nelli sei libri di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo della Materia Medicinale*. Editions with very beautiful wood engravings were printed at Venice in folio, in 1568, 1585, 1604. It was no doubt a copy of one of these that Wotton bequeathed, but it is not in the Royal library in the British Museum.

³ *Descended.*] She being daughter of Marie de’ Medici.

⁴ *My lord’s grace of Canterbury.*] William Laud.

⁵ *Bishop of London.*] William Juxon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

whose favours I have tasted in my lifetime, to intercede with our most gracious sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of compassionate memory of my long services (wherein I more studied the public honour than mine own utility) some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors, as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last will and testament shall present unto their lordships, without their farther trouble: hoping likewise in his majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the demand of my said arrears. To — for a poor addition to his cabinet, I leave as emblems of his attractive virtues, and nobleness, my great loadstone; and a piece of amber of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, a piece of chrystal sexangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhaetian Alps, in the very place where it grew: recommending most humbly unto his lordship, the reputation of my poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the forenamed spiritual lords; and am heartily sorry, that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured person. Item, I leave to sir Francis Windebanck, one of his majesties principal secretaries of state (whom I found my great friend in point of necessity) the Four Seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the eye in his parlour (being in little form) which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.

“To the above-named Dr. Bargrave⁶ dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this will. I leave to him likewise my viol de gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy, in which country I first contracted with him an unremoveable affection. To my other supervisor, Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my chest, or cabinet of instruments and engines of all kinds of uses: in^k the lower box whereof are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him like-

⁶ *Dr. Bargrave.*] A picture of sir Henry Wotton, and some other portraits, believed to have been in his collection, are now in the possession of Thomas Bridger, Esq., of Eastry Court, whose lady is a lineal descendant of Dr. Bargrave.

^k In it were Italian locks, picklocks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

wise forty pound for his pains in the solicitation of my arrears, and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign employments. To the library at Eton college I leave all my manuscripts not before disposed ; and to each of the fellows a plain ring of gold, enamelled black, all save the verge, with this motto within, *Amor unit omnia*.

“This is my last will and testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed. Written on the first of October, in the present year of our redemption 1637. And subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these witnesses.

“HENRY WOTTON.”

“Nich. Oudert.
Geo. Lash.”

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare, that every one that was named in his will, did gladly receive their legacies ; by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his will ; and by their joint endeavours to the king (than whom none was more willing) conscionable satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the reader is, that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton-hall, where he would say, he found a cure for all cares, by the chearful company, which he called the living furniture of that place : and, a restoration of his strength, by the connaturalness of that which he called his genial air.

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester-college ; to which school he was first removed from Bocton. And as he returned from Winchester, towards Eton-college, he said to a friend, his companion in that journey ; “How useful was that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his friend to perform his customary devotions in a constant place⁷ ; because in that place, we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there ; and I find it thus far experimentally true ; that my now being in that school, and seeing that very place

⁷ *A constant place.*] See South’s *Sermons*, vol. i. “God’s peculiar regard for places set apart for Divine worship ;” or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iii. p. 432. Also Law’s *Serious Call*, &c. chap. 14.

where I sate when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me; sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slow paced) had changed my youth into manhood: but age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes: for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretell, *sufficient for the day is the evil thereof*. Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations, and questionless possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death."

After his return from Winchester to Eton (which was about five months before his death) he became much more retired, and contemplative; in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales, (learned Mr. John Hales) then a fellow of that college; to whom upon an occasion he spake to this purpose—"I have in my passage to my grave met with most of those joys of which a discursive soul is capable; and been entertained with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of: nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm sea of content; but, have oft met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind and temptations to evil. And, yet though I have been and am a man compassed about with human frailties, almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and I most humbly praise him for it: and I humbly acknowledge that it was not myself but he that hath kept me to this great age; and let him take the glory of his great mercy.—And my dear friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of death: that harbour, that will secure me from all the future storms and waves of this world; and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better; that world, *wherein dwelleth righteousness*, and I long for it."—These and the like expressions were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma, or short spitting; but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated; yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him: and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by his forbearing tobacco, which as many thoughtful men do, he had also taken

somewhat immoderately.—This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which though he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak, that they and those other common infirmities that accompany age, and were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him, came now, both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his chearfulness: of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen both in the days of his youth, and in the busy part of his life, useless by a fire made there to that purpose.—These and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to foretell that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed to those many friends that observed him, to be well prepared, and to be both patient, and free from all fear; as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify: and thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever, his better part, that part of sir Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality, with as much content and chearfulness as human frailty is capable of; being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the circle of sir Henry Wotton's life (that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof, did first touch at Winchester-school, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom,) that circle of his life, was by death thus closed up and compleated, in the seventy and second year of his age, at Eton college; where according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain grave-stone over him; dying worthy of his name and family, worthy of the love and favour of so many princes, and persons of eminent wisdom and learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the service of his prince and country.

All readers are requested to believe, that he was worthy of a more worthy pen, to have preserved his memory, and commended his merits to the imitation of posterity.

Iz. WA.

NICHOLAS FERRAR.

. His state
Is kingly. Thousands at His bidding speed
And post o'er land and ocean without rest ;—
They also serve who only stand and wait.

MILTON.

ADVERTISEMENT

THE following Life is published, but not without some omissions, from *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, by P. Peckard, D.D. Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge. Cambridge, printed by J. Archdeacon, 1790.* The present edition, it is presumed, is greatly increased in value, by a large accession of very interesting papers, transcribed from the Lambeth library, by permission of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury. The notices *which are included in brackets* are borrowed from Dr. Peckard.

P R E F A C E.

THE editor of the following Memoirs has been long and frequently solicited to publish the life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, of which it was known that he once had a manuscript account in his possession. It now seems necessary to give a short history of this MS. and the reason why he has hitherto delayed his compliance with the solicitations that have been made to him.

He married the eldest daughter of Mr. Edward Ferrar, late of Huntingdon, who by his will left to him his books and papers. Among the latter was a manuscript life of Nicholas Ferrar, entitled, "The complete Church of England Man, &c." written out fair and prepared for the press, from authentic memoirs in the family, by the Rev. Mr. Francis Peck: a gentleman well known to the literary world by his publications relative to various articles of antiquity.

Soon after the death of Mr. Ed. Ferrar, which happened in 1769, the Rev. Mr. Jones, of Sheephall, in the county of Hertford, then on a visit to the editor at Huntingdon, requested the perusal of this manuscript, which was granted: and the editor soon after went for some time with his family to Bath. On his return to Huntingdon, he was informed of the sudden death of Mr. Jones, occasioned by a fall from his horse.

Having made all possible enquiry after this MS. in the neighbourhood of Sheephall without effect, the editor called upon a brother of Mr. Jones, who then lived near St. Clement's church in the Strand, who undertook to recover and restore it. But he also was prevented doing any thing by his sudden death, which happened in a few days after this application.

Since that time the editor has made all the enquiry both public and private that was in his power, but all to no purpose.

Having now, after near twenty years' fruitless enquiry, given up all hopes of recovering his property, the editor nevertheless determines, as far as it is in his power, to gratify the solicitations of his friends with respect to the life of Mr. Nich. Ferrar. And having found the original¹ MS. from which Mr. Peck composed his work, entitled, "The complete Church of England Man exemplified in the holy life of Mr. N. Ferrar;" as also some loose and unconnected papers of Mr. Peck's rough draught, he here humbly offers to the public the result of his investigation. And although he has thought it necessary sometimes to change an obsolete phrase for one more modern, or to leave out some passages that might now appear of no weight, or to add now and then a few sentences for the sake of connection, yet in every thing of moment the present production is faithful to the original.

¹ *The original.*] This MS., as will be seen below, in the body of this life, was compiled by Mr. John Ferrar, the elder brother of Nicholas, about the year 1654.

NICHOLAS FERRAR.

MR. NICHOLAS FERRAR, though not of exalted rank himself, was of a family highly respectable for that real merit which surpasses antiquity of descent or nobility of title, a family illustrious for virtue.

Gualkeline, or Walkeline de Ferrariis, a Norman of distinction, came into England with William the Conqueror. To Henry de Ferrariis, the second of this family, William gave Tutbury and other castles; and more than a hundred and eighty lordships. In process of time the family became very numerous; founded several religious houses; had the honour of peerage; and different branches of it were settled in many different counties.

One line was long since established in Yorkshire, from which was descended Nicholas, the father of that Nicholas to whose memory these imperfect memoirs are dedicated. He was very nearly related to that pious and resolute martyr Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, who sealed the truth of the Protestant religion with his blood, and with these remarkable words after his condemnation to the stake, "If you see me stir in the fire, believe not the doctrine I have taught¹."

Nicholas Ferrar the father was brought up in the profession of a merchant adventurer, and traded very extensively to the East and West Indies, and to all the celebrated seats of commerce. He lived in high repute in the city, where he joined in commer-

¹ *I have taught.*] [Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to bishop Ferrar a little before his execution, lamented the painfulness of the death he had to suffer. To whom the bishop answered, that if he saw him stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said so he right well performed the same. For so patiently he stood that he never moved: but even as he stood holding up his stumps, so still he continued till one Richard Gravel with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so stroke him down. March 30, 1555. Fox, *Acts and Monuments.*]

cial matters with sir Thomas and sir Hugh Middleton, and Mr. Bateman. He was a man of liberal hospitality, but governed his house with great order. He kept a good table, at which he frequently received persons of the greatest eminence, sir John Hawkins, sir Francis Drake, sir Walter Raleigh, and others, with whom he was an adventurer: and in all their expeditions he was ever in the highest degree attentive to the planting the Christian religion in the new world. At home also he was a zealous friend to the established church, and always ready to supply his prince with what was required of him. He lent 300*l.* at once upon a privy seal: a sum at that time not inconsiderable. He had the honour of being written Esq. by Q. Elizabeth: and the exemplification of his arms is still in the family.

He married Mary Wodenoth, daughter of Laurence Wodenoth, esq. of the ancient family² of that name, of Savington hall in Cheshire, where her ancestors in lineal descent had enjoyed that lordship near five hundred years, and were allied to the principal families of that country.

Mary Wodenoth was surpassed by none in comeliness of body or excellence of beauty. She was of modest and sober deportment, and of great prudence. Of few words, yet when she spoke, bishop Lindsel³ was used to say of her, he knew no woman superior to her in eloquence, true judgment or wisdom, and that few were equal to her in charity towards man, or piety towards God.

This worthy couple lived together many years in harmony and happiness, perfecting their holiness in the fear of God, and in the conscientious practice of every duty. They saw descended from them a numerous, and a virtuous family⁴, of whose education they

² *Ancient family.*] An account of the Wodenoths, with their arms and pedigree, will be found in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, iii. 261, 262.

³ *Bishop Lindsel.*] Augustine Lindsell, dean of Lichfield, elected bishop of Peterborough, 22nd December, 1632; translated to Hereford 7th March, 1634; died 6th November, 1634.

⁴ *A virtuous family.*] Nicholas Ferrar, the father, died 1st April, 1620, leaving issue, "John Farrar, eldest sonne, of the age of 30 yeares; Nicholas, second sonne, fellow of Clare Hall, in Cambridge, of the age of 27 yeares; Richard, third sonne, merchant of London, of the age of 24 yeares; Susan, only daughter lyvyng, married to John Collett¹, of Bourne, in the county of

¹ This John Collett (*alias* Collet) had issue by the said Susan five sons and seven daughters; the eldest of which daughters (by name Mary) was unmarried in 1684. The rest of them and the two eldest sons married.

took uncommon care. They did not spoil their children by absolutely sparing the rod, but what occasional severity they judged to be necessary was so softened by tenderness and affection, as to produce not only the fear of doing amiss, but the love of doing well.

The little instances of corrective discipline exercised by these affectionate parents in the beginning of the seventeenth century, would perhaps excite the derision of the fastidious reader at the end of the eighteenth; they are therefore omitted. Nevertheless they were well calculated to impress the tender mind with a reverential awe for the Supreme Being; with obedience to parents, and instructors; with universal and disinterested benevolence; with modesty, with humility, and a proper sense of subordination; with an abhorrence of all vice, but particularly of every species of falsehood.

The children born to these virtuous parents were all constantly trained in virtue and religion. Their daily practice was to read, and to speak by memory some portion of the Scriptures, and parts of the Book of Martyrs: they were also made acquainted with such passages of history as were suited to their tender years. They were all instructed in music; in performing on the organ, viol, and lute, and in the theory and practice of singing; in the learned and modern languages; in curious needle-works, and all the accomplishments of that time. The young men, when arrived at years of discretion, had permission each to choose his profession, and then no expense was spared to bring him to a distinguished excellence in it. For this was an invariable maxim with the parents, that having laid a firm foundation in religion and virtue, they would rather give them a good education without wealth, than wealth without a good education.

The parish church and chancel of St. Bennett Sherehog in London, Mr. Ferrar repaired and decently seated at his own expence; and as there was not any morning preacher there, he

Cambridge, gent. He had also issue by Mary, his said wife, Erasmus and William, both barristers of the common law, that dyed both without issue. John Farrar, eldest sonne of the said Mr. Nicholas Farrar, married two wives: his first wife was Anne, daughter of William Shepard, of Great Rol-wright, in the county of Oxon, Esq., by whom he had no issue. His second wife was Bersabe, daughter of Israel Owen, of London, gent., by whom he had issue Mary, who dyed yonge, and Nicholas of the age of two yeares."—From the *Funeral Certificate* in Hearne's *Caii Vindiciæ*, ii. 683.

brought from the country Mr. Francis White, and made him their first lecturer. Mr. White was afterwards advanced to the see of Ely⁵.

When a stranger preached, Mr. Ferrar always invited him to dinner, and if it was discovered that he was in any necessity, he never departed without a handsome present. In truth they never were without a clergyman as a companion in their house, or even on their journeys, as they always accustomed themselves to morning and evening prayer.

Nicholas Ferrar, the third son of this worthy couple, was born the 22d and christened the 23d of Feb. 1592, in the parish of St. Mary Stayning in Mark-lane, London. His godfathers do not appear. His godmother was a Mrs. Riggs, wife to captain Riggs, who recommended herself highly to the esteem of q. Elizabeth, by an heroic act which she performed upon the sea-shore at Dover in 1588, as her story relates at large.

He was a beautiful child of a fair complexion, and light-coloured hair. At four years of age he was sent to school, being of a tractable disposition and lively parts. At five he could read perfectly, or repeat with propriety and grace a chapter in the Bible, which the parents made the daily exercise of their children. By the brightness of his parts, and the uncommon strength of his memory he attained with great ease and quickness whatsoever he set himself to learn; yet was he also remarkably studious; being a rare instance of the union of the brightest parts with the most intense industry. From the early possession of his mind with ideas of piety and virtue, and a love for historical information, the Bible in his very early years became to him the book above all others most dear and estimable; and next to this in his esteem was Fox's book of Martyrs, from which he could repeat perfectly the history of his near kinsman bishop Ferrar. And when in his riper years he undertook the instruction of the family, he constantly exercised them also in the reading and in the study of these two books. He was particularly fond of all historical relations, and when engaged in this sort of reading, the day did not satisfy him, but he would borrow from the night; insomuch that his mother would frequently seek him out, and force him to partake of some proper recreation. Hence, even in his childhood,

⁵ *See of Ely.*] Francis White, dean of Carlisle, was successively bishop of Carlisle, in 1626; of Norwich, in 1629; of Ely, in 1631. He died in 1638.

his mind was so furnished with historical anecdotes, that he could at any time draw off his schoolfellows from their play, who would eagerly surround him, and with the utmost attention listen to his little tales, always calculated to inspire them with a love of piety and goodness, and excite in them a virtuous imitation.

When he was very young he was entered into Latin at London, at the desire of his master, though others thought it too soon : but he was so eager and diligent in his application that he soon surpassed all his companions.

He was of a grave disposition, and very early shewed a great dislike of every thing that savoured of worldly vanity. In his apparel he wished to be neat, but refused all that was not simple and plain. When bands were making for the children, he earnestly entreated his mother that his might not have any lace upon them, like those of his brothers, but be made little and plain, like those of Mr. Wotton ⁶, “for I wish to be a preacher as he is.” Mr. Wotton was a learned divine and reader of divinity in Gresham college. He was frequently at Mr. Ferrar’s, and always examined, and exercised young Nicholas, being wonderfully delighted with his ingenuity.

He was good natured and tender hearted to the highest degree ; so fearful of offending any one, that upon the least apprehension of having given displeasure, he would suddenly weep in the most submissive manner, and appear extremely sorry. His temper was lovely, his countenance pleasing : his constitution was not robust, but he was active, lively, and chearful. Whatsoever he went about he did it with great spirit, and with a diligence and discretion above his years.

And now the parents were informed by their friends, and by Mr. Francis his school-master, that it was time to send him to some greater school, where he might have a better opportunity to improve himself in the Latin tongue. It was thereupon resolved to send him and his brother William to Euborn, near Newbury in Berkshire, to the house of Mr. Brooks, an old friend, who had many other pupils, who was a religious and good man, but a strict disciplinarian.

While preparations were making for this journey, an event

⁶ *Mr. Wotton.*] Anthony Wotton, chosen professor of divinity in Gresham College, in March, 1596, at its foundation, and lecturer of Allhallows, Barking : he died in 1626. An account of him and of his works will be found in Ward’s *Lives of the Gresham Professors*.

took place which made the deepest and most lively impression upon the mind of young Nicholas, and strongly marks his character, and the bent of his disposition. He was but six years of age, and being one night unable to sleep, a fit of scepticism seized his mind, and gave him the greatest perplexity and uneasiness. He doubted "Whether there was a God?" and if there was, "What was the most acceptable mode of serving him?" In extreme grief he rose at midnight, cold, and frosty, and went down to a grass plat in the garden, where he stood long time sad and pensive, musing, and thinking seriously upon the great doubt which thus extremely perplexed him. At length, throwing himself on his face upon the ground, and spreading out his hands, he cried aloud, "Yes, there is, there must be a God: and he, no question, if I duly and earnestly seek it of him, will teach me not only how to know, but how to serve him acceptably. He will be with me all my life here, and at the end will hereafter make me happy."

These are exalted and wonderful sentiments⁷ for a child of six

⁷ *Wonderful sentiments.*] It will be proper to subjoin here, from Hearne's *Cui Vindiciæ*, vol. ii. p. 684, 5, the "Account of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar's first years, from a paper MS. of Dr. (John) Worthington's." Its value is enhanced by Dr. W. having been well acquainted with the party.

"Mr. Nicholas Ferrar was born about the year 1596, in London, of religious parents; who taught him in his infancy the first foundations of Christian religion. He was taught at the age of four or five years to say his prayers often every day; to repeat the Church Catechism; and to read the Psalter and the New Testament.

"When he was six years old, and by his mother had been taught to read perfectly throughout the whole Bible, it is worthy of memory and admiration to hear what he did. Upon a Friday night in summer, having supped, as the manner was, with bread and beer, and said his prayers and catechism, his mother sent him up to bed. But this good child, having a mind set upon God, went not to bed, but into an upper chamber or garret; where, upon his knees, or sometimes flat upon the ground, he prayed, wept, communed with his own heart, and with his gracious God all the night. Two things especially in that night's holy exercise were so imprinted in the heart and mind of the child that they came fresh into his memory every day of his life. (This he told me more than once, two or three years before his death.) The *one* was, the joy and sweetness which he did, in that watching night, conceive and feel in his heart. The *other* was the gracious promise which God made to him, to bless and keep him all his whole life, so that he would constantly fear God and keep his commandments.

"This invocation and fervent prayer of this child, stirred up in him by the Spirit and grace of God, was so followed by the same Spirit in an evident

years old: and this anecdote may influence the reader to give credit to those sublime ecstasies of devotion which he experienced and expressed at the close of his life.

His doubts now vanished, his mind became easy, and he returned to his apartment: but the remembrance of what he felt upon this occasion made him ever after strongly commiserate all who laboured under any religious doubt, or despair of mind. And in the future course of his life he had repeated opportunities to exert his benevolence to those who experienced a similar unhappiness.

In the year 1598, he was sent to Euborn school, near Newbury, in Berkshire, where he made such a rapid progress in Latin, Greek, and logic, that he soon became the first scholar of his years. He strengthened his memory by daily exercise: he was a great proficient in writing and arithmetic, and attained such excellence in short hand, as to be able to take accurately a sermon or speech on any occasion. He was also well skilled both in the theory and practice of vocal and instrumental music.

Thus accomplished, in his fourteenth year, his master, Mr. Brooks, prevailed with his parents to send him to Cambridge, whither he himself attended him, and admitted him of Clare-hall, presenting him, with due commendation of his uncommon abilities, to Mr. Augustine Lindsell, the tutor, and Dr. Wm. Smith^s, then master of the college.

His parents thought proper, notwithstanding the remonstrance of some friends against it, to admit him a pensioner for the first year; as they conceived it more for his good, to rise by merit gradually to honour. In this situation, by excellent demeanour, and diligent application to his studies, he so deported himself in all things, and to all persons, that he instantly gained the affections and applause of all who knew him, performing all his exercises with distinguished approbation.

Mr. Lindsell spared not to make full proof of his abilities,

effectual vocation of him, that it resembleth the calling of Samuel, when he was yet a child; and Timothy's knowing God from his youth by his mother Eunice, and his grandmother Lois's godly admonitions and instructions.

“At the age of thirteen, he went to Cambridge, to Clare Hall.”

^s *Dr. Wm. Smith.*] Or Smyth, fellow of King's College, elected master of Clare Hall in 1598, chaplain to king James and rector of Willingham in 1607. He died provost of King's in 1615.

wishing, as he was used to express himself, to see his inside, as well as his outside. He therefore made many trials of his abilities, which the rest of the fellows thought unreasonable; saying "it was a shame to spur a fleet horse, which already outwent the rider's own desire, and won every race he put him to." When they urged that he required impossibilities, he would reply, "content yourselves a little, you shall see what the boy can do, and that too without much trouble." These proofs of wonderful abilities were continually repeated, and he thus went on from day to day improving in all good learning. His attention and diligence was such, that it was observed his chamber might be known by the candle that was last put out at night, and the first lighted in the morning. Nor was he less diligent in his attendance at chapel, than at his studies, so that his piety and learning went on hand in hand together.

In his second year he became fellow-commoner, and being now every day more and more the companion of the fellows, he every day became more and more esteemed by them. In 1610, he took his degree of bachelor of arts. At this time he was appointed to make the speech on the king's coronation day (July 25) in the college hall; and the same year he was elected fellow of that society.

If we take a view of him at this period when he became fellow, we shall find that his natural parts were wonderfully improved, his memory so enlarged and strengthened, that he had read nothing of worth, but he had made it his own, and could always instantly apply it to the present occasion. He spoke also and wrote, and argued with such ingenious dexterity that very few indeed were equal to him. Nevertheless he was still so eager in the pursuit of farther acquisitions, that industry and genius seemed to be incorporated in him. Nor was he more attentive to his own instruction, than to the happiness of all with whom he was concerned. For he was a constant and indefatigable promoter of peace; and when any difference had arisen, he had the art so to win upon each side, that he would draw the contending parties from their unfriendly resolutions, and reanimate and establish harmony between them. Mr. Lindsell was used to say of him, "May God keep him in a right mind! For if he should turn schismatic, or heretic, he would make work for all the world. Such a head, such power of argument! such a tongue, and such

a pen! such a memory withal he hath, with such indefatigable pains, that, all these joined together, I know not who would be able to contend with him."

His constitution was of feminine delicacy, and he was very subject to aguish disorders; yet he bore them out in a great measure by his temperance, and by a peculiar courageousness of spirit which was natural to him. His favourite sister, married to Mr. Collet, lived at Bourn Bridge, near Cambridge. And as the air of Cambridge was found not well to agree with him, he made frequent excursions to Bourn Bridge, where he passed his time in the pursuit of his studies, and in the instruction of his sister's children.

But his tutor, Mr. Lindsell, Mr. Ruggle⁹, and others of the fellows, having now apprehension of his health, carried him to Dr. Butler, the celebrated physician¹ of Cambridge, who had been of Clare-hall, and was a particular friend of Mr. Lindsell. Dr. Butler conceived a great affection for Mr. Ferrar, and exerted all his skill; yet still the disorder increased more and more upon him; and at length this good physician said, "Why should I give thee any more prescriptions? all I can do will not conquer this distemper. Alas! all I can say is, you must henceforth deal with

⁹ *Mr. Ruggle.*] [Mr. Ruggle wrote the Latin comedy of Ignoramus, which was several times acted before king James I. at Cambridge and Royston, with great applause. At one of which times the king cried out treason, treason. And being asked what was the matter, said, he believed the author and the actors together had a design to make him laugh himself to death. Another time, when the king was seated, and expected the scholars to perform, he was surprised with the sound of a horn, and the appearance of a post-boy, who said that Ignoramus was ready to perform his part, but that none of the lawyers would lend him a gown to act in. Ah! said the king (who was deceived, and took the scholar for a real post-boy), this is a plot of Cukes! (meaning the Lord Chief Justice Coke.) But if Cuke won't let the lawyers lend him a gown, by my saul, man, he shall lend him his own. This speech of the king put the audience into an exceeding merry humour, and the play went on. But it is suggested that the play of Ignoramus, acted at Cambridge, 1614, occasioned Mr. Selden's History of Tithes, published 1616, in order to be even with the clergy. See Lloyd's *Memoirs*, fol. p. 520. F. P.]

¹ *Celebrated physician.*] William Butler, who died 29th January, 1618. He declared that prince Henry was poisoned, "from his brain being liver-coloured and putrefied." Peacham says of him, "our late Master Butler of Cambridge, that learned and excellent physician, was, like sir Thomas More and other great scholars, observed to be most careless and slovenly in his apparel."

this disorder when it comes to you, as men do with beggars, when they have a mind to disuse them from their houses, give them nothing but let them go as they came. You must, through a spare diet, and great temperance, even all your life long, seek to be quit of this unhappy companion: he must be starved away."

For some time after this Mr. Ferrar grew better, but soon relapsed again, and in the autumn of 1612, he began to grow very ill. His friends now feared he would not get over the winter. Dr. Butler said, "I can do no more for him, the last remedy, or hope I can give you is from the change of air. He must go in the spring to travel. I doubt not but I can keep him up this winter, and if travel recover him not, nothing will. Besides, it is high time his mind be taken off from these his incessant studies; these alone, if he be permitted to go on, will speedily destroy his constitution. The course I propose may prolong his life till he is thirty-five years of age; but longer, in my judgment, it will not last. In the mean time, he will live to do great good. And think not that his time spent in travel will be lost; no: depend upon it he will improve himself greatly. Mr. Lindsell, go your way; think of it: persuade his parents to it. I can say no more to you. Let him go next spring. I will take care of him this winter." And so he did most affectionately.

Mr. Ferrar was now almost seven years standing in the university, and was to take his master of arts degree at the ensuing Midsummer, 1613; and he had already performed with great credit all his previous exercises.

It being made known to the heads of the university that he was to travel, and to have the opportunity of going with that noble company which then went with the lady Elizabeth² to conduct her to the palatinate with the palsgrave her husband, it was propounded that he might have the favour of cap and hood immediately, though before the usual time, so as to be complete master of arts before his departure, which was readily granted, and immediately his graces were given him. And now many came to present their most affectionate wishes to him for health and happiness in his travels. And thus he bade Cambridge adieu!

² *Lady Elizabeth.*] Princess-royal of England, daughter of James I., and wife of Frederic, elector palatine, to whom she was married in February, 1613. He assumed the crown of Bohemia in 1619, but after the battle of Prague, in November, 1620, he not only lost his crown, but also his hereditary dominions.

All things being settled with respect to his going abroad, Mr. Ferrar left the following written farewell to his family, which his mother found in his study a few days after he was gone.

“Since there is nothing more certain than death, nor more uncertain than the time when; I have thought it the first and chiefest wisdom for a man to prepare himself for that which must one day come, and always be ready for that which may every hour happen: especially considering how dangerous any error is here, which cannot be amended: neither is any one the nearer to death for having prepared for it. It is then a thing of exceeding madness and folly to be negligent in so weighty a matter, in respect whereof all other things are trifles. I here confess my own wretchedness and folly in this, that through the common hope of youth, I have set death far from me: and persuading myself that I had a long way to go, have walked more carelessly than I ought. The good Lord God be merciful unto me.

“Indeed I have a long way to run, if death stood still at the end of threescore years: but God knows if he be not running against me, if he be not ready to grasp me, especially considering the many dangers wherein I am now to hazard myself, in every one whereof death dwells. If God be merciful to me, and bring me safe home again, I will all the days of my life serve him in his tabernacle, and in his holy sanctuary.

“I hope he who hath begun this mind in me will continue it, and make me to walk so as I may be always ready for him, when he shall come either in the public judgment of all the world, or in private judgment to me by death. This is my purpose and this shall be my labour.

“And you, my most dear parents, if God shall take me from you, I beseech you be of good comfort, and be not grieved at my death, which I undoubtedly hope shall be to me the beginning of eternal happiness. It was God that gave me to you, and if he take me from you, be not only content but joyful that I am delivered from the vale of misery. This God that hath kept me ever since I was born, will preserve me to the end, and will give me grace to live in his faith, to die in his favour, to rest in his peace, to rise in his power, and to reign in his glory.

“I know, my most dear parents, your tender affections towards your children, and fear your grief if God take me away. I therefore write and leave this, that you might know your son's

estate, and assure yourselves that though he be dead to you, yet he is alive to God.

"I now most humbly beseech you to pardon me in whatsoever I may have at any time displeased you : and I pray God to bless and keep you : to give you a happy life here, and everlasting in the world to come.

"Your most humble and obedient son,
"N. FERRAR."

"Postscript,

"My dearest brothers and sisters ; If I live, you shall find me a faithful and loving brother unto you all : if I die, I beseech you by the fear of God, by the duty to your parents, by the bond of nature, by the love you bear me, that you all agree in perfect love and amity ; and account every one the other's burthen to be his ; so may plenty and prosperity dwell among you. So prays your faithful and loving brother

"N. FERRAR."

"If I die, I desire that the value of 5*l.* of my books may be given to the college : the rest I leave to my father's and mother's disposing : yet I desire that in them my worthy tutor Lindsel and cousin Theophilus may be remembered : and if any of my sisters' sons prove a scholar, the rest may be given to him.

"This 10th day of April, being Sunday."

His parents' consent, and the college license obtained, and the favour of the university granted with respect to his degree, Mr. Ferrar prepared to set out upon his travels : a course of life undertaken upon Dr. Butler's counsel, for the restoration of his health, and to take him off from his incessant application to his studies. He also himself had a desire to see foreign countries for the further acquisition of knowledge. And as he well understood the grounds of the protestant religion, and was convinced of its truth on scriptural authority, as he had read most of the fathers, and controversial writings between the church of England and the church of Rome, and as he had a memory so retentive, that he forgot nothing which he had read, but was able at all times to bring it forth, and apply it to the present occasion, being thus armed before-hand against whatever might occur, and

relying wholly upon the mercy of God to protect him, with the most virtuous resolutions of heart he set out upon his travels.

His tutor Lindsell solemnly protested that had he not perfectly known his wonderful abilities and uncommon virtue, he should not in these so tender years of his pupil have been a promoter of his travelling in the manner he did, all alone ; but would have provided some worthy tutor to attend him. He knew that in all virtue Nicholas Ferrar was an old man, so firmly fixed in his religious principles, that there was no fear of his being seduced by any thing that he should hear or see. He knew that the stock of learning, wisdom, and religion which he carried out with him, would be increased at his return.

With these encouragements did Mr. Lindsell appease the fears and tender anxieties of his parents at parting with him : for they bade him farewell under the dread of never seeing him again. And indeed not without reason : for he was then far from being recovered of his aguish disorder : but Dr. Butler said the sea would remove it, and they would soon hear that he was freed from his infirmity.

Sometime before this³, Dr. Scot⁴, the king's sub-almoner, was made master of Clare-hall, in the place of Dr. Smith, removed to be provost of Kings. He conceived a high respect and affection for Nicholas Ferrar, and undertook that he should be introduced to the lady Elizabeth, to go in her company and retinue ; she being now ready to depart with the prince palsgrave her husband, who were to go first to Zealand, then to Holland, and from thence home to the palatinate. Dr. Scot therefore took Mr. Ferrar to court, to kiss her royal highness' hand : not now in the garb of a scholar, but habited as one of the gentlemen who belonged to her. As for him he took no delight in these gay garments, but submitted from a sense of propriety to be thus clad, and to satisfy his friends more than himself. Dr. Scot also introduced him, and procured him the knowledge and acquaintance of the whole attendance of the English courtiers who then went with the lady Elizabeth.

Being now provided with his bills of exchange, he went in the same ship with the master of the green cloth, who took an especial liking to him. They arrived happily at Flushing, where the

³ *Before this.*] In 1612.

⁴ *Dr. Scot.*] Who was afterwards made dean of Rochester, in July, 1615, and died in December, 1620.

royal fleet landed their passengers. And in this voyage Mr. Ferrar found the benefit of the sea air which, as Dr. Butler told him it would, cleared him of all the remains of his disorder. At Middleburgh the lady Elizabeth was highly entertained and feasted with all her noble attendants; and Mr. Ferrar as one of her gentlemen wanted for no marks of due notice and respect. Here he made strict observation of every thing worth seeing, and gained a sufficient acquaintance with the language to serve him for all ordinary affairs and occasions. From thence the lady Elizabeth passed on from city to city, in all which she was received with great honour, and came to the Hague: from thence to Amsterdam, where she was more magnificently entertained than at any former place. In all these towns Mr. Ferrar visited the several meeting-houses of the Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Protestant dissenters, both to observe their manners and teaching, and to see if all were answerable to his own former reading. At all which times he noted their errors, and greatly confirmed himself in his own opinions. The Jews' synagogue likewise he left not unseen, and their orders. But that which chiefly attracted his notice at Amsterdam was their guest, or almshouses, where young children of both sexes are brought up to learn handicrafts. Here he got particular information of all their proceedings, and very liberally rewarded the attendants. He particularly admired the stateliness and neatness of the Dutch in these public edifices, and the wonderful good orders and rules by which they are governed. He also visited their churches, heard their sermons, and attended all their religious rites and ceremonies. He next observed their magazines for all sorts of stores: their innumerable boats and ships, and noted the different way of building from ours in the structure of their war ships. Ours he perceived were stronger made, but theirs formed with more advantage for speedy sailing. He was also charmed with their cleanliness and the many good orders every where observed to that intent. And he observed that the whole nation kept their houses elegantly neat in all places. When he came to his lodgings he regularly entered all his observations in a book which he kept for that purpose.

The princess royal now directed her course towards the palatinate, which was different from the route intended by Mr. Ferrar, who had resolved to pass through the lower parts of Westphalia, and so to Bremen, Staad, Hamburg, Lunenburgh, Lubeck, Leipsic, and so on to the upper parts of Germany. This his deter-

mination he made known to the lady Elizabeth's chief attendants, who warmly pressed him to accompany them to Heidelberg, the palsgrave's court, and the chief city of the palatinate. They told him that her highness had taken such good notice of him herself, and had heard so much of him from the commendations of others, that if he sought preferment by his travels, he might now, even at the first, make a very fair step towards it. There was no doubt but he might be made her secretary, that she would think him well worthy of that place, and might recommend him to a better. He humbly thanked them for their good opinion, but assured them they were mistaken in his abilities. He was then introduced to her royal highness, and kissed her hand, who bade him farewell, and wished him much happiness in his travels.

Mr. Ferrar now set forward on his journey from Amsterdam to Hamburgh, and on his way thither he travelled for some time with a person for his guide, who had but one eye. After some days' travel they passed by a wood, where was a gibbet and some bodies hanging in chains. "Now," said the postman, "sir, look yonder; those villains there hanging, some years since set upon my waggon, wherein were an English youth, and a Hamburgh merchant, then newly come out of Spain. The rogues carried us into that wood on a cold frosty morning and stripped us: and they found good gold tied up in the shirts of the gentlemen who had travelled with me, which they took, then drank up our wine, and went away laughing. But sometime after, they, still using the same trade, set upon another waggon, whose passengers made some resistance, when they shot three of them dead in the waggon, and then fled. They were afterwards taken, and there hanged as you see." "Your history is true," said Mr. Ferrar; "for that English youth was my brother. He has told me this story himself. And when I first saw you, I knew you to be the postman with whom he travelled, for he described you as having but one eye."

At length he arrived at Hamburgh, where the factors of the merchant adventurers were resident, to whom his father and brother were well known. Here he found fresh bills of exchange, and letters from his father to Mr. Gore, his old acquaintance, and then deputy-governor of the company; who received Mr. Ferrar with great friendship and respect, and provided a convenient lodging for him. During his stay here he procured a scholar of that country to attend him daily at his lodgings, and instruct him

in the high Dutch^s language, in which he made such a proficiency as to be of great service in the course of his travels. Here also in the afternoon he spent some hours in examining the curiosities in this city, and in the places adjacent. And here he informed himself by reading the histories in the Dutch language, and by discourse with men of learning in the place, of the original of this and the neighbouring cities : of their several sorts of government ; their religion ; ecclesiastical establishment ; their trades ; their commerce ; the nature and disposition of the people, and their particular virtues and vices.

From Hamburg Mr. Ferrar travelled up the country through many cities, at each of which he staid a sufficient time to see, and make observations upon all things worthy of notice, which he regularly entered into his book for that use in short hand.

In this manner he passed up to the university of Leipsic in Saxony : where, having proper letters of credit, he resolved to abide for some time, both to perfect himself in the high Dutch language, and to gain also what other knowledge and learning he could in that place ; and to acquaint himself with the manner of ordering all things in that university. He lodged himself therefore in a principal house of that city, which by a friend's help he obtained permission to do ; and the people there were very civil and courteous to him. The English factors shewed him much respect, and were greatly delighted with his pleasant disposition and temper. And they were the more taken with him when they saw that he would not upon any terms drink wine or any strong drink, and had also observed his great temperance in all things, and that he was very humble and meek in his behaviour. Yet still they saw him gallant and rich in apparel. But that fashion of dress his parents thought was the best for him to make use of in his travels, that so, according to the mode of the world, he might have the easier admittance into all places, and all respectable company.

At Leipsic he made enquiry after all the ablest scholars in every art and science in that university, who could be procured for money to teach him ; and he paid them all most liberally, and far beyond their expectations. From these circumstances he was thought to be some person of great account. These his several tutors coming to him at set times, and on several days, and his

personal resorting with the utmost diligence to all the exercises performed in the public schools, made him to be very much noticed. He gained great reputation for his uncommon abilities, his diligence, and his sweet deportment ; his extraordinary quickness in attaining whatsoever he set himself to, the elegant Latin which he spake with the utmost readiness, and his abundant knowledge in several sorts of learning. The universal admiration he obtained was also much heightened by his being so very young. His acquaintance was desired by all the learned men of that university : and he being free in all courtesy to enter into discourse with them, many every day resorted to him. But finding that this took up too much of his time, he privately retired into lodgings in a village in the neighbourhood, and there enjoyed a better opportunity to follow the studies he had resolved upon ; his tutors attending him as they had done before. And here he passed some time in reading over the best authors who had written on the German nation, and in acquainting himself with the nature of the government, laws, and customs.

The connection of the English factors at Leipsic with their principals at home soon transmitted the fame of Nicholas Ferrar to England, who was deemed and represented as a person who had some great intent in his mind, but that it was feared by all that he could not live to be a man of any considerable years.

As on one hand his parents could not but rejoice on hearing these accounts, so on the other they could not help fearing that his extreme application might, though at present he was in perfect health, nevertheless decay his strength, and shorten his life. They therefore exhorted him to curb his too diligent mind, and to abate of his incessant studies, for that they would allow him what time and money he would for his expences.

Having now learned what he could at Leipsic, he departed from thence for Prague, and there he abode a considerable time, till he was able to converse fluently in the high Dutch language. From thence he wandered up and down, to every great place here and there, sometimes backwards, sometimes forward, visiting Augsburg, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulme, Spire, the emperor's court, and so from one prince's court to another, observing every where their manner of living, and spending their time ; what magazines of arms they had ; what retinues they kept ; what their incomes were ; from whence they had their origin ; what had been their revolutions ; and accurately noting down whatever

Germany had in any place worth recording. There being also in several parts of Germany very ingenious handicrafts of various sorts, in all these he acquired a considerable degree of knowledge. So that there was scarce any trade, art, skill or science concerning which he could not discourse to the astonishment even of the professors themselves in their respective professions. He was master also of the technical terms of their several mysteries, and could speak properly to them in their own dialect. He could express all those things that belong to war, soldiery, and arms, all that belong to ships, and navigation, and was perfect in all the mariners' peculiar phrases, and in all the particularities of every trade and occupation in common life. And in truth all this without any great care or trouble. For his penetration was so acute, and his memory so vast and retentive ; that every thing he read, or heard, or saw, was all his own, and he could instantly apply it to the occasion that presented itself, as all who knew him found by daily proof.

From Germany, Nicholas Ferrar bent his course for Italy. But the plague being at that time in many towns of Germany, when he came into the Venetian territories, he was obliged to remain thirty days in one place in a lazaretto, where he was shut up for public security ; but was allowed a chamber to himself. Here he had leisure to recollect all those things, which to that time had passed in his travels ; to review his notes and observations, which he had before all along put into short hand ; and to digest them into better order for his future use. Here also he had time to meditate what he was to do in Italy ; how to order himself and his future life to the best advantage to attain his several ends in travel.

Having compleated the thirty days of his confinement, and being again at liberty to prosecute his journey, it may not be amiss to relate a remarkable escape he had upon the road between Prague and Padua. As he rode one day upon some very narrow and dangerous passages of the Alps, his guide being somewhat before him, suddenly from the side of a hill came an ass laden with a great piece of timber. The passage down the hill was extremely narrow, on one side very high and precipitous above him, and on the other also precipitously steep and fearful, so that if any man fell, nothing but immediate death could be expected. The timber did not lie, as at first laid down, lengthwise, but quite across the ass's back, and reached the whole breadth of the pass

from one side to the other, and the beast came down the hill apace. The guide, who was advanced a few yards, and had passed the narrow crevice through which the ass came into the common road, seeing Mr. Ferrar's situation, cried out in terror. The man's exclamation caused Mr. Ferrar to look up, who was carefully regarding his horse's steps, and was then upon the extreme brink of the precipice. There was but a moment between him and certain destruction; when in that moment, just as the beast came upon him she tripped, and by that motion the timber was turned the right way as it was at first laid on. Mr. Ferrar then suddenly stopping his horse upon the very edge of the precipice, there stood still, till, as it pleased God, the beast went quietly on with her burthen, and passed him without any harm but a slight stroke from the timber. After this providential escape, for which he returned his most devout thanks to God, he proceeded on his road to Padua, and so on to Venice, without any other disaster.

At Venice Mr. Ferrar found letters of recommendation directed for sir Dudley Carleton, at that time⁶ the English ambassador there, which he presented to him, who most courteously embraced him, saying, "I have a long time expected your coming to Venice; for I have received several letters from many noble personages concerning you. And now, sir, assure yourself that wherein I may in any kind befriend you, I shall most gladly do it." The ambassador then caused him to dine with him, and invited him, he said, once for all to do so every day. Mr. Ferrar frequently repaired to him that he might inform himself from so eminent a person of those things that might be of service to him in his future travels.

Having now staid a convenient time at Venice, he returned to Padua, which before he had only passed through, but now resolved to settle there for some time; in order to perfect himself in all the learning and knowledge to be attained in that university. Here therefore he procured tutors in those sciences in which he intended to be farther instructed. And he won their highest admiration at his ingenious questions and answers, his ready apprehension, his earnest prosecution, and his wonderful proficiency, in so many and such various studies, which at the same time seemed to him no other than so many several recreations.

⁶ *At that time.*] From 1610 to 1615, when he was succeeded by sir Henry Wotton.

His acquaintance was courted by all the learned men in the university, but particularly by the most eminent physicians; as he bestowed uncommon diligence in the pursuit of medical knowledge. And this he did from a double motive, both because he held the physic fellowship at Clare Hall, and also on account of the infirm and precarious state of his own health: in which respect a proper proficiency in the science of medicine might be peculiarly serviceable to him. And now his friendship with the Paduan physicians, and their high esteem and great love for him, was of singular benefit to him: for he fell very dangerously ill of a disorder, which in all human probability would have proved fatal, had it not been for their watchful care, and most tender attentions.

It has been suggested by Mr. Archdeacon Oley^a, that some of these Paduan physicians, during Mr. Ferrar's illness, endeavored to seduce him to popery: as also, that upon his recovery from this illness, he made a vow of perpetual celibacy: and that he would upon his return to England, as soon as he could conveniently, settle his affairs for that purpose, and endeavour to spend the remainder of his life in a religious retirement. But of these articles I do not find sufficient evidence: yet if the latter be true, it will account for a very remarkable instance of self-denial, which will occur in the future part of his life.

While Mr. Ferrar continued thus at Padua, to establish his health, and pursue his studies, he had an opportunity of exercising his great faculty in quieting a troubled mind. For now an English gentleman came thither, who by the impious custom of duelling had killed another, and had fled from his country to avoid the punishment which the laws adjudge to murderers. He was under the deepest melancholy, but concealed the cause of his uneasiness. At length, however, he acquainted Mr. Ferrar with his misfortune, declaring his great contrition, and sincere repentance; and beseeching him to give him counsel and comfort. Mr. Ferrar by his spiritual consolations, his persuasive arguments, and wonderful power over the human mind, at length made the unhappy sufferer more easy and composed, and confirmed him in the hope of forgiveness. And this event laid the

* [Postscript to Mr. Herbert's Country Parson, F. P.] See Thomas Baker's account of Oley, given to Hearne in August, 1730, and printed in *Cæli Vindiciæ*, vol. ii. p. 690.

foundation of a sincere and most affectionate friendship between them^b.

Mr. Ferrar thus passing his time between Venice and Padua in a course of learning and virtue, and in the most laudable pursuits, he was much sought after, and visited by the English who were then also on their travels; who were delighted with his conversation, notwithstanding that his way of life and manner of thinking were very different from their own: and they would often ingenuously confess that he was certainly in the right way, and that they could not but wish they could live as he lived.

These gentlemen on their return to England spoke of him in the highest terms of applause to their respective families and connections. The Italian merchants also and the English factors resident in different parts of Italy, with whom he had transactions on money concerns, all wrote of him to their correspondents in England, with the warmest commendations, considering him as one who had some great object in view, and would sometime appear to the world possessed of very extraordinary talents. Thus his reputation became general: on the exchange, in the city, at court, and all over the country he was universally known and universally admired.

Having now finished his intended studies, having traversed all Italy, and become intimately acquainted with every place of consequence, being perfect master of the Italian language, both for writing and discourse, having an accurate knowledge of all their laws, customs, manners, doctrines, and practices, civil and ecclesiastic, and having made the best use of every thing he had heard, read, or seen, and being determined as to his future plan of conduct, he resolved at last to pay a visit to imperial Rome. He knew indeed before he went thither, as much of that celebrated city, both ancient and modern, as could be learned from history, and from conversation with many persons of great judgment and observation, who had lately been there: but he was desirous to confirm what he had learned by information from others, by his own observation. But having been well informed that since he came into Italy, there had been a particular account of him sent to Rome, of the college of which he was fellow in Cambridge, of his degrees, and his acquisitions in learning, and particularly that his person had been described in all points to the college of

^b [This unfortunate gentleman is the person who in the original MS. is frequently referred to as Mr. G——] *Garton?*

Jesuits there ; the manner also in which he had spent his time in Italy, with the general conjecture, that he surely had some farther end in travelling, than other gentlemen ordinarily have : all this duly considered made him keep his intention very private. For he foresaw that without great caution some mischief might probably befall him. Changing his habit therefore for such a dress as he thought was most proper for his disguise, and safety, he set forward, concealing the time when, and keeping the place from whence he came always unknown to all but one trusty friend only, the unfortunate Mr. G——, who, whatever should befall him in that journey, might give an account of him to his family. He travelled on foot, and contrived his business so that he came to Rome on the Monday before Easter ; and during his stay there, he every day changed his lodgings, coming in late and going out early : and as to his repast, such as it was, he took that also sometimes at one place, sometimes at another, and sometimes at none at all. He staid at Rome about ten days, and in that time he so improved his opportunities as that he satisfied himself in seeing all that he desired. But the particulars need not be here recited, as they may be found in many other books upon this subject.

From Rome he returned to Venice, not acquainting any one where he had been. At his return he was welcomed home by the English gentlemen, and all his other acquaintance ; as was the custom with them at other times, after his other excursions. In one of these, he went to see the chapel of Loretto. From thence he went to Malta, where one of the knights conceiving a particular friendship for him, at their parting desired his acceptance of one of the rich crosses worn by the brethren of that order, entreating him to keep it for his sake ; and thus exchanging mutual good wishes and benedictions, Mr. Ferrar returned again to Venice.

And now intending at length to leave Italy, he went from Venice to Marseilles, purposing after he had passed sufficient time in that city, for visiting what was remarkable there and in the parts adjacent, to take ship there and sail from thence to Spain.

But at Marseilles he fell dangerously ill, being suddenly seized with a violent fever, which daily grew worse and worse. And what added to his misfortune, he knew no one in the place, nor had he any of his former acquaintance with him. In this dis-

tress he sent for the most celebrated physician in the city, and trusted himself entirely to his care. He was very regular in his attendance, and was very careful of him. His host also and hostess where he lodged shewed great tenderness and attention to him.

The first day he was taken ill he wrote to his much loved friend whom he had left at Venice, the unfortunate Mr. G., to whom he had promised to give information of his arrival at Marseilles. In this letter he acquainted him that he was beginning to grow ill, and feared his illness would prove both long and dangerous. Nor was he mistaken, for his illness continued thirty-four days, and his physician was for a long time in absolute despair of his life. This made his attendants desirous to know who he was, which Mr. Ferrar industriously concealed. But one day, as they were looking amongst his things for something he had called for, carefully wrapped up in a little box, was discovered the rich cross which was presented to him by his friend the knight of Malta, at his departure from that island. At sight of this, the host and hostess, and the physician presently concluded that he was a knight of that order, who was travelling unknown, and they earnestly entreated him no longer to conceal himself. Mr. Ferrar in vain endeavoured to convince them of the mistake, assuring them that he was only a private gentleman, travelling for amusement and instruction; for the more he affirmed this, the more they were confirmed in their own opinion. His disorder still continuing excessive, the physician had given him up for lost. But at the very moment when all hope was gone, a favourable crisis took place; and though he was extremely weak and reduced to the lowest degree, yet he soon appeared to be in a fair way of recovery.

And now word was brought to him that there was a gentleman below, just arrived from Venice, who demanded to see him. They who know what true friendship is, need not to be informed that this person could be no other than his dear and unfortunate friend Mr. G. When he came into Mr. Ferrar's room, and beheld his friend lying on the bed of sickness, so pale, weak, and reduced, he burst into tears. His friend was equally affected, seeing him so unexpectedly. They mutually embraced, and a long, and affectionately expressive silence ensued: for their hearts were so full, that neither could for some time speak to the other. At length Mr. Ferrar told him how welcome he was to him, who but

yesterday expected never to see him more. Mr. G. replied, that on the receipt of his letter he became so deeply afflicted, that he could not rest day or night, till he should see him; that if he should find him still sick, he might abide with him and take care of him: that if he should die, he might perform the due honours of burial; and that if he should recover, he might rejoice with him on that happy occasion, and in every respect shew him that unfeigned friendship which was justly due to his uncommon virtue.

As a sincere and affectionate friend is perhaps the most effectual medicine that can be administered to the sick, so by the endearing attentions of the benevolent Mr. G. Mr. Ferrar every day advanced apace in his recovery. And when he was thought to be out of danger, Mr. G. said he must at last bid him farewell, and return to Venice. "Yes," said Mr. Ferrar, "you shall now return to Venice, but I will return with you. For as you have been so very kind as to come so far to take care of me when I was ill, and have likewise staid so long with me, it is but justice, and the least return I can make, to see you safe back;" nor would he take any refusal; and so they returned together to Venice. From this place Mr. Ferrar immediately gave his parents an account of his cruel sickness, and recovery at Marseilles, in a very affectionate letter bearing date April 1616.

Having staid at Venice till he was perfectly recovered, and his strength thoroughly recruited, he took his last leave of all his friends and acquaintance there; but particularly of his dear friend Mr. G., who at their parting presented him with an excellent and costly rapier, saying that perhaps it might be of great use to him in his future travels, and wished him to keep it as a testimony of his friendship. And now these dear friends with the warmest affection bade each other adieu! for in the gulph of Venice a small English vessel was ready to sail for Spain, and Mr. Ferrar resolved to take his passage in her, that so he might travel through Spain, and see that kingdom, after which he proposed in like manner to see France, and so return home.

The ship in which Mr. Ferrar left Venice, carried only ten pieces of ordnance, but was overloaded, though there were no passengers but himself. They had not been long at sea, before a large ship, a Turkish pirate, gave them chace, and gained speedily upon them. And there being some difference of opinion

between the officers and mariners, whether they ought to yield, or fight it out; they referred their doubts to Mr. Ferrar, who had stood silent among them attending to their debate. They said, "This young gentleman has a life to lose, as well as we; let us hear what he thinks of the matter." For from his first coming on board, upon discourse with him, they had taken a great liking to him, perceiving that he had great skill in maritime affairs.

Mr. Ferrar being thus applied to in form for his opinion, resolutely told them that they ought to fight it out, and put their trust in God. That it was better to die valiantly, than be carried into slavery. That God could easily deliver them, and he hoped would not suffer them to fall into the hands of their enemy. He then put them in mind of the many sea engagements achieved by their countrymen, in which the victory had been gained against superior numbers. Thus encouraged, his words were so prevalent, that with all speed they made ready to defend themselves, committing their cause to the protection of God. And to shew that they were not deficient in English spirit, they, having the advantage of the wind, and a fit opportunity, determined to give their enemy a broadside: when, lo! just as the master was giving the word to the gunner to fire, the Turkish ship to their great astonishment fell off, and steered away from them with all the sail she could make. They soon perceived that this unexpected movement was from the discovery of another ship, which they supposed was thought to be a better booty. The Turk being gone they proceeded on their voyage, and without any farther difficulty arrived at their destined port in Spain.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Ferrar determined to see Madrid, and the king's court, and whatever else was worth notice in that part of the country. But having spent some time at Madrid, he had also spent almost all the money he had brought with him from Venice. He therefore made an enquiry whether there were any bills of exchange, or letters for him, directed to some of the English merchants in that city, but could not hear of any; for he had reached Madrid long before his father thought he could be there. In making this enquiry, he carried the matter so, as if it was for a gentleman of the name of Ferrar, who, he expected, would be there about that time: for he was resolved, if possible, not to discover himself. But it happened that a Mr.

Wyche, the son of a merchant⁷, a particular friend of Mr. Ferrar's father, was at that time at Madrid. And he being informed that this young gentleman and stranger made frequent enquiry after one of the name of Ferrar, kept an observant eye upon him. And perceiving something very extraordinary in his genteel deportment, in the wisdom, and the wit of his conversation, and his great knowledge in languages, he concluded him to be some person of high fashion, who was desirous to travel unknown: and thereupon, both himself, and all the English established there, made him an offer of all the civilities in their power.

But as he was now at a stand how to proceed, and what course to take in order to pass through Spain, and then through France home, and being uneasy that no bills of exchange were come for such a one as he enquired after, he suddenly determined to travel no farther at present; but immediately to make the best of his way to England, and in order to this, to travel on foot as well as he could to St. Sebastian's, and there take ship for his native country.

In preparation for this expedition, as he still resolved, if possible, to keep himself unknown, he privately sold his cloak, and some jewels which he had by him, to supply his present occasions, and provide for his future wants in his journey. At quitting Madrid he took leave of Mr. Wyche, and the other English merchants, with acknowledgments of their many civilities to him. At which time Mr. Wyche made him an offer of what money he might want, which Mr. Ferrar politely declined.

And now he set forward on foot, with the rich rapier in his hand, presented to him by his dear friend Mr. G., without a cloak, in his doublet and cassock. And with many a weary step, and very few accommodations, he pursued his journey, till he found his feet after a few days' travelling on the hot sands of that country to become quite wearied, and the skin to come off, so that it was excessively painful to him to proceed. One night his hostess where he lodged, seeing he was a young foot traveller, and that he suffered greatly from the torment of his feet, prescribed to him to bathe and steep his feet for a considerable time in a bowl

⁷ *Son of a merchant.*] Richard Wyche, of an old Cheshire family, was a merchant of high note in London. He had twelve sons, one of whom, Peter, (afterwards sir Peter Wyche, for many years ambassador at Constantinople), is probably the person here mentioned.

of sack which she brought for that purpose. This gave him immediate ease, and enabled him to proceed comfortably on his journey the next morning, and by future applications prevented all future inconveniences of that sort.

His reason for travelling always with his rapier in his hand, was not only to be instantly on his defence in case of any sudden attack, but that he might also pass the more readily in all places as a young gentleman soldier, going towards Flanders to serve the king of Spain, under Spinola^s. And upon the way at all fit times, and places, as he travelled, he seemed to be very inquisitive about Spinola, and what he was doing in Flanders; so that all with whom he had any discourse of this sort took him for an Italian. But at one place where he passed the night, the governor being informed of a stranger who lodged in the town, examined him strictly in many particulars. And Mr. Ferrar made him such wary answers, that he was at a loss what farther to say to him. At last, casting his eyes upon the rapier, he told him that costly rapier was unbecoming him, for he knew not how he came by it, and therefore he would have it from him. Mr. Ferrar told him he must pardon him in not parting with his weapon, which a soldier ought to preserve as his life; adding that it was given him by a dear and worthy friend, who enjoined him to keep it, and that he was determined so to do. But this did not satisfy the governor, who told him that stout as he was he should deliver the rapier to him before he departed, or he would make him repent his refusal. Mr. Ferrar replied, that he hoped there was more justice to be found every where in Spain, than to take by force an innocent traveller's weapon from him. That he had not in any thing offended Cæsar, or his laws, or the customs of his country since he was in it, and that he would be cautious not to do so during the remainder of his stay. That he came very lately from the king's court, and that he had friends there who would not suffer him to receive any wrong. From this wise and resolute answer, his determined behaviour, and a style of language so far above his outward appearance, the standers-by concluded him to be some other man than his habit declared, and advised the governor to meddle no more with him about the

^s *Under Spinola.*] The marquis Ambrogio Spinola, the celebrated commander of the Spanish forces in the war which broke out in 1614, caused by the disputed succession to the duchies of Juliers and Cleves.

rapier. Who, then addressing himself to Mr. Ferrar, said, "Well, I perceive you are a young Italian gentleman, and enquire after our affairs in Flanders, and after the marquis Spinola your countryman, to whom I understand you are going. I like well your weapon, which in truth is most handsome and soldierlike;" and so he dismissed him to proceed on his journey.

While Mr. Ferrar travelled thus alone over a great part of Spain, he walked once half a day without seeing any body, and was therefore obliged to guess at his way, by the best observation he could make, to proceed straight forward from the place where he had lodged the night before. And it being now near evening, he perceived that the road he was in led him to a very high hill, which at length he with no small pains and difficulty ascended: and being arrived at the top, he there found a round plat of level ground, of considerable magnitude, encompassed entirely with rocks of a prodigious height, and extremely steep on every side, neither could he discern any pathway, except that by which he had ascended, to lead him out from this rocky enclosure, and thereby encourage him to go forward.

At the sight of this he was much troubled, thinking he had wholly mistaken the hill which he had been directed to ascend, and that he must at last take up his unhoused lodging there that night. Being thus perplexed, and not knowing what to do, he devoutly knelt down, and prayed to God to protect and direct him. Then examining with careful anxiety all parts, to see if he could find any way to help him forward in his journey, for it was too late to think of returning, he espied a large black hog come hastily running out from a narrow crevice or cleft in the rock, and immediately disappear again. But he with his eyes observed, and with his feet made all possible haste to follow and see what was become of the beast. For he conceived hopes that it might be some tame animal, now in the evening returning to its home, and consequently that possibly there was some dwelling-house not far off. Presently he saw the same creature again, now running at the further end of the level plain down the side of the hill. And, coming to the spot, he perceived a hollow, covered passage, cut into the solid rock, and at some distance within this hollow, a sort of window or air-hole, to give light and air to this subterranean passage. Resolving therefore to follow the animal which he plainly saw to enter this cavity, after some time, and very cautious treading, he found a turning which grew at every

step more and more dark. Yet stopping a little while, listening, and still looking and venturing slowly more forward, he discerned, as he thought, a glimmering of more light at a distance. So he went on, and found it to be another window or air-hole, cut like the former through the solid rock to give farther light to the subterranean passage. Thus proceeding onwards, in the same manner, and under the same disagreeable circumstances, he at length plainly perceived that this passage was a way to some subterranean habitation, cut by human labour into the heart of the rock. Thereupon listening and proceeding with caution, he fancied that he heard the voices of people talking at no great distance. Resolving therefore to go forward again, he found at length that there was indeed a sort of house in the very substance of the rock, and that it was a harbour, or place of entertainment for passengers who travelled that way.

Coming into the room he saluted the host, and the people who were there; and sitting down he called for bread and wine, and then began to discourse with them how hard it was to find the way to them; which, they said, to a stranger, must be indeed extremely difficult, but was not so to those who were acquainted with the turns and windings of that subterraneous labyrinth. He then called for more wine to wash and bathe his feet. Which done, after some communication of ordinary matters, such as travellers use with their hosts, he made strict observation of the disposition and manners of the people in the house, and found great reason not very well to like them; but now there was no remedy.

As for the people, they thought him to be a young Italian soldier, going to the marquis Spinola. For that way his conversation much tended, and shewed that he was well acquainted with all the military transactions in Flanders with the Hollanders. At length he told them that he was very weary and very sleepy, and, if they pleased, would lie down upon a bench, and take some rest. For that, he pretended, was his custom when he travelled, in order to inure himself to hardships.

Thereupon they shewed him into another room within the cavern; and Mr. Ferrar, not laying his rapier away, but keeping it close to him, lay down to sleep. But he was scarce laid down, when two lusty, ruffian-looking fellows and a young woman came into the room. Mr. Ferrar heard and saw them, but lay still, as if he was fast asleep. The men then demanded of the people of

the house, "Who is this here, who lies sleeping upon the bench?" they answered, "We know not; he is lately come in very weary, and says he is a young Italian soldier, who is going into Flanders, to serve under Spinola." And then they entered into some conversation in a very low voice, which Mr. Ferrar could not hear.

After this they sat down at a table at the farther end of the room, and in a bold manner began to call for various things, and in drinking their wine they discoursed of different matters, and at length grew very merry. But at last one of the fellows went out, and after a short time came in again, and then after some slight and foolish words began to quarrel with the woman. She gave him as cross words in return, and their other companion taking her part, from words they came to blows, and began to lay hands on the woman. Whereupon she crying out, the host came running in, but instead of being appeased by him, they grew more and more fierce. All this Mr. Ferrar heard and saw, but appeared as if he was in a sound sleep, and kept his hand fast upon his rapier. They called to him for help, but he regarded not their brawling, still making as if he was dead asleep. Therefore as he continued to lie still, and seemed to take no notice of them, their contention ceased, and they all went out of the room in very friendly terms together.

Mr. Ferrar saw all this was done to provoke him to rise, and take one part or other, that so they might have quarrelled with him, and carried into execution some bad design against him. But he heard no more of them; and not being able to sleep, he rose at day-break, and made haste away, giving God thanks for his escape out of their hands.

After his escape from this subterranean abode, having travelled five hundred miles in Spain, in the heat of summer, alone, and on foot, making his observations on the country, its curiosities, and productions, and on the disposition and manners of the people, he at length arrived safely at St. Sebastian's. Here he found a ship ready to sail for England, but waiting for a fair wind. In this interval he received great civilities from the captain of the vessel, and from all the English settled at that place. At length the wind came fair, and after a few days' happy passage he landed at Dover, where he returned his sincere thanks to God for bringing him in health and safety to his native country.

We are now no longer to consider Mr. Ferrar as a young gentleman travelling for amusement and instruction, displaying every

where uncommon abilities, illustrious virtue, and indefatigable industry, exciting the highest admiration, and receiving in every country universal applause ; but we shall now see him the man of business, applying, with unwearied attention, the great talents with which God had blessed him, to important negotiations both of a private and a public nature.

His return was at a very critical time. For one branch of his family was in great distress, and stood in need of his care and wisdom. His brother John Ferrar was likewise entered into a great public employment, by which he became engaged in many affairs which required his assistance. For sir Edwyn Sandys being chosen governor of the Virginia company, Mr. John Ferrar was made king's counsel for that plantation. He therefore left the management of his concerns in merchandise to his friends and partners. And the Virginia courts after this were kept at the house of Mr. Ferrar the father : who from his singular affection for that honourable company, himself being one of the first adventurers of that plantation and the Somers Islands⁹, allowed them the use of his great hall, and other best rooms of his house to hold their weekly and daily meetings. Many other things both of public and private concernment, now on foot, seemed equally to call for the presence and assistance of Mr. N. Ferrar. For (not to speak of public matters) to all human appearance, without his advice, diligence, and great wisdom in managing the private affairs of his family at this critical juncture, there had been great danger not only of much loss in many particulars, but even of the overthrow and ruin of his elder brother.

Immediately after his arrival at Dover Mr. Ferrar rode post to London ; and finding the door of his father's house open, he entered with his rich rapier at his side, arrayed only in his cassock and doublet, and just in the manner as he had travelled from Madrid to St. Sebastian's.

The meeting between the worthy parents and their beloved son, whom they had not seen for five years, and whom they had expected never to have seen again, was mutually affectionate and

⁹ *Somers Islands.*] The Bermudas, called also the Somers Islands, in honour of sir George Somers, one of the Virginia Company, to whom they belonged. The family name was corrupted by ignorant chartographers into Summer Islands, a blunder which the French have made tenfold more absurd by calling them the *Isles de l'Été*.

endearing in the highest degree, and may more easily be imagined than described. This his unexpected and much wished for return was in the year 1618; he himself being then twenty-six, his father seventy-two, and his mother sixty-two years of age.

He soon shewed himself upon the Exchange, and in person returned his thanks to those merchants by whose factors he had received his remittances, and many local civilities. He was now much noticed both for the beauty of his person, and for his many eminent qualities: and all his friends soon found that the accounts they had received of his worth and wisdom from abroad had not been exaggerated, but that his virtues and his accomplishments surpassed all report and all expectation.

In his travels through Holland, Germany, Italy, and Spain, Mr. Ferrar purchased many rare articles of curiosity, many scarce and valuable books, and learned treatises in the languages of those different countries. In collecting which he certainly had a principal eye to those which treated the subjects of a spiritual life, devotion, and religious retirement. He bought also a very great number of prints engraved by the best masters of that time; all relative to historical passages of the Old and New Testament. Indeed he let nothing of this sort that was valuable escape him. And this great treasure of rarities, books, and prints, upon his return home, he had the satisfaction to find were safely arrived there before him.

Very little indeed of this treasure is now remaining. The Ferrar family being firm in their loyalty to the king, their house at Gidding was plundered in the civil wars; and in a wanton devastation, all these things perished, except some of the prints, not of great value, still in possession of the editor.

It now comes in the order of time to speak of the great hand which Mr. N. Ferrar had, immediately after his return, in the management of the affairs of the Virginia company; in which, by his prudent conduct, he got through many and great difficulties with high credit and reputation. From this relation it will appear what great power Gondomar¹ the Spanish ambassador then had in England; and how by his extraordinary craft and

¹ *Gondomar.*] Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar. It is needless to say here any thing of his great influence over James. We have seen (p. 83) that during all the course of Elizabeth's reign, she would hold no diplomatic intercourse with Spain. Elizabeth and Philip held each other at the sword's point.

various intrigues he in the end wrought upon a weak prince to suppress one of the most flourishing companies for commerce in England. And it may possibly give the reader some satisfaction to see some of his subtle proceedings here unravelled ; as this affair is hardly touched by any other author ².

Soon after Mr. Ferrar's return, sir Edwyn Sandys, who had heard a high character of him from many who had known him in Italy, sought his acquaintance ; and being exceedingly taken with his great abilities, took the first opportunity to make him known to the earl of Southampton, and the other principal members of the Virginia company. In a very little time he was made one of a particular committee in some business of great importance ; whereby the company having sufficient proof of his extraordinary abilities, at the next general court it was proposed and agreed that he should be king's counsel ³ for the Virginia plantation in the place of his brother John, who was then made the deputy governor. And when his name, according to custom, was entered in the lord chamberlain's book, sir Edwyn Sandys took care to acquaint that lord with his uncommon worth ; which indeed daily more and more appeared in every thing he undertook : and as he wanted no ability, so he spared no diligence in ordering all their affairs of consequence. And thus he became deeply engaged in cares of a public nature. Yet his own inclinations at his return led him rather to think of settling himself again at Cambridge, to which he was the more induced, as he still held the physick fellowship in Clare Hall. But this he now saw could not be done. Besides, his parents, now grown old, requested their beloved son to remain with them. Therefore all he could obtain in this respect from them, and from his business, was the liberty now and then to pass a few days with his old acquaintance and friends still remaining in Cambridge.

At this time, 1619, Mr. Henry Briggs, the celebrated mathematician and reader of Geometry at Gresham college, and one of the Virginia company, being about to leave London, and settle at

² *By any other author.*] [This was said about the year 1654.]

³ *King's counsel.*] It is very probable that, in this capacity, Nicholas Ferrar had more than a share in drawing up the following work, which is very rare, but of which a copy is preserved in the British Museum. "*A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia, with the Names of the Adventurers and Summes adventured in that Action. By His Maiesties Counsell for Virginia, 22 Junii, 1620.*" 4to.

Oxford as Savilian professor there, recommended it to the Mercers' company, who had the gift of that professorship, that they should by all means offer the place to Mr. Ferrar upon his own terms, saying, that he was the ablest proficient he knew in that science. The offer was made accordingly, which he modestly declined, saying his friend Mr. Briggs was much mistaken in him, and that his affection and goodness to him had misled his judgment. He therefore prayed them to appoint some more worthy person; but that for himself though he declined the intended honour, he would always be ready to serve the city of London, and the magnificent foundation of sir Thomas Gresham, to the utmost of his power.

While sir Edwyn Sandys continued governor, the reputation of the Virginia company rose very high under his prudent management. But having now served his year, and being by the general voice intended to have been elected again, by some secret power at court, all the measures were broken that had been before taken for that purpose.

It was appointed by the charter of the company that there should be every year in Easter term a new election of a treasurer or governor, and a deputy, and that no man should hold either of those places more than three years. This election was now intended to be made by ballot, a method introduced by sir Edwyn Sandys, as most likely to secure a free election. A general court day being appointed, and the day and hour of election being come, there were assembled near upon twenty great peers of the land; near a hundred of the most eminent knights of the kingdom; of gallant gentlemen many colonels and captains, and renowned lawyers near a hundred more; and of the most worthy citizens a very respectable assembly. So that the court consisted of near five hundred persons of several ranks, and quality. Every thing being prepared, the three persons who were to be candidates for the place of governor were now to be named by the company. The three persons being agreed upon, the name of sir Edwyn Sandys was first set up, and as this was doing, a lord of the bed-chamber and another courtier stood up, and declared to the court that it was the king's pleasure not to have sir Edwyn Sandys chosen; and *because he would not infringe their right of election*, he would nominate three persons, and permit the company to choose one of them.

At this unexpected message there was for a considerable time

a deep silence, every man present standing in amazement at this violent invasion of their rights, this breach of their charter, and stretch of tyrannic power. At length some at the lower end of the hall stood up, and prayed that the courtiers having delivered their message, and consequently having nothing more to say, might withdraw, till the company had resolved what to do.

The earl of Southampton (Henry Wriothesley) then stood up and said, "For my part, gentlemen, I like not this motion: let the noble gentlemen if they please keep their places, and sit and hear the opinions of the company, that so they may be both ear and eye witnesses of our actions, and words, and may themselves by these means truly inform his majesty of our fair and justifiable way of proceeding in this weighty business: a business of the highest concernment both in respect of his majesty, and in respect of the company. In respect of his majesty, whom we know to be so just a king, that he may understand what privileges he hath granted us by his letters patent, under the great seal of England: on the credit and authority of which letters, we have advanced and adventured one hundred thousand pounds of our own estates: and in respect of the company, who have gained so hopeful a country, which they have bought, and compounded for with the natives, and which when once well peopled by English colonies, will find full employment for all needy people in this land, who now begin to swarm in this blessed time of peace under his majesty's happy reign; will provide estates likewise for all the younger brothers, gentlemen of this kingdom; and also a ready and lasting supply to this nation of those commodities which in our present condition we are fain to fetch from foreign nations, from doubtful friends, yea from heathen princes. These circumstances, I say, fairly considered, make this a business of so great concernment, that it can never be too solemnly, too thoroughly, or too publicly examined."

Lord Southampton having thus spoken sat down, and after some silence sir Laurence Hyde, the learned lawyer, next rose up and said, "May it please this honourable society, I for my part not only agree to that motion now made by the noble earl who spoke last, but also desire the company not only to permit, but even to intreat these worthy messengers of the king to stay in our court, and I will be thus farther bold to break the ice, and to give you my opinion that the first step we ought to take in this serious business now in hand should be to cause the

patent, as the foundation of all our proceedings, to be here immediately produced, and read, before this honourable assembly, and these worthy gentlemen the king's messengers. And then both we and they shall all soon be satisfied in the extent of our privileges, and in the strength of his majesty's grant, which he hath made to us under the great seal of England, and under the hand and honour of a king."

Thereupon, all instantly cried out, "The patent ! The patent ! God save the king." The patent was then openly and distinctly read by the secretary.

After which sir Laurence Hyde stood up again and said, "Gentlemen, I pray you all to observe well the words of the patent in the point of electing a governor. You see it is thereby left to your own free choice. This I take it is so very plain and evident that we shall not need to say any thing more to it. And no doubt these gentlemen, when we shall have done our duty, and they depart, will give his majesty a just information of the case, and undeceive him in the unjust misrepresentations which have been given him in this point."

The rest of the many lawyers who were there concurred in opinion with sir Laurence Hyde, and the court voted that they should now immediately proceed to election. When a friend of sir Edwyn Sandys, sir Robert Phillips, who sat behind him, and to whom sir Edwyn had whispered, stood up and craved of them before they proceeded, to hear him a word, or two, and then said,

"I shall consent that we go to an election out of hand, because it is the business of the day, and if we do it not now, we may thereby in my opinion forfeit our patent ; and also that we may by so doing shew our duty to the king, in order to satisfy him in all that we may : which, as I am instructed by this worthy gentleman your late governor, may be done, if you will out of your own judgments, at present forbear to set up his name (whom I perceive you all think and know most worthy to be continued in that office) and put up two or three names of the persons recommended by his majesty. And let these managers themselves, if they think fit, nominate which two they please. And in order in some degree to preserve your own privileges, do you then name a third person. And then let all these three names be set upon the balloting box, and so go to the election in God's name, and let his will be done."

Thereupon with a general acclamation, not one voice against

it, the whole court cried out "Southampton! Southampton!" At which my lord of Southampton rose up to speak. But they again cried out, "The time is almost past, we most humbly beseech your lordship not to interrupt our proceedings."

The king's messengers then said, they must confess that the company proceeded wisely; and that if they had the nomination of two out of three, as sir Robert Phillips proposed, they doubted not but his majesty would be satisfied. For as sir Edwyn Sandys had wisely waved his interest, if the king desired no more than that he might not be chosen, the course proposed to be taken was likely to please him. And so they proceeded to the ballot; when of the two persons nominated by the king's messengers, one of them had only one ball, and the other but two. The earl of Southampton had all the rest. Lord Southampton then took the chair, and they proceeded to the choice of a deputy, when Mr. John Ferrar was chosen by the same majority; of that large company, consisting of near five hundred persons, only three dissenting. And thus began the year 1620.

The earl of Southampton, now elected governor of the Virginia company, had a particular friendship with sir Edwyn Sandys, and took this office conditionally that his friend should continue his advice and assistance in the business of the company. So that there were now three very able men engaged, lord Southampton, sir Edwyn Sandys, and Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. Lord Southampton celebrated for wisdom, eloquence, and sweet deportment; sir Edwyn Sandys for great knowledge, and integrity; and Nicholas Ferrar for wonderful abilities, unwearied diligence, and the strictest virtue.

The latter was now fully employed in drawing up instructions concerning all the various business respecting the plantation, in writing all letters of advice to the colony in Virginia, and in being constantly one in every committee. Which instructions and letters being always read in the open courts, gained him universal approbation. The civilians, the common lawyers, the divines, (of which last dean Williams, afterwards bishop of Lincoln⁴, was one) who attended these courts, when acquainted with Mr. Ferrar's performances, all spoke of him in highest terms of commendation. The merchants and tradesmen, when he had

⁴ *Bishop of Lincoln.*] John Williams, afterwards lord keeper and archbishop of York, of whom see more in the *Life of Bishop Hall*.

occasion to speak of their matters, even the sea officers, and mariners, when he gave directions about the victualling and ordering the ships or other naval affairs, all were in the highest admiration of his abilities and accurate knowledge of every thing relating to their respective professions. And now under the management and direction of lord Southampton, sir Edwyn Sandys, and Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, the affairs of the Virginia plantation were soon in the most flourishing situation.

At this time there was in London a Mr. Copeland, a minister in the Somers Islands, who contracted a great intimacy with Mr. Ferrar. He was a worthy man, and very zealous for the conversion of the infidel natives of America. He had many conferences with Mr. Ferrar upon this subject, and the best way and means to effect it; and he seriously informed sir E. Sandys and others of the company, that he verily believed Mr. Ferrar was determined some time to leave the whole world, and settle in Virginia; and there employ the extraordinary talents with which God had blessed him, and spend his life in the conversion of the natives, or other infidels in that country: adding, "If he should do so, I will never forsake him, but wait upon him in that glorious work." This I think is a strong presumptive proof, that notwithstanding Mr. Ferrar's great abilities in different occupations, and his wonderful proficiency in various acquisitions of science, and other accomplishments, yet that the peculiar bent, and determination of his mind was uniformly given to the promotion of the Christian religion.

At this time (April, 1620) died Mr. Ferrar the father, who made his son Nicholas his sole executor; which was a great addition to the business already lying upon him: but he had abilities equal to any thing, and to every thing; with firmness of mind and integrity equal to his ability. Mr. Ferrar sen. by his will gave 300*l.* towards erecting a school or college in Virginia for the better education of such infidel children as should be there converted to the Christian religion. He was buried in the church of St. Bennet Sherhog, April 11, and his old friend Dr. Francis White, whom he brought from the obscurity of the country into a more public life, preached his funeral sermon to a crowded audience; in which he described him as a second Nathaniel,—“an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile.”

The Virginia plantation, now under the government of the earl of Southampton, became every day of higher reputation, and the

affairs of the company in consequence every day of more weighty importance. So that Mr. Ferrar, both as counsel⁵ to the company, and assistant also to his brother as deputy governor, was pressed by a double weight of care: as the company would not permit the deputy to resign till he had executed his office three years; which he did 1619, under sir Edwyn Sandys, and 1620, 1621, under the earl of Southampton.

But now the increasing fame of this company, and the wise management of it was carried into Spain, and caused no small alarm. The politicians there saw, or pretended to see danger in the course of not many years. Virginia was too near them, both by sea and land: and they did not know but the people of that plantation, when once a little settled, might perhaps be looking over the hills, and at length spy out their rich mines. Gondomar therefore had it in commission to have a special eye upon the company, and the managers of their affairs. And he was indeed a vigilant observer of his instructions. He not only gained an absolute influence over the king, but many great men about him, whom he had bought with Spanish money: these were very powerful, and well known at court by the name of the Spanish party.

Gondomar and the king had now agreed upon the destruction of the Virginia company. Notice of their dishonourable designs was given to lord Southampton and sir Edwyn Sandys, by the marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Pembroke; who privately warned them to look well to themselves, and their proceedings, for that many stratagems were now in train, and would be pushed to the utmost to procure the destruction of the plantation, and to ruin all persons who should be employed in supporting the affairs of the company.

This opportune advice produced a double care and watchfulness in the managers, if possible, to prevent the intended mischief. But it would be endless here to relate the many discouragements, the dark intrigues, and shameful practices which they now daily met and encountered. These things require another time and place. All that need here be said is that the Virginia business was now no pastime, nor were the managers in any respect permitted to be idle.

In the Easter term, 1622, Mr. John Ferrar, having been con-

⁵ *As counsel.*] See p. 155, note.

tinued deputy governor three years, Nicholas Ferrar was elected to succeed him. For lord Southampton plainly told the deputation from the company, who waited on him to desire he would consent to be re-elected, that if they did not choose Mr. Nicholas Ferrar to be the deputy governor, he could not any longer take the office of governor upon him; saying that he was the only person who was able to go through with the business; and to encounter all those great and potent oppositions, which he knew either were, or very soon would be raised against the company and the plantation: and that without Mr. Ferrar's assistance all would fall to ruin. "You all," he continued, "see, and know his abilities and his integrity as well as I. On condition of his being deputy, I will be your governor: but he must be the person who must act both mine and his own part also. Without him I dare not accept the office: with him, I will do all I can to serve you."

These things being thus settled, the meetings at Mr. Ferrar's house began again to be crowded, as usual; and Gondomar exerted double diligence, procuring, by Spanish gold, spies, who informed him of every thing that was done at these meetings; and, what added greatly to his influence, the Spanish party at court carried every thing with a high hand.

Many shameful stratagems were now attempted against the company, to throw their affairs into confusion, and to dishearten them on all sides. Particularly their privilege in point of customs (which was to pay only 5 per cent.) was now questioned, and 15 per cent. demanded. One Jacobs also, who had procured a licence for importing Spanish tobacco, was now employed and supported by the great men in the pay of Gondomar to infringe the company's patent: which encreased Mr. Ferrar's trouble to a great degree, and made it necessary for him to resort frequently to the council table, and to sir Tho. Coventry the king's attorney general.

The hardship and the injustice put upon the company in this last article only was very great, as the profit arising from Virginia tobacco, was as yet the only return which the planters had to answer all their trouble, expence, and hazard. For little progress had been made in the several plans of improvement, as the consequences of the first massacre⁶ by the savages, were not yet fully recovered.

⁶ *The first massacre.*] [That massacre was perpetrated on Friday, March 22, 1621, at which time the savages killed 347 persons. There were then mur-

By Mr. Ferrar's care and industry things seemed, notwithstanding this violence and injustice, to be getting again in a fair way towards a lasting settlement. But alas ! the Spanish match⁷ for the prince was now set on foot, and Gondomar took advantage of that opportunity to exert his absolute power over the king ; who meanly suffered himself, in violation of his patent, and the honour of a king, to be made this crafty minister's instrument to effect the ruin of the company.

The marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Pembroke solemnly affirmed to the earl of Southampton, that they heard Gondomar say to the king, "That it was time for him to look to the Virginia courts which were kept at the Ferrars' house, where too many of his nobility and gentry resorted to accompany the popular lord Southampton, and the dangerous Sandys. That though they might have a fair pretence for their meetings, yet he would find in the end that court would prove a seminary for a seditious parliament. That they were deep politicians, and had farther designs than a tobacco plantation. That their proceedings in the issue might cause, if not timely prevented, occasions of difference between his majesty, and his master the king of Spain. For he had heard rumours, that once being become numerous, they intended to step beyond their limits ; and for aught he knew, they might visit his master's mines. Adding, that he had occasion of late to have a conference with the managers concerning a ship laden with silver, which was cast away ; and that he found them subtle men, men of high courage,

dered at Mr. William Ferrar's house these ten persons : Mr. John England, and John his servant ; John Bell, Henry Paterson, and Alice his wife, and William her son ; Thomas their servant, James Woodshaw, and Mary and Elizabeth, maid-servants.—*Declaration of the present State of Virginia.* London, 1622. 4to. p. 14—37.]

⁷ *Spanish match.*] The infanta Doña Maria had been offered to prince Charles, by the Spanish minister, the duke of Lerma, in the lifetime of her father, Philip III., and his views were seconded by Gondomar, the Spanish, and by Digby, the English ambassador. On the death of Philip, in 1622, James and Charles wrote to Philip IV. and to the Conde Duque de Olivares, his favourite ; Digby, created earl of Bristol, went to accelerate the negotiation ; Gondomar returned to Spain for the same purpose, and a favourable answer was returned from Philip, who agreed to the marriage of his sister, and promised to intercede in behalf of Frederic, the elector palatine, the son-in-law of James. In February, 1623, Charles and Buckingham, attended only by sir Francis Cottington, Endimion Porter, and sir Richard Graham, proceeded on their apparently clandestine and pseudo-romantic expedition to Madrid.

men who no way regarded either his master or their own." These lords therefore advised lord Southampton to be upon his guard; and bade him and his deputy prepare for the rencounter; for that it would certainly come to the push of pike; and that they feared, as matters now stood, the company would be dissolved, and under some pretence or other their patent taken away. The creatures of Gondomar also insinuated to the king, that the matter was too high and great for private men to manage: that it was therefore proper for the king to take it into his own hand, and to govern and order it both at home and abroad according to his own will and pleasure.

After a short time a commission was granted by the king to some known enemies to the company to disturb and teaze them by vexatious examinations. And one captain Butler, whom the company had removed from his office for scandalous mismanagement and injustice, was suborned, and made an instrument to spread disadvantageous reports of the country itself, as being unfit to be planted, as being extremely unhealthy, and entirely unproductive.

Before these commissioners Mr. Ferrar often appeared in defence of the company, and exerted himself with such firmness and force of argument, not only face to face to the accusers, but by such unanswerable deductions in writing, that the commissioners were not able to proceed: all their allegations being demonstrated by him to be false and frivolous. The matter therefore was brought from them before the council table. And then Mr. Ferrar, and the company were forced to attend there twice or thrice a week for half a year together, in order to weary them out by a vexatious persecution. But notwithstanding all these infamous machinations, nothing could be taken hold of to wrest the patent from the company. They were often indeed required to lay it down; but this they refused to do.

At this time, though there were many able men of the company ready to defend their just cause, yet the lords of the council insisted that the deputy, being, as they said, the representative of the company, should be the only person to answer their objections. And this they did on seeing him so young a man, thinking from that circumstance to gain some advantage over him. But he answered them all with that singular wisdom and modesty, that accurate knowledge of affairs, that discretion, firmness and eloquence, that the mercenaries of Gondomar were confounded;

and then by a new and unexpected artifice, and in pretended admiration of his great abilities, said it was pity but that he should be taken off from his present business, and employed in public affairs of more weighty importance.

Accordingly overtures were made, and a negotiation entered upon with lord Southampton and sir Edwyn Sandys, to prevail with them to persuade Mr. Ferrar to accept the place of clerk of the council, or (leiger)^s envoy to the duke of Savoy, which of the two employments he himself liked best. He modestly declined the offer, saying his abilities were not sufficient for a post of such weighty importance. His friends continued to press him, and he to refuse. At length he told them that he could not accept of such preferment; that his thoughts lay quite another way. But seeing their importunity continue, he in confidence to his two great friends, and on their promise of secrecy, declared to them his solemn determination, when he should have discharged the duties of his present situation, to enter upon a state of religious retirement.

The council finding that the company were still resolved not to part with their patent, or with the liberty which they thereby had to govern their own affairs, now took a more severe and not less unjust course. They confined lord Southampton to his house, that he might not come to the Virginia courts, of which he was the legal governor. But this only made the company more resolute in their own just defence. They then ordered sir Edwin Sandys into a similar confinement. But this step in no degree abated the resolution of the company. Then the lords, under the influence of Gondomar, strongly pressed the company to give up their patent. The marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Pembroke informed lord Southampton and sir Edwyn Sandys of these proceedings, saying, That Nicholas Ferrar, though now left as it were alone, was too hard for all his opposers. "But," continued they, "your enemies will prevail at last; for let the company do what they can, in open defiance of honour, and justice, it is *absolutely determined* at all events to take away your patent."

But Gondomar and his instruments, finding that their violent measures had not the desired effect upon the company, now vehemently urged the king to take the plantation into his own

^s *Leiger envoy.*] See p. 90, note.

hands, as a thing befitting a king: and particularly as being a measure that would be most acceptable to the king of Spain.

Still however the same unjust persecution of the company was carried on; and Mr. Ferrar still remained unanswerable in his defence. When one day the lord treasurer Cranfield⁹ in great heat of passion told him, "that he could prevail with the company if he would, and they might then obtain all that they desired."

Nicholas Ferrar then being called to the upper end of the council table, addressed himself with all humility to the lords, and to lord Cranfield in particular, "beseeching them in the most earnest manner not to entertain so vain an imagination. That there were many members of the company much better qualified than he was to speak upon their affairs. Nevertheless, that he humbly entreated their lordships to consider seriously whether, if such a number of the Virginia company as made a court, or whether, if all those members who lived in or near London should meet and assemble together, whether even all these could either in law or equity give up the patent, without the previous consent of all the rest of the members, to the number of some thousands now dispersed all over England. And these too not persons of inferior rank, but persons of the first condition, of the nobility, and gentry, of the bishops, and clergy, of the chief citizens, and of the principal companies, and corporations throughout the whole kingdom. Besides these, all the planters also in Virginia, who were all included in the grant, and who all upon the encouragement, and promised protection of the king, under the great seal of England, and the pledge of his royal word and honour, adventured their estates, and many of them even their lives in this the greatest and most honourable undertaking in which England had ever been engaged. He represented also the great good which in numberless sources of wealth and strength, would by means of this corporation, and through the encouragement of their care, by the blessing of God, shortly accrue to this nation. And he again and again most earnestly besought their lordships to take all these things into their most

⁹ *Cranfield.*] Lionel Cranfield, afterwards earl of Middlesex. It is worthy of remark that his daughter and heiress, Frances, married Richard, sixth earl of Dorset, the son of that Edward Sackville to whom, for safe custody, were committed (see p. 179) the copies of the books and papers of the Virginia Company which he (the lord treasurer Cranfield) laboured so sedulously to destroy.

serious consideration; and no longer to urge them, not the twentieth part of the persons interested, to do an action which was in itself both unjust and unreasonable, and indeed impossible for them to do. For how could they pretend to give away and yield up the rights, and interests of other men, without the consent of the parties interested first obtained. And in the most solemn manner he adjured their lordships not to make them the instruments of doing so vile a thing, to which, if they consented, they should render themselves worthy of the severest punishment. Besides, he said, it is worthy your lordships' farther consideration, how far such a precedent may possibly operate, and how dangerous such an example may be, if only a twentieth part of any company should presume, or should be permitted to deliver up the liberties and privileges, the rights, and the property of the other nineteen parts, and that without so much as once calling them together to give their consent. This, he continued, was what the company now assembled must refuse as a thing unjust, and not feasible for them to do."

The lord treasurer upon his discoursing thus, being inflamed with violent passion, often interrupted him, and so did some others. But the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Pembroke, and some other lords of the council said, "Nay, my good lords, forbear. Let him make an end. We have called him hither to know what he can say on the company's behalf. Let us therefore not interrupt him; it is but reasonable to hear him out. Mr. deputy, go on."

Mr. Ferrar, with the most respectful humility then said, "Most honourable lords, I was just on the point of concluding. I will add only this, that as for my own private interest, and the interest of many here present, and of many others who are absent, my lords, we all most humbly cast ourselves, and our estates at his majesty's royal feet: let him do with us and with them, if so he be determined, what seemeth best unto his good will and pleasure. For as to what is really our own, and in us to give, we submit it all to his majesty's disposal; and in all other things we shall endeavour to serve and please him in all that with a conscience unhurt we may: desiring only this, that with respect to the rights and property of others, we may be permitted to execute the trust reposed in us, with fidelity and honour, and to discharge religiously those duties, which, as they are of the first importance, ought to have the first influence upon the mind of man."

Then the marquis of Hamilton stood up, and with a loud voice said, "Mr. deputy, in my opinion, my lords, hath spoken well, excellently well both for himself, and for the company. And what, my lords, can we now desire more of him?" The earl of Pembroke seconded lord Hamilton, and said, "Surely, my lords, I hope the king (if he shall hear all) will be satisfied with what we have done, but particularly with what we have now heard. Let us fairly report it to him, and then let his majesty do what he thinks most proper. We have sat a long time upon this business, and at length we may conjecture the result."

Gondomar with his profligate instruments, the king, and the Spanish party at court, perceiving that Mr. Ferrar (having demonstrated all their allegations to be false and groundless) had rendered all their violence ineffectual, now had recourse to a different mode of proceeding. They suborned, and procured persons to bring forward a crimination against him; who came and exhibited in form a complaint to the council board. The substance of the accusation was this, That the deputy, during the times of his appearing before the council, had drawn up and sent to the governor and plantation of Virginia certain dangerous instructions, and inflammatory letters of advice, directing them how they should conduct themselves in standing to their patent, and exhorting them that they should never give their consent to let it be delivered up. And therefore that if these letters and instructions were not countermanded by their lordships, some very ill consequence might ensue, and the king might thereby receive much dishonour.

As soon as this pretended complaint was lodged in form, instantly, though it was then very late at night, some pursuivants, who were kept in readiness for that purpose, were dispatched in all haste to Mrs. Ferrar's house to speak with the deputy, and to command him without any delay immediately to deliver up to them, all those books of the Virginia company wherein were registered the copies of all such letters and instructions as had been sent to the plantation from the council or company here.

Mr. Ferrar told them that the secretary of the Virginia company, and not he, had the keeping of those books. They then required him to give them a note to the secretary to deliver them. But he excused himself, saying, "Surely your commission will be a better authority for him to do so, than any note which I can send him. For my own part, if I had the company's evidences

in my possession, entrusted to my custody, I certainly would not deliver them up, unless I had their leave, and express order so to do." When he said this they left him, and went to the secretary, and forced him to deliver up the books to them.

The next day the deputy, and many lords and gentlemen concerned in the company, were summoned to attend at the council table. For the accusers of the company had given it out publicly, that now very strange things indeed would be discovered in these books and instructions, and brought forth to public view. On this account there was a very numerous attendance, and all the lords of the council also were particularly summoned to attend.

When the council was met, the deputy (as heretofore) was commanded to come to the upper end of the table. Then the accusers of the company desired of the lords that one of the clerks of the council might read such and such letters and instructions written in such and such months. Some of which being read, the lords of the council looked upon one another with evident marks of astonishment; observing that there was nothing of that dangerous consequence in those papers, which the accusers had informed them they would discover; but on the contrary much matter of high commendation. "Point out," said one lord, "where is the fault or error in these letters and instructions; for my own part I must say that I cannot see any."

The enemies of the company then prayed their lordships to hear them all read out; and then they said it would soon appear where the faults lay. "Yea, yea," said the lord treasurer with vehemence, "read on, read on: we shall anon find them." So they still persisted to read. And in a word, so much patience had the lords, or rather so much pleasure, that many of them said they thought their time had been well spent. All these letters and instructions being in the end thus read out, and nothing at all appearing which was any ways disadvantageous to the company, but on the contrary very much to their credit and honour: the marquis of Hamilton stood up, and said, "That there was one letter which he prayed might be read over again, on which he should desire to make a few observations." Which being accordingly done, "Well!" said he, "my lords, we have spent many hours here, in hearing all these letters and instructions, and yet I could not help requesting to hear this one letter over again; because I think that all your lordships must agree

with me that it is absolutely a master-piece. And indeed they are all in high degree excellent. Truly, my lords, we have this day lost no time at all. For I do assure you that if our attendance here were for many days, I for my part would willingly sit them out to hear so pious, so wise, and indeed politic instructions as these are. They are papers as admirably well penned as any I ever heard. And, I believe, if the truth were known, your lordships are all of the same opinion."

The earl of Pembroke said, "There is not one thing in them all, which, as far as I can see, deserves in the least degree to be excepted against. On the contrary they all deserve the highest commendation: containing advices far more excellent than I could have expected to have met with in the letters of a trading company. For they abound with soundness of good matter, and profitable instruction with respect both to religion and policy; and they possess uncommon elegance of language." Many other lords concurred in these commendations, and at length one, addressing himself to Mr. Ferrar, said, "Mr. deputy, I pray you tell us who penned these letters and instructions, we have some reason to think it was yourself."

Mr. Ferrar, whose modesty and humility were not inferior to his other rare accomplishments, replied, "My lord, these are the letters and instructions of the company, and the council of the company. For in all weighty affairs they order several committees to make each a rough draught of what they judge proper to be done in these matters: which rough draughts are afterward all put together, and presented first to the council, and then to the company to receive all proper alteration, as they shall please. And thus every thing is drawn up and concluded upon the advice of many." After due commendation of his modesty as well as his ability, it was replied to him, "Mr. deputy, that these papers before us are the production of one pen, is very plainly discernible: they are jewels that all come out of one rich cabinet, of which we have undoubted reason to believe that you are the true possessor."

The lords under the influence of Gondomar were now abashed and silent; only one of them said to the accusers of the company, "What strange and unaccountable measures are these that you have taken! to have called us together, and to make us sit and hear all these things, which are entirely opposite to your own informations, and which meet, as you find, with universal appro-

bation." To which one man of a bold spirit replied, "We shall still in the end carry our point. These, my good lord, are not the letters and instructions which we meant. The company have others no doubt in private, which they secrete, and which if they could now be found, would quickly silence them. We have lately heard of things passing in their courts which would surprize you." On which one of the council rose and said, "My lords, such malevolence and injustice is unequalled : such proceedings are not to be endured. But unprincipled malice has a face too brazen to be ashamed of any thing." The lords then rose, and the adversaries of the company were much confounded, having now with all honest and impartial men entirely lost all credit.

The very night after this meeting, one of the clerks of the council came to Lord Southampton and told him that his deputy had that day gained a most complete victory, and had extorted the highest commendations even from the lords of the adverse party : and it was supposed that proposals would be made to him to engage in the king's immediate service. "But for all that, my lord," said he, "depend upon it, such the times are, your patent is irretrievably gone."

Lord Southampton communicated this information to the lords and gentlemen interested in the company, saying, "You all well know that those things which our enemies thought would have been to their advantage, and our damage, have hitherto all turned out to our credit and to our honour : nevertheless, all will not help us. It is determined that our patent shall be taken away, and the company dissolved. The king, I find, has resolved to have the management of the plantation in his own hands, to direct, and govern as he sees best. A thing indeed worthy a king's care : but, alas ! alas ! this is all but a colourable shew. For you will find in the end that this worthy company will be broken, and come to nothing. We must all arm ourselves with patience."

Mr. Ferrar had now gained the highest reputation with all ranks of men for the uncommon abilities which he displayed on every occasion, and the esteem for his great virtues was unbounded, but especially with those who were interested in the affairs of the Virginia company. At this time a citizen of the first class both for riches and reputation paid him a visit, and after the warmest expressions of the highest opinion of his extraordinary talents, and integrity, thus continued, "Mr. Ferrar,

I have an only daughter, who, if paternal affection doth not too much influence my judgment, is both wise and comely : indeed it is confessed by all that she is very beautiful. I know her to have been virtuously educated, to be well accomplished, and to be of an amiable disposition. If you will be pleased to accept of her as your wife, I will immediately give you with her ten thousand pounds." Mr. Ferrar was much surprised, returned his sincere thanks, but said he was not worthy of so great a treasure. The citizen however persisted, said he was really in earnest to bring about the connection : that at present he only made his proposal with intent to give him an opportunity to consider of it. After a few days he came again, and asked Mr. Ferrar if he had advised with his friends concerning his proposal, saying, "They all know me well." Mr. Ferrar answered that he had not ; "for you I perceive, sir, are greatly mistaken in me, first in having too high an opinion of my abilities, and next with respect to my estate, which you perhaps may conceive to be what it is not. I think myself infinitely obliged to you for your good will towards me, and for honouring me so far as to think, what I cannot think of myself, that I am any way worthy of so inestimable a treasure as your daughter." "Mr. Ferrar," he replied, "do not talk thus to me : for I know you perfectly well ; and as for your estate, I give myself no manner of concern about it. What fortune you have I demand not to know. Let it be what it will ; if you have nothing, I thank God that I have enough to make you and my daughter happy as to worldly matters. And as to my own part, I shall think myself the happiest man upon earth to have you my son-in-law, and my daughter must be equally happy to have so accomplished, and so virtuous a man for her husband."

By means of an intimate friend of the father, an interview was brought about at this friend's house between the young lady and Mr. Ferrar, where in a select company they passed several hours together. The father then took a convenient opportunity to ask his daughter what she thought of Mr. Ferrar, to which she answered, "Nothing but good." "Can you then like him for a husband?" to which with equal ingenuousness and modesty she replied, "Sir, I shall with pleasure do in this, as well as in all other things, as you will please to have me : my duty and my inclination will go together." Matters being so far advanced, the father said to Mr. Ferrar, "Now, sir, you have seen my daugh-

ter, I hope her person and deportment are such as to merit your approbation. As to your own estate, nothing is desired to be known. Be that as it may; I have enough; I like you, and my daughter submits herself to my choice. Now let me have your answer." Mr. Ferrar replied, "The young lady your daughter, sir, is in every respect not only unexceptionable, but highly to be admired: she is beautiful, and accomplished, and amiable to the greatest degree, and far superior to all that I can merit: indeed I do not, I cannot deserve this great happiness. I return you my sincerest thanks for your unequalled goodness to me; and in the confidence of friendship I will now acquaint you with the private and fixed determination of my mind. If God will give me grace to keep a resolution long since formed, I have determined to lead a single life; and after having discharged, to the best of my ability, my duty to the company, and to my family, as to worldly concerns, I seriously purpose to devote myself to God, and to go into a religious retirement." Thus ended this affair, and the father ever after preserved the most affectionate friendship for Mr. Ferrar.

After the unworthy part which the king, influenced by Gondomar, had taken in the persecution of the Virginia company, the deputy had now indeed a great encrease of trouble in managing their concerns. But in truth and justice to his friends it must be said, that lord Southampton, the earl of Dorset, the earl of Devon, lord Paget, Sir Edwyn Sandys and many others, gave him all the assistance in their power. But all to no purpose. For the king, notwithstanding his royal word and honour¹

¹ *Word and honour.*] "It must be admitted that Ferrar was not himself unscathed in this political contest: his conscience was wounded both as regarded his God and his king. In taking so active and conspicuous a part in this transaction, he had opposed the wishes of James, who was known to be unfriendly to the impeachment. He had yielded to the solicitations of the directors and proprietors of the company, and in doing so, it seems that some free speeches of his against the will of his prince, though exceedingly well meant, and tending to the ends of public justice, were, nevertheless, a source of long and deep regret to his loyal heart: so much so, that he was heard to say, stretching out his right hand, 'I would I were assured of the pardon of that sin, though on the condition that this hand were cut off.'"—*Brief Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar, M.A., chiefly collected from a narrative by the right rev. Dr. Turner, formerly lord bishop of Ely, and now edited, with additions, by the Rev. T. M. Macdonough, vicar of Bovingdon*, p. 73. 1837. 12mo.

I am inclined to conjecture, that the indignant expressions of a political

pledged to the contrary, notwithstanding the grant under the great seal of England, notwithstanding all that should bind the conscience, and direct the conduct of an honest man, was now determined with all his force to make the last assault, and give the death-blow to this as yet, prosperous, and thriving company.

At this juncture a full testimonial came from the colony, proving the healthiness of the climate, and the fruitfulness of the country, against the slanderous informations of that captain Butler, who had been suborned by Gondomar and his agents to spread defamatory reports concerning a country of which he knew nothing, having only been there in his flight from justice, and having suddenly stolen away from thence to avoid being seized by authority for his scandalous proceedings.

This testimonial being exhibited at the council board, the lords in Gondomar's interest became enraged, and resolved upon the last violence. They therefore now drew up a great number of charges utterly false and slanderous, against both the company and the colony, under the invention and direction of Gondomar, and the lord treasurer Cranfield. These accusations were given to the latter, and he now undertook either by consent to get, or by force to wring the patent out of the hands of the company.

With this view on the Thursday before Easter, 1623, a council was called, and the deputy and others were sent for to attend. Who being come, the lord treasurer presented those papers of accusation to the lords, saying that they contained a charge which the deputy and company must answer by the next Monday. For that a longer time would not, and should not be allowed them. Mr. Ferrar taking up the bulky bundle, said he thought it impossible to assemble the company, and answer so many, and such strange articles in so short a time as two days; for Sunday was not a day for business, and therefore he humbly besought their lordships to allow him only a week, and he would desire no more. Upon this the lord treasurer cried out in great wrath, "Not an hour longer than till Monday afternoon, and therefore take up the papers and be gone."

These papers on examination were found to contain a huge parcel of absolute falsehoods, which the enemies of the company

character, in the text, here and elsewhere, are to be attributed principally, not to Mr. John Ferrar, but to the modern compiler, Dr. Peckard.

had invented, and drawn out to such an unreasonable length, that by the shortness of the time allowed (which was preconcerted with the lord treasurer) it was thought impossible that the agents for the company should give in any answer; that then Gondomar and his party would be triumphant, and able to boast that the Virginia company either could not, or durst not answer their accusation.

Mr. Ferrar however dividing the charge into three parts, giving one to lord Cavendish, another to sir Edwyn Sandys, and taking the third to himself, and employing six clerks very ready with the pen to copy fair, continuing at the work without interruption, night and day, allowing but two hours for sleep, and refreshment, did actually produce and lay before the council, a complete answer at the time appointed. The lords were assembled and making themselves merry with the expected embarrassment of the Virginia company. But in a very short time their merriment was converted into shame and confusion. A clerk was ordered to read the answer. The reading took up full six hours. When it was done, all was a considerable time deep silence and astonishment. The adversaries of the company were all perplexed, and confounded, and in shame retired home. They had however sufficient presence of mind to secrete and convey away the answer they had required. It never appeared more, and the company never heard what became of it.

The Spanish match being yet intended, and prosecuted, during this negotiation the king was the absolute slave of Gondomar, to do without regard to honour or justice whatsoever he should advise to be done. In consequence of this infatuation, the deputy, and thirty more of the directors, and principal persons of the Virginia company were now served with a writ of *Quo Warranto*, and commanded to show by what authority they pretended to exercise a power over the plantation, and to send a governor thither: and by this process the company now were obliged to go to law to defend their right.

After many delays the cause came on to be pleaded. The great plea which the king's attorney general (Coventry) brought against them was, "That it was in general an unlimited, vast patent. In particular, the main inconvenience was, that by the words of the charter, the company had a power given them to carry away, and transport to Virginia, as many of the king's loving subjects as were desirous to go thither. And consequently,

he said, by exercising this liberty, they may in the end carry away all the king's subjects into a foreign land ; and so leave his majesty a kingdom here indeed, but no subjects in it. And if this should be the case, what will then become of him, or of us ? This is certainly a strange clause, and the patent wherein it is contained ought to be forfeited."

This weighty argument extorted a smile even from the judges, and the lawyers concerned to carry on the prosecution. Nevertheless, it was admitted : for the determination was made, previous to entering upon the merits of the cause, what the decree should be. The attorney-general then proceeded, and said he had found a flaw in the company's answer, which if admitted, contained on the one hand too much, and on the other too little ; and therefore, being such a nicety in law, he craved sentence upon it as insufficient.

Sentence was thereupon given, "That the patent, or charter of the company of English merchants trading to Virginia and pretending to exercise a power and authority over his majesty's good subjects there, should be thenceforth null and void."

The king was at the bottom of this whole proceeding, which from beginning to end was a despotic violation of honour and of justice.

The great reputation of Mr. Ferrar being now spread over all parts of the country by the members of the late dissolved Virginia company, he was in 1624, elected a member of parliament. As this in a general consideration was highly proper on account of his extensive abilities, and known integrity ; so was there a peculiar propriety in his election at this time ; as there was an intention now to call to account before the house of parliament, those persons who had abused the king's ear, and had been guilty of those violent enormities in the false accusation of the managers of the Virginia company. For it was well known that Mr. Ferrar was not only more accurately acquainted with all the circumstances of that affair than any other person, but had also abilities and firmness sufficient to carry on the prosecution in a proper manner.

The prince being now returned from Spain in great discontent, the Spanish party at court began in some degree to lose their influence. The parliament met. Mr. Ferrar was appointed one of several committees : sir Edwyn Sandys, and many other members of the late Virginia company were also in this parlia-

ment. A charge was brought in against the lord treasurer, the earl of Middlesex, for taking bribes, and divers other exorbitancies committed in the execution of his office; and also for his conduct in the Virginia affair, and his violence in taking away the patent, and dissolving the company.

On this occasion the house appointed the lord William Cavendish, sir Edwyn Sandys, and Nicholas Ferrar to draw up the charge against him and those others, who had been his instruments in that scandalous proceeding. The charge was soon drawn up, as Mr. Ferrar had all the necessary materials ready in his hands. The accusation was opened by him in a speech which lasted two hours, and which gained him universal admiration. For now he was fully and publicly seen in this exertion of his great abilities. The lord treasurer was deprived of his office, and punished by a large fine, and imprisonment.

The iniquity of the Virginia business being fully proved, and laid before the public, by Mr. Ferrar, and the other managers, the house resolved to take the whole affair into their serious consideration, and endeavour to restore the company. But before they could make any progress they received a message from the king, "That he both already had, and would also hereafter take the affair of the said late Virginia company into his *own* most serious consideration and care: and that by the next parliament they should all see he would make it one of his *master pieces*, as it well deserved to be." And thus was all farther proceeding in that matter dishonourably stayed. For, as the event shewed, all these were nothing but fair words without any other intention than to stop the business. No care was taken of the plantation, but all was left to go to ruin. The violence and injustice, and other miseries consequent upon this falsehood, and repeated breach of honour in the king would supply a large story: but for divers reasons they are not proper to be here inserted.

When Mr. Ferrar was first elected deputy governor of the company, and by his office became accurately acquainted with all their circumstances, he was soon convinced of the unbounded influence of Gondomar, of the king's astonishing infatuation, and of his total disregard of truth and justice. Such a king as James was the properest instrument that could be found for such a workman as Gondomar; and Mr. Ferrar plainly saw the malice of the one, and the folly of the other; and like a wise man provided

all in his power against future contingencies. He saw that Gondomar by means of the king would probably ruin the company; and that if they should carry this point, they most likely would cause all the court books, registers, instructions, and all other writings of the company to be taken away from their officers: that if opportunity should afterward be offered, they might never be able to make use of them either for their own justification, or in refutation of the false accusations of their enemies. He did not therefore depend upon the present promising appearance of their affairs: he knew that malice was at work; and he had frequently seen a temporary calm precede the most destructive storm.

Being under apprehensions of this sort, about a year before the dissolution of the company, he procured an expert clerk fairly to copy out all the court books, and all other writings belonging to them, and caused them all to be carefully collated with the originals, and afterwards attested upon oath by the examiners to be true copies. The transcribing of which cost him out of his own pocket above 50*l.*, but this he thought one of the best services he could do the company.

When the lords of the council therefore (as before related) seized the originals, Mr. Ferrar had all these attested copies, as yet unknown to any of the company, safe in his possession. But now when the lord treasurer had procured sentence in form against the company, and all their muniments had been taken from them, Mr. Ferrar informed sir Edwyn Sandys, and some other of his most intimate friends, what a treasure he had yet remaining in his hands; and desired their opinion how he might best dispose of them. On hearing this they were equally surprised and overjoyed, and unanimously desired him to carry them to their late worthy governor the earl of Southampton. He did so, and farther told his lordship, that he now left them entirely to his lordship's care and disposal: that if hereafter there should be opportunity, he might make use of them in justification of his own, and the late company's most honourable and upright proceedings.

The earl of Southampton cordially embracing Mr. Ferrar, said to him, "You still more and more engage me to love and honour you. I accept of this your present as of a rich treasure. For these are evidences that concern my honour. I shall value them therefore even more than the evidences that concern my lands;

inasmuch as my honour and reputation are to me of more estimation than wealth or life itself. They are also the testimonials of all our upright dealings in the business of the late company and the plantation. I cannot therefore express how highly I think myself obliged to you for this instance of your care and foresight."

Soon after this interview, lord Southampton was advised not to keep these books in his own house, lest search should be made there for them; but rather to place them in the hands, and entrust them to the care of some particular friend. Which advice, as the times then stood, he thought proper to follow. He therefore delivered them into the custody of sir R. Killebrew, who kept them safely till he died. He left and recommended them to the care of sir Edward Sackville, late earl of Dorset, who died in May, 1652: and it is hoped that this noble family still hath them in safe keeping².

Mr. Ferrar having seen the dissolution of the Virginia company³, and no hope left of its revival, took his leave of the Virginia affairs by now paying the 300*l.* left by his father for the purpose of erecting a college there, to the governor and company of the Somers Islands: binding them in articles to send for three Virginia children, and bring them up in those islands: and when of fit age to put them out to some proper business: or else educate them in learning, and then send them back to the place of their birth, to convert their countrymen: and that when the first three were thus disposed of, three other should from time to time be sent for in succession for the same benevolent purpose.

And thus ended Mr. Ferrar's public life; in which he displayed

² *In safe keeping.*] It is very probable that they are still in safe keeping at Knowle, the ancestral residence of the Sackville family, now [1852] belonging to the countess of Amherst, the heiress of the dukes of Dorset.

³ *Dissolution of the Virginia company.*] Many facts relating to the history of this company will be found in the following work: viz., "*A Short Collection of the most remarkable Passages from the Originall to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company.* London, 1651." 4to. It is written by Arthur Woodnoth, and was given by him to his cousin, William Woodnoth, some years after whose death it was published, with a dedication by "A. P." to "the Company of Adventurers for the Sommer, *alias* the Bermudas Islands." A. P. calls Arthur Woodnoth, "a true friend and servant to sir John Danvers (see p. 8) and the Parliament interest." The Woodnoths, it will be remembered, were relations of the Ferrars. See p. 124.

many proofs of great and extensive abilities, and of uncommon virtue, particularly of indefatigable diligence, industry, and activity, by which he gained universal admiration, and performed many important services, both to the Virginia company, and all others with whom he was concerned.

The king having seized the patent and dissolved the Virginia company, and Mr. Ferrar having seen the attested copies of all the books and papers belonging to them delivered into safe custody in the Dorset family, he was now disengaged from public cares, and determined to carry into execution the plan he had long set his heart upon, to bid farewell to the busy world, and spend the remainder of his days in religious retirement, and a strict course of devotion.

Yet before he could complete his pious purpose it was necessary for him finally to settle some matters of great consequence, though of a private nature, which had been entrusted to his care. His established reputation for inflexible integrity had influenced several persons to prevail with him to undertake the executorship of their wills, and the settlement of their worldly affairs: and in some of these instances this trust concerned property of great value, and was involved in circumstances of great difficulty. Beside these occupations relative to the property of others, the situation of his brother required his immediate and close attention. Mr. John Ferrar had been for three years deputy governor of the Virginia company, and in order to give himself up wholly to the discharge of that important trust, he had put into the hands of his partners in mercantile business seven thousand pounds, and assigned the management of those affairs over to them. He also advanced six thousand pounds more to them, for which he was engaged by a personal security. Whether it were by mismanagement or misfortune does not at present appear, but about this time the concerns of this partnership were fallen into the greatest confusion, and involved in the utmost embarrassment. Mr. N. Ferrar nevertheless by his great sagacity and indefatigable industry, in a shorter time than could be believed, extricated his brother from all his difficulties, and settled his affairs in the most honourable manner at the loss of about three thousand pounds.

His next care was to provide a place fitted for the purpose, and corresponding with his ideas of religious retirement. His mother had indeed a very large house in London, in which had been holden

the meetings of the Virginia company: she had also a considerable estate, and a large house in the town of Hertford. But neither of these places had his approbation, both being too much in view of the public.

At length he was informed that the lordship of Little Gidding, in the county of Huntingdon, was to be sold. He immediately went thither to examine the place and premises, which he found, with respect to privacy of situation, exactly suited to his wishes. It was a parish that had been for some time depopulated. Nothing was left but one extremely large mansion-house, going hastily to decay, and a small church within thirty or forty paces of the house, and at that time converted into a barn. Upon his return to London he purchased the whole lordship, and this purchase was made in the year 1624.

But now the plague having been some time in London, was in the year 1625 spread over most parts of the town, and was discovered to be at the very next door to Mrs. Ferrar's house. Mr. N. Ferrar was therefore very urgent that she and the family would immediately depart into the country; but while she lingered, being unwilling to leave him behind, he procured a coach, and at length prevailed: and that very night, Whitsun-eve, she with her son John, and the rest of the family, went to her house at Hertford, and the following week to her daughter Collet's, at Bourne-bridge, in Cambridgeshire.

Mr. N. Ferrar would have attended his mother, but that he had not completely settled his brother's affairs. During this business, Mr. J. Ferrar, leaving his mother at Bourne, went to Gidding to make some necessary preparation there for the reception of the family, who were now become very unhappy at the stay of Mr. N. Ferrar in London, as they had been informed that the disorder was fatal every week to more than four thousand persons. As soon as he had finished the business which required his stay, he, with great joy and gratitude to God, repaired to Gidding; from whence he wrote to his mother, entreating her not to come to him in less than a month, that it might appear whether he had brought away any infection with him. But her impatience to see him was so great, that three days after she rode thither, and their meeting was such as might, at that time, be expected between a pious parent and a dutiful son, to the highest degree mutually affectionate; in its circumstances indeed very different from the modern meetings of parent and son: for he,

though twenty-seven years of age, who had been engaged in many public concerns of great importance, had been a distinguished member of parliament, and had conducted with effect the prosecution of the prime minister of the day, at first approaching his mother, knelt upon the ground to ask and receive her blessing. He then besought her to go into the house, rude as it was, and repose herself. This she refused till she had given thanks to God in the church, which was very near at hand. But she was exceedingly grieved to find it filled with hay and instruments of husbandry. Immediately all the workmen, many in number, employed in the repair of the house, were set to cleanse and repair the church: for she said she would not suffer her eyes to sleep nor her eyelids to slumber till she had purified the temple of the Lord. In about a month's time, finding that all danger of infection was over, she sent for her beloved daughter Collet, and her husband, and all their numerous family, to come and live with her at Gidding.

Mrs. Ferrar was now seventy-three years of age, yet was she possessed of so much vigour, and had so much of the appearance as well as the reality of health, that all who saw her concluded her to be not more than forty. Her family now consisted of near forty persons; and it being a season of deep humiliation on account of the mortality then become general all over the kingdom, it was determined to address themselves to God, as often as they conveniently could, according to the doctrine and discipline by law established in the church of England. To this end, Mr. N. Ferrar obtained permission of his old acquaintance bishop Williams, to have the service performed in the church, which was now put into decent repair; and he procured the minister of the adjoining parish to read the morning service every day at eight o'clock, the litany at ten, and the evening service at four. On the Sunday mornings the whole family went to Steeple Gidding, and in the afternoon the minister of that parish and his parishioners came to the church newly repaired by Mrs. Ferrar.

At Easter, 1626, the plague being then ceased, Mr. N. Ferrar and his mother, and some others of the family, went to London, to dispose of their great house there, to settle their remaining affairs, and to take a final leave of all their friends. When they had been some little time in London, he resolved, in order the better to carry on his religious plan by his own personal assistance, to become a deacon. This resolution he communicated to

none but his honoured tutor, Dr. Lindsel, who highly applauded it, and introduced him to Dr. Laud, then bishop of St. David's, by whom he was ordained deacon on the Trinity Sunday following.

On his return home he addressed himself to his mother, and shewed her in a writing signed, a vow which he had made with great solemnity; That since God had so often heard his most humble petitions, and delivered him out of many dangers; and in many desperate calamities had extended his mercy to him; he would therefore now give himself up continually to serve God to the utmost of his power, in the office of a deacon: into which office he had that very morning been regularly ordained. That he had long ago seen enough of the manners and of the vanities of the world; and that he did hold them all in so low esteem, that he was resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, in devotion, and charity, and in a constant preparation for death.

There is reason to believe that even in his infancy, and before he set out upon his travels, and after his great escape upon the Alps, he did privately and solemnly devote himself to God; and that after his unexpected recovery from his dangerous illness both at Padua and Marseilles he repeated these pious resolutions, adding also a vow of perpetual celibacy. This, if true, may account for his extraordinary continence (though in the full prime and vigour of life) in refusing the offer of a young lady of incomparable beauty and rare accomplishments, of the most amiable disposition, and of an immense fortune; who had also ingenuously confessed that he had won her highest approbation and esteem. Instances of such firmness of mind and self-denial seldom occur.

The news of Mr. Ferrar being ordained was soon spread abroad both in the city and at court, as in both he was universally known and very highly esteemed. His constant friends the marquis of Hamilton, lord Pembroke, and Sir Edwin Sandys took this opportunity of saying to him, That though he had formerly refused all temporal emoluments, yet now he had taken orders they must suppose that he had not any objection to spiritual preferment, and immediately made him an offer of some ecclesiastical benefices of great value. These he refused with steadiness and humility, saying that he did not think himself worthy. He added also, that his fixed determination was to rise no higher in the church

than the place and office which he now possessed, and which he had undertaken only with the view to be legally authorised to give spiritual assistance, according to his abilities, to his family or others, with whom he might be concerned. That as to temporal affairs, he had now parted with all his worldly estate, and divided it amongst his family. That he earnestly besought his honoured friends to accept his sincere thanks for their good opinion of him, for whose prosperity, both in this world and a better, he would never cease to pray. And now having finished all business in London, and taken a solemn and final leave of all their friends, he and his mother returned to Gidding.

It now comes in course to speak of the established œconomy both of the house and the church ; and it is hoped that the reader will here excuse a circumstantial relation : because on these very circumstances, misapprehended, and misrepresented, were founded all the calumnies and persecution which the family afterward suffered.

Many workmen having been employed near two years, both the house and church were in tolerable repair, yet with respect to the church Mrs. Ferrar was not well satisfied. She therefore new floored and wainscotted it throughout. She provided also two new suits of furniture for the reading-desk, pulpit, and communion-table : one for the week days, and the other for Sundays and other festivals. The furniture for week days was of green cloth, with suitable cushions and carpets. That for festivals was of rich blue cloth, with cushions of the same, decorated with lace, and fringe of silver. The pulpit was fixed on the north, and the reading-desk over against it, on the south side of the church, and both on the same level⁴: it being thought improper that a higher place should be appointed for preaching than that which was allotted for prayer. A new font was also provided, the leg, laver, and cover all of brass, handsomely and expensively wrought and carved ; with a large brass lectern, or pillar and eagle of brass for the Bible. The font was placed by the pulpit, and the lectern by the reading-desk.

The half-pace, or elevated floor, on which the communion-table stood at the end of the chancel, with the stalls on each side, was covered with blue taffety, and cushions of the finest tapestry and blue silk. The space behind the communion-table, under the east

⁴ *On the same level.*] See Walton's *Life of Herbert*, in this volume, p. 20.

window, was elegantly wainscotted, and adorned with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed, engraved on four beautiful tablets of brass, gilt.

The communion-table itself was furnished with a silver patin, a silver chalice, and silver candlesticks, with large wax candles in them. Many other candles of the same sort were set up in every part of the church, and on all the pillars of the stalls. And these were not for the purposes of superstition, but for real use ; which for great part of the year the fixed hours for prayer made necessary both for morning and evening service. Mrs. Ferrar also taking great delight in church music, built a gallery at the bottom of the church for the organ. Thus was the church decently furnished, and ever after kept elegantly neat and clean.

All matters preparatory to order and discipline being arranged and settled, about the year 1631, Dr. Williams, the bishop of Lincoln, came privately to Gidding, to pay a visit to his old friend Mr. N. Ferrar, with whom he had contracted a friendship at the Virginia board, and for whom he ever held the highest and most affectionate esteem.

By this visit he had an opportunity to view the church, and the house, and to examine into their way of serving God, which had been much spoken against ; to know also the soundness of the doctrine they maintained : to read the rules which Mr. N. Ferrar had drawn up for watching, fasting, and praying, for singing psalms and hymns, for their exercises in readings, and repetitions ; for their distribution of alms, their care of the sick, and wounded ; and all other regularities of their institution. All which the bishop highly approved, and bade them in God's name to proceed.

In 1633 Mrs. Ferrar came to a resolution⁵ to restore the

⁵ *Came to a resolution.*] "Their heavenly-mindedness was best discovered to their diocesan, when two sons of Mrs. Ferrar, the mother and matron of the household, treated with the bishop, to endow the church with the tithes, which had been impropriated : this was in September 1633, as appears by a smack of that which fell from the pen of the donor, as followeth :

" ' Right reverend father in God,

" ' The expectation of opportunities having some years wheeled me off from the performance of this business, I now think it necessary to break through all impediments, and humbly to present to your lordship the desires and the intentions of my heart : beseeching you on God's behalf to

glebe lands and tithes to the church, which some fourscore years before had been taken away, and in lieu thereof only 20% a year paid to the minister. She had from the first been so resolved, but had been put off by unexpected delays. She found great difficulty in making out the glebe lands: but at length by the industry of Mr. N. Ferrar, she overcame it. She then sent her sons John and Nicholas with a letter to the bishop informing him of her determination, and desiring it might be confirmed by his

take them into your fatherly consideration, and to give a speedy accomplishment to them, by the direction of your wisdom, and the assistance of your authority.'

"The rest is too much to be rehearsed, save a little of her prayer to God in the end of the papers.

"Be graciously pleased, Lord, now to accept from thy handmaid the restitution of that, which hath been unduly heretofore taken from thy ministers. And as an earnest and pledge of the total resignation of herself and hers to thy service, vouchsafe to receive to the use of thy church this small portion of that large estate, which thou hast bestowed on her the unworthiest of thy servants. Lord, redeem thy right, whereof thou hast been too long disseized by the world both in the possessions and in the person of thy hand-maid. And let this outward seizure of earth be accompanied with an inward surprisal of the heart and spirit, into thine own hands: so that the restorer, as well as that which is restored, may become, and be confirmed thine inheritance.'

"The bishop prayed to God that many such customers might come to him: so commended her free-will offering to God, and confirmed it.

"To make them some amends for their liberality to the church, he devised now to give them reputation against all detraction. Therefore in the spring that came after, he gave them warning on what Sunday he would preach in their church, whither an extreme press of people resorted from all the towns that heard of it. In his sermon he inserted most what it was *to die unto the world*: that the righteous should scarce be saved: that our right eye, and our right hand, and all our fleshly contentments, must be cut off, that we may enter into life. All tended to approve the dutiful and severe life of the Ferrars, and of the church that was in their house. After sermon the bishop took their invitation to dine with them. But they were so strict to keep that day holy, that they left not a servant at home to provide for the table. Yet it was handsomely furnished with that which was boiled and baked, that required no attendance, to stay any one from church to look to it. By this visit the bishop had the means to see their way of serving God; to know the soundness of doctrine which they maintained: to read their rules which they had drawn up for fasts, and vigils, and large distribution of alms: in which he bade them proceed in the name of God, and gave them his blessings at his departing."—Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, part ii. p. 51. See also Kennett *On Impropriations and Augmentation of Vicarages*, p. 235—7.

authority. This authority from the bishop was farther strengthened by a decree in chancery under lord Coventry.

In the spring of 1634, the bishop to make some acknowledgement of this generosity, gave notice, that he would again pay a visit to the family and give them a sermon. And it being known that he was a lover of church music, application was made to Dr. Towers, dean of Peterborough, who sent his whole choir to Gidding on the occasion. Divine service was performed throughout in the cathedral manner with great solemnity. The bishop preached a sermon adapted to the occasion, and in the afternoon gave confirmation to all of the neighbourhood who desired it.

Every thing relative to the church being now compleatly settled, Mr. Ferrar next turned his attention to the disposition of the mansion. The house being very large, and containing many apartments, he allotted one great room for their family devotions, which he called the Oratory, and adjoining to this, two other convenient rooms, one a night oratory for the men, the other a night oratory for the women: he also set out a separate chamber and closet for each of his nephews and nieces; three more he reserved for the schoolmasters; and his own lodgings were so contrived that he could conveniently see that every thing was conducted with decency and order. Without doors he laid out the gardens in a beautiful manner, and formed them in many fair walks.

Another circumstance that engaged his attention was, that the parish had for many years been turned into pasture grounds; that as there was a very large dovecote, and a great number of pigeons upon these premises, these pigeons must consequently feed upon his neighbours' corn; and this he thought injustice. He therefore converted this building into a school-house, which being larger than was wanted for the young people of the family, permission was given to as many of the neighbouring towns as desired it, to send their children thither, where they were instructed without expence, in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the Christian religion.

For this and other purposes, he provided three masters to be constantly resident in the house with him. The first was to teach English to strangers, and English and Latin to the children of the family: the second, good writing in all its hands, and arithmetic in all its branches: the third, to instruct them in the theory and practice of music, in singing, and performing upon

the organ, viol, and lute. On the last instrument his sister Collet was a distinguished performer.

For all these things the children had their stated times and hours. So that though they were always in action, and always learning something, yet the great variety of things they were taught prevented all weariness, and made every thing be received with pleasure. And he was used to say that he who could attain to the well-timing things, had gained an important point, and found the surest way to accomplish great designs with ease.

On Thursdays, and Saturdays in the afternoons, the youths were permitted to recreate themselves with bows and arrows, with running, leaping, and vaulting, and what other manly exercises they themselves liked best. With respect to the younger part of the females, the general mode of education was similar to that of the boys except where the difference of sex made a different employment or recreation proper. When the powers of reason and judgment became in some degree matured, they were all at proper times taken under the immediate instruction of Mr. Ferrar himself, who bestowed several hours every day in that important employment. According to the capacity of each he gave them passages of Scripture to get by heart, and particularly the whole book of psalms. He selected proper portions, of which he gave a clear explanation, and a judicious comment. But above all things he was anxiously attentive to daily catechetical lectures, according to the doctrine of the Church of England. And in order to make his pious labours extensively beneficial, he invited the children of all the surrounding parishes, to get the book of psalms by heart. To encourage them to this performance, each was presented with a psalter: all were to repair to Gidding every Sunday morning, and each was to repeat his psalm, till they could all repeat the whole book. These psalm-children, as they were called, more than a hundred in number, received every Sunday, according to the proficiency of each, a small pecuniary reward and a dinner, which was conducted with great regularity. For, when they returned from church, long trestles were placed in the middle of the great hall, round which the children stood in great order. Mrs. Ferrar, and her family then came in to see them served. The servants brought in baked puddings and meat: which was the only repast provided on Sundays for the whole family, that all might have an opportunity of attending divine service at church. She then set on the first dish herself, to give an example of

humility. Grace was said, and then the bell rang for the family, who thereupon repaired to the great dining-room, and stood in order round the table. Whilst the dinner was serving, they sang a hymn to the organ: then grace was said by the minister of the parish, and they sat down. During dinner one of the younger people, whose turn it was, read a chapter in the Bible, and when that was finished, another recited some chosen story out of the book of martyrs, or Mr. Ferrar's short histories. When the dinner was finished throughout the family, at two o'clock the bell summoned them to church to evening service, whither they went in a regular form of procession, Mr. N. Ferrar sometimes leading his mother, sometimes going last in the train: and having all returned from church in the same form, thus ended the *public* employment of every Sunday.

Immediately after church the family all went into the oratory, where select portions of the psalms were repeated, and then all were at liberty till five o'clock: at which hour in summer, and six in the winter, the bell called them to supper: where all the ceremonial was repeated exactly the same as at dinner. After supper they were again at liberty till eight, when the bell summoned them all into the oratory, where they sang a hymn to the organ, and went to prayers; when the children asked blessing⁷

⁷ *Asked blessing.*] Compare above, p. 182. This beautiful and pious custom, no small grace, ornament, and blessing, in the families of our ancestors (compare vol. ii. pp. 72, 73, of this collection), appears to have received its first shock, about this period, and during the Cromwellian usurpation; an interval in which, as it might easily be shown, a considerable portion of the best of our old English manners, and many practices, which were themselves part of, and instruments of piety, were exploded, and lost, by being branded under the odious name of popery. "The having of god-fathers at baptism, churching of women, prayers at the burial of the dead, *children asking their parents' blessing*, &c., which whilom were held *innocent* were now by *very many* thrown aside, as rags of popery. Nay, are not some gone so far already, as to cast into the *same heap*, not only the ancient hymn *Gloria Patri* (for the repeating whereof alone some have been deprived of all their livelihoods), and the *Apostles' Creed*; but even the use of the *Lord's Prayer* itself?"—Preface to Sanderson's *Sermons*, dated July 13, 1657, p. 73, edit. 1689. Yet, it is consolatory to find, that there were some happy families, of the most pious and excellent of the non-conformists, who were not deterred by that malignant, senseless, and fatal plea, from persevering in this devotion and homage to the Father of Spirits, so congenial to *his* temper and example, who commanded the young children to be brought unto him, who blamed those that would have kept them from him, who embraced them in his arms, laid his hands upon them and blessed them. "Immediately after the prayer was ended"

of their parents, and then all the family retired to their respective apartments ; and thus ended the *private* observation of the sabbath.

On the first Sunday of every month they always had a communion, which was administered by the clergyman of the adjoining parish ; Mr. N. Ferrar assisting as deacon. All the servants who then received the communion, when dinner was brought up, remained in the room, and on that day dined at the same table with Mrs. Ferrar, and the rest of the family.

That I may not be thought to conceal any thing which brought censure upon them, and led to their persecution, I will here insert the particular mode of their processions, and other circumstances which were condemned by some as being superstitious. I shall not pass any judgment myself on these ceremonials, relating mere matter of fact, and observing only that where there was error, it was error on the side of virtue and goodness.

When their early devotions in the oratory were finished they proceeded to church in the following order :

First, the three school-masters, in black gowns and Monmouth caps.

Then, Mrs. Ferrar's grandsons, clad in the same manner, two and two.

Then her son Mr. J. Ferrar, and her son-in-law Mr. Collet, in the same dress.

Then, Mr. N. Ferrar, in surplice, hood, and square cap, sometimes leading his mother.

Then, Mrs. Collet, and all her daughters, two and two.

Then, all the servants, two and two. The dress of all was uniform,

Then, on Sundays, all the psalm-children, two and two.

As they came into the church, every person made a low obeisance, and all took their appointed places. The masters, and gentlemen in the chancel : the youths knelt on the upper step of the half pace : Mrs. Ferrar, her daughters, and all her grand-

(as we are told by the celebrated Matthew Henry, in the life of his father, Mr. Philip Henry), "his children together, with bended knee, asked blessings of him and their mother ; that is, desired of them to pray to God to bless them ; which blessing was given with great solemnity and affection ; and if any of them were absent they were remembered ; *The Lord bless you and your brother ; or you and your sister that is absent.*" P. 56, edit. 1699. Compare *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 561, 2 ; Sanderson, and n.

daughters in a fair island-seat. Mr. N. Ferrar at coming in made a low obeisance; a few paces farther, a lower; and at the half-pace, a lower still: then went into the reading-desk, and read matins according to the book of common prayer. This service over, they returned in the same order, and with the same solemnity. This ceremonial was regularly observed every Sunday, and that on every common day was nearly the same. They rose at four; at five went to the oratory to prayers; at six, said the psalms of the hour, (for every hour had its appointed psalms,) with some portion of the gospel, till Mr. Ferrar had finished his Concordance, when a chapter of that work was substituted in place of the portion of the gospel. Then they sang a short hymn, repeated some passages of Scripture, and at half past six went to church to matins. At seven said the psalms of the hour, sang the short hymn, and went to breakfast. Then the young people repaired to their respective places of instruction. At ten, to church to the litany. At eleven to dinner. At which seasons were regular readings in rotation, from the Scripture, from the book of martyrs, and from short histories drawn up by Mr. Ferrar, and adapted to the purpose of moral instruction. Recreation was permitted till one; instruction was continued till three. Church at four, for evensong; supper at five, or sometimes six. Diversions till eight. Then prayers in the oratory: and afterwards all retired to their respective apartments. To preserve regularity in point of time, Mr. Ferrar invented dials in painted glass in every room; he had also sundials, elegantly painted with proper mottos, on every side of the church: and he provided an excellent clock to a sonorous bell.

The short histories alluded to above were probably composed on the occasion, and to suit some present purpose. Those which are still remaining in my possession are put together without any regularity of series, or any dependance of one upon another, and are as in the catalogue annexed^s.

^s LIVES.

[The life of Monica.
Of Abraham.
Of Elizer.
Of Lady Paula.
Of Hyldegardis.
Of Paracelsus.

Of Dr. Whitaker.
Of Scaliger.
Of Mr. Perkins.
Of Dr. Metcalf.
Of Sir Fran. Drake.
Of Mr. Cambden.

These lives, characters, and moral essays would, I think, fill

Of Haman.
Of Wolsey.
Of Brandon D. of Suffolk.
The life of Ld. Burleigh.
Of Sir J. Markham.
Of St. Augustin.
Of Bp. Ridley.
Of L. Jane Grey.
Of Q. Elizabeth.

Of Gus. Adolphus.
Of the Black Prince.
Of Joan Q. of Naples.
Of the Witch of Endor.
Of Joan of Arc.
Of Cæsar Borgia.
Of Jehu.
Of Andronicus Comnenus.
Of the Duke of Alva.

CHARACTERS.

The good Wife.
The good Husband.
The good Parent.
The good Child.
The good Master.
The good Servant.
The good Widow.
The constant Virgin.
The elder Brother.
The younger Brother.
The good Advocate.
The good Physician.
The controversial Divines.
The true Church antiquary.
The general Artist.
The faithful Minister.
The good Parishioner.
The good Patron.
The good Landlord.
The good Ma^r of a College.
The good Schoolmaster.
The good Merchant.
The good Yeoman.
The Handicrafts Man.
The good Soldier.

The good Sea-Captain.
The good Herald.
The true Gentleman.
The Favourite.
The wise Statesman.
The good Judge.
The good Bishop.
The true Nobleman.
The Court Lady.
The Embassadour.
The good General.
The Heir Apparent to the Crown.
The King.
The Harlot.
The Witch.
The Atheist.
The Hypocrite.
The Heretic.
The rigid Donatist.
The Liar.
The common Barreter.
The degenerous Gentleman.
The Pazzians Conspiracy¹.
The Tyrant.

GENERAL RULES, OR ESSAYS.

CHAP.

1. Of Hospitality.
2. Of Jestng.

CHAP.

3. Of Self-praising.
4. Of Travelling.

¹ *Pazzians Conspiracy.*] The conspiracy, at the head of which were pope Sixtus IV. and his nephew, Girolamo Riario, which was formed by Francesco de' Pazzi, to assassinate Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, in April, 1478.

two or three volumes in octavo². They are but a small part of the MS. works which Mr. Ferrar left behind him, which, as appears from some papers still existing, amounted to five volumes in folio. He was of opinion that instruction merely by precept might sometimes become dry and wearisome, and therefore was desirous to enliven his lectures by something that might give pleasure to the fancy at the same time that it conveyed wisdom to the heart. But he had great objection to plays, novels, and romances, and to poems, that were then, and indeed have ever since been in great esteem. He thought that in many instances they did not tend to the important point which he had in view. But he reflected also that our Saviour himself frequently delivered his discourses in parables; and therefore that fable, to a certain degree, might be admitted in moral instruction. With this view he composed those stories, and essays, which were intended to enliven their readings, and conversations. Beside these, he drew up regular discourses upon all the fasts and feasts of the church, and these also in their order made part of the readings. Every one of the young people, from the eldest to the youngest, male and female, was exercised every day in these public readings, and repetitions: by which the memory was wonderfully strengthened, and they all attained great excellence in speaking with propriety and grace.

But now four of Mr. Collet's eldest daughters being grown up to woman's estate, to perfect them in the practice of good house-

CHAP.

5. Of Company.
6. Of Apparel.
7. Of Building.
8. Of Anger.
9. Of expecting Preferment.
10. Of Memory.
11. Of Fancy.
12. Of Natural Fools.
13. Of Recreations.
14. Of Tombs.
15. Of Deformities.

CHAP.

16. Of Plantations.
17. Of Contentment.
18. Of Books.
19. Of Time-serving.
20. Of Moderation.
21. Of Gravity.
22. Of Marriage.
23. Of Fame.
24. Of the antiquity of Churches, and the necessity of them.
25. Of Ministers Maintenance.]

² *In octavo.*] The probability however is, that the greater part, if not the whole of this catalogue, were not original, but extracts: as Dr. Peckard would have been able to satisfy himself by consulting Fuller's *Holy State*, fol., where many of the titles of the chapters exactly correspond with those in this catalogue.

wifery, Mr. Ferrar appointed them in rotation to take the whole charge of the domestic œconomy. Each had this care for a month, when her accounts were regularly passed, allowed, and delivered over to the next in succession. There was also the same care and regularity required with respect to the surgeon's chest; and the due provision of medicines and all things necessary for those who were sick, or hurt by any misfortune. A convenient apartment was provided for those of the family who chanced to be indisposed, called the infirmary, where they might be attended, and properly taken care of, without disturbance from any part of the numerous family. A large room was also set apart for the reception of the medicines, and of those who were brought in sick, or hurt, and wanted immediate assistance. The young ladies were required to dress the wounds of those who were hurt, in order to give them readiness and skill in this employment, and to habituate them to the virtues of humility and tenderness of heart³. The office relative to pharmacy, the weekly inspection, the prescription, and administration of medicines, Mr. Ferrar reserved to himself, being an excellent physician: as he had for many years attentively studied the theory, and practice of medicine, both when physic fellow at Clare-hall, and under the celebrated professors at Padua. In this way was a considerable part of their income disposed of, and thus did Mr. Ferrar form his nieces to be wise and useful, virtuous, and valuable women.

³ *Tenderness of heart.*] In the Reliques of ancient English poetry we read "As to what will be observed in this ballad (Sir Cauline) of the art of healing being practised by a young princess, it is no more than what is usual in all the old romances, and was conformable to real manners; it being a practice derived from the earliest times among all the Gothic and Celtic nations, for women even of the highest rank to exercise the art of surgery. In the northern chronicles we always find the young damsels stanching the wounds of their lovers, and the wives those of their husbands. And even so late as the time of queen Elizabeth it is mentioned, among the accomplishments of the ladies of her court, that the eldest of them are skilfull in surgery."—*Rel. of Ant. Eng. Poetry*. Introd. to Sir Cauline, p. 39.

"I could set down the ways and means whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and avoid idleness, while the youngest sort applie to their lutes, citharnes, prick-song, and all kinds of music: how many of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgery, and distillation of waters, &c. I might easily declare, but I pass over such manner of dealing, lest I should seem to glaver, and currie favour with some of them."—Harrison's *Descrip. of Eng. before Hollingshead's Chron.* p. 196, col. ii. l. 20.

In order to give some variety to this system of education, he formed the family into a sort of collegiate institution, of which one was considered as the founder, another guardian, a third as moderator, and himself as visitor of this little academy. The seven virgin daughters formed the junior part of this society, were called The Sisters⁴, and assumed the names of, 1st. The Chief. 2d. The Patient. 3d. The Chearful. 4th. The Affectionate. 5th. The Submiss. 6th. The Obedient. 7th. The Moderate. These all had their respective characters to sustain, and exercises to perform suited to those characters.

For the Christmas season of the year 1631, he composed twelve excellent discourses, five suited to the festivals within the twelve days, and seven to the assumed name and character of the sisters. These were enlivened by hymns and odes composed by Mr. Ferrar, and set to music by the music master of the family, who accompanied the voices with the viol, or the lute. That exercise which was to be performed by the Patient, is alone to be excepted. There was not any poetry, or music at the opening of this as of all the rest: the discourse itself was of a very serious turn, it was much longer than any other, and had not any historical anecdote, or fable interwoven into the body of it. The contrivance here was to exercise that virtue which it was intended to teach.

Upon the whole, these and many other dialogues, conversations, histories, fables, and essays, which Nicholas Ferrar penned for the immediate use of his family, and left behind him in many large volumes, if ever the world should be so happy as to see them, will best show what he was, a man every way so complete, that few ages have brought forth his equal; whether we consider his vast memory, his deep judgment, his rare contrivance, or the elegance of stile in the matter, and manner of his compositions.

Amongst other articles of instruction and amusement Mr. Ferrar entertained an ingenious bookbinder who taught the family, females as well as males, the whole art and skill of book-binding, gilding, lettering, and what they called pasting-printing, by the use of the rolling-press. By this assistance he composed

⁴ *The Sisters.*] A paper of "Remains of the Maiden-Sisters' Exercises at Little-Gidding" is given by Thos. Hearne in his *Cui Vindiciæ*, vol. ii. pp. 713—94. It consists principally of Discourses and Histories suitable to the seasons of Lent, Christmas, and Advent.

a full harmony, or concordance of the four evangelists, adorned with many beautiful pictures, which required more than a year for the composition, and was divided into 150 heads or chapters. For this purpose he set apart a handsome room near the oratory. Here he had a large table, two printed copies of the evangelists, of the same edition, and great store of the best and strongest white paper. Here he spent more than an hour every day in the contrivance of this book, and in directing his nieces, who attended him for that purpose, how they should cut out such and such particular passages out of the two printed copies of any part of each evangelist, and then lay them together so as to perfect such a head or chapter as he had designed. This they did first roughly, and then with nice knives and scissars so neatly fitted each passage to the next belonging to it, and afterwards pasted them so even and smoothly together, upon large sheets of the best white paper, by the help of the rolling-press, that many curious persons who saw the work when it was done, were deceived, and thought that it had been printed in the ordinary way. This was the *mechanical method* which he followed in compiling his harmony. The title of his book ⁵ was as follows :

“The Actions, Doctrines, and other passages touching our blessed Lord and Saviour J. Christ, as they are related in the four Evangelists, reduced into one compleat body of history : wherein that which is severally related by them is digested into order ; and that which is jointly related by all or any of them is, first, expressed in their own words, by way of comparison ; secondly, brought into one narration by way of composition ; thirdly, extracted into one clear context by way of collection ; yet so as whatsoever was omitted in the context is inserted by way of supplement in another print, and in such a manner as all the four evangelists may be easily read severally and distinctly ; each apart and alone from first to last : and in each page throughout the book are sundry pictures added, expressing either the facts themselves, or their types and figures ; or other things appertaining thereunto. The whole divided into 150 heads.”

I cannot help transcribing here a passage from Dr. Priestley's preface to his *Harmony of the Evangelists*. “If I should be thought to have succeeded better than the generality of my predecessors, I shall attribute it chiefly to the mechanical methods

⁵ *His book.*] See p. 218.

I made use of in the arrangement of it; which were as follow. I procured two printed copies of the gospel, and having cancelled one side of every sheet, I cut out all the separate histories, &c. in each gospel, and having a large table appropriated to that use, I placed all the corresponding parts opposite to each other, and in such an order as the comparison of them (which when they were brought so near together was exceedingly easy) directed.

“In this loose order the whole harmony lay before me a considerable time, in which I kept reviewing it at my leisure, and changing the places of the several parts of it, till I was as well satisfied with the arrangement of them, as the nature of the case would admit. I then fixed the places of all these separate papers, by pasting them, in the order in which they lay before me, upon different pieces of pasteboard, carefully numbered and by this means also divided into sections.”

This exact agreement in contrivance between two men of uncommon genius and abilities, with respect both to the plan and conduct of the work; men living at a hundred and sixty years difference of time, men too in learning, penetration, and judgment perfectly qualified for so arduous an undertaking, affords the strongest presumptive proof of the excellence of the method, and at the same time the highest recommendation of it to the observation and practice of all who are engaged in a similar course of study.

Several of the harmonies were afterward finished upon the same plan with some improvements: one of these books was presented to Mr. Ferrar's most dear and intimate friend, the well known Mr. Geo. Herbert, who in his letter of thanks for it, calls it a most inestimable jewel; another was given to his other singular friend Dr. Jackson. The fame of this work, the production of a man so celebrated as the author had been, soon reached the ears of the king, who took the first opportunity to make himself personally acquainted with it, by obtaining the perusal of it.

Mr. Ferrar about this time wrote several very valuable treatises, and made several translations from authors in different languages, on subjects which he thought might prove serviceable to the cause of religion. Among others, having long had a high opinion of John Valdesso's *Hundred and ten Considerations*⁶, &c.

⁶ *Hundred and ten Considerations.*] See note at p. 47.

a book which he met with in his travels, he now (in 1632) translated it from the Italian copy into English, and sent it to be examined and censured by his friend Mr. Herbert, before it was made public. Which excellent book Mr. Herbert returned with many marginal notes, and criticisms, as they are now printed with it; with an affectionate letter also recommending the publication.

In May, 1633, his majesty set out upon his journey to Scotland, and in his progress he stepped a little out of his road to view Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, which by the common people was called *the Protestant Nunnery*. The family having notice, met his majesty at the extremity of the parish, at a place called, from this event, the King's Close: and in the form of their solemn processions conducted him to their church, which he viewed with great pleasure. He enquired into, and was informed of the particulars of their public, and domestic oeconomy: but it does not appear that at this time he made any considerable stay. The following summer his majesty and the queen passed two nights at Apethorpe in Northamptonshire, the seat of Mildmay Fane earl of Westmoreland. From thence he sent one of his gentlemen to *intreat* (his majesty's own word) a sight of *The Concordance*, which, he had heard, was some time since done at Gidding; with assurance that in a few days, when he had perused it, he would send it back again. Mr. N. Ferrar was then in London, and the family made some little demur, not thinking it worthy to be put into his majesty's hands; but at length they delivered it to the messenger. But it was not returned in a few days, or weeks: some months were elapsed, when the gentleman brought it back from the king, who was then at London. He said he had many things to deliver to the family from his master. First, to yield the king's hearty thanks to them all for the sight of the book, which passed the report he had heard of it. Then to signify his approbation of it in all respects. Next to excuse him in two points. The first for not returning it so soon as he had promised: the other for that he had in many places of the margin written notes in it with his own hand. And (which I know will please you) said the gentleman, you will find an instance of my master's humility in one of the margins. The place I mean is where he had written something with his own hand, and then put it out again, acknowledging that he was mistaken in that particular. Certainly this was an act of great humility in

the king, and worthy to be noted; and the book itself is much graced by it.

The gentleman farther told them, that the king took such delight in it, that he passed some part of every day in perusing it. And lastly, he said, to show you how true this is, and that what I have declared is no court compliment, I am expressly commanded by my master, earnestly to request of you, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, and of the young ladies, that you would make him one of these books for his own use, and if you will please to undertake it, his majesty says you will do him a most acceptable service.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar and the young ladies returned their most humble duty, and immediately set about what the king desired. In about a year's time it was finished; and it was sent to London to be presented to his majesty by Dr. Laud, then made archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Cosins, master of Peterhouse, whose turn it was to wait that month, being one of the king's chaplains. This book was bound entirely by Mary Collet (one of Mr. Ferrar's nieces) all wrought in gold, in a new and most elegant fashion.

The king after long and serious looking it over, said, "This is indeed a most valuable work, and in many respects worthy to be presented to the greatest prince upon earth. For the matter it contains is the richest of all treasures. The laborious composure of it into this excellent form of an harmony; the judicious contrivance of the method, the curious workmanship in so neatly cutting out and disposing the text, the nice laying of these costly pictures, and the exquisite art expressed in the binding, are, I really think, not to be equalled. I must acknowledge myself to be indeed greatly indebted to the family for this jewel: and whatever is in my power, I shall at any time be ready to do for any of them."

Then after some pause, taking the book⁷ into his hands he said, "And what think you, my lord of Canterbury, and you Dr. Cosins, if I should ask a second favour of these good people? indeed I have another request to make to them, and it is this. I often read over the lives and actions of the kings of Judah

⁷ *Taking the book.*] This, and another of these books, both in fine preservation, are still extant in the British Museum (as I am obligingly informed by John Holmes, Esq., one of the librarians, to whom I am very largely indebted, in the entire progress of this *third* edition [1839] through the press), and is part of the royal collection given by king George II. to the Museum, at its foundation. See pp. 218, 219.

and Israel in the books of the Kings, and the Chronicles, and I frequently meet with difficulties. I should be much obliged if Mr. Ferrar would make me such a book as may bring all these matters together into one regular narration, that I may read the whole in one continued story, and yet at the same time may be able to see them separate; or what belongs to one book, and what to another. I have long ago moved several of my chaplains to undertake this business: but it is not done: I suppose it is attended with too much difficulty. Will you, my lord, apply for me to Mr. Ferrar?" The archbishop wrote to Mr. Ferrar, acquainting him with the king's desires; and Mr. Ferrar immediately set himself about the work.

In the course of little more than a year, about Oct. 1636, Mr. Ferrar and his assistants completed the harmony of the two books of the Kings and Chronicles, and young Nicholas Ferrar bound it in purple velvet, most richly gilt. It was sent to the archbishop and Dr. Cosins, to be by them presented to the king. His majesty was extremely delighted with it, saying, "it was a fit mirror for a king's daily inspection. Herein," he said, "I shall behold God's mercies and judgments: his punishing of evil princes, and rewarding the good. To these his promises, to those his threatenings most surely accomplished. I have a second time gained a great treasure. What I said of the first book, I may most justly say of this; and I desire you will let them know my high esteem both of it and of them." Dr. Cosins then presented a letter from Mr. Ferrar, which the king declared he thought the finest composition he ever read. In farther discoursing of these harmonies with the divines, the king determined that for public benefit they should be printed under his own immediate command and protection. But the troubles of the ensuing times prevented this laudable purpose from being carried into execution. The title of this second harmony was as follows:

"The History of the Israelites from the death of King Saul, to their carrying away captive into Babylon: collected out of the books of the Kings, and Chronicles, in the words of the text, without any alteration of importance by addition to or diminution from them. Whereby, first, all the actions and passages related in any of the books of the Kings and Chronicles, whether jointly or severally, are reduced into the body of one complete narration. Secondly, they are digested into an orderly dependance one upon the other. Thirdly, many difficult places are

cleared, and many seeming differences between the books of Kings and Chronicles compounded. And this is so contrived, as notwithstanding the mutual compositions of the books into one historical collection, yet the form of each of them is preserved entire, in such a manner as they may be easily read, severally and distinctly from first to last. Together with several tables. The first, summarily declaring the several heads or chapters into which the historical collection is divided. The second, specifying what passages are related severally in the aforesaid books, and what are jointly related by them both : as also in what heads and chapters in this collection they may be found. The third, shewing where every chapter of the texts themselves, and every part of them may be readily found in this historical collection."

Fragments of one copy of this, and some other of the harmonies, with some of the prints belonging to them, and the three tables specified in the title above, have lately been found among the old MSS. of the family : but very much disjointed and confused, and considerably hurt by time and other injuries.

These are probably the last works of this sort, executed by Mr. Ferrar, who died in little more than a year, and was very weak and infirm a considerable time before his death. But the connexion between the king and this family did not cease on Mr. Ferrar's death. For it appears from several papers still in being, that there was what may be justly called a friendly intercourse subsisting even till the distressful year 1646. For during this interval, and after the death of Mr. Ferrar, other harmonies of other parts of the Scripture were drawn up by Nicholas Ferrar jun. upon the plan of his uncle, by the particular direction of the king, for the use of the prince ; and were to him presented in the years 1639, 1641, and at other times. This extraordinary young man was particularly favoured by the king, who had undertaken to send him to Oxford under his own immediate protection ; and to take upon himself the care and expence of completing his education. But his ill state of health which ended in an early death, prevented the execution of this benevolent intention. The particular memorials^s of this intercourse were probably lost in the ensuing distractions.

On the 27th of April, in that fatal year (1646) the king left

^s *The particular memorials.*] These memorials, the subject deservedly of Dr. Peckard's repeated regret, have happily been preserved, and are now published here from a MS. (No. 251) in the Lambeth Library.

Oxford. Being unresolved how to dispose of himself, he shifted about from place to place, with his trusty chaplain, Dr. Hudson, and at length came to Downham in Norfolk. From thence he came on May the 2nd very privately and in the night to Gidding. Mr. Nicholas Ferrar had been dead several years. But the king having an entire confidence in the family, made himself known to Mr. John Ferrar, who received his majesty with all possible duty and respect. But fearing that Gidding, from the known loyalty of the family, might be a suspected place, for better concealment he conducted his majesty to a private house at Coppinford, an obscure village at a small distance from Gidding, and not far from Stilton. Here the king slept, and went from thence, May 3, to Stamford, where he lodged one night, staid till eleven the next night, and from thence went, on May 5, to the Scotch army.

Of the king's coming at this time in this state of distress to Gidding, I collect from various authorities the following evidence.

In the examination of Dr. Michael Hudson, taken May 16, 1646, before Henry Dawson, esq. deputy mayor of Newcastle upon Tyne, he deposes that he came from Oxford on Monday morning about 3 o'clock, April 27; and that his majesty, Mr. Ashburnham, and himself, made use of an old pass, which they had gotten from an officer in Oxford. That they went first to Dorchester, then to Henley, Maidenhead, and so on the road toward London: but he refused to say where the king lodged on Monday night. That when they turned to go northward, his majesty lodged Tuesday, Ap. 28, at Whethamstead near to St. Albans. That from thence his majesty went to a small village within seven miles from Newmarket, and lodged in a common inn, Wednesday 29. From thence they went to a place called Downham, where his majesty lodged, Thursday, 30. From thence to Coppinford, where his majesty lodged, Friday, May 1. From thence to Stamford, May 2, where they stayed till midnight, May 3. Went from thence, Monday, May 4, and came to the Scotch army, Tuesday, May 5.

This is the substance of the examination of Dr. Hudson concerning the king's journey from Oxford to the Scotch army⁹.

⁹ *Scotch army.*] [Michael Hudson was born in Westmoreland, and educated in Queen's college, Oxford. In 1630 he was made fellow of that college. He was afterwards beneficed in Lincolnshire. But when the king set up his standard he left his benefice and adhered to him. After the battle at

In the letter from Miles Corbett and Valentine Walton to Mr. Lenthall the speaker, directed, *Haste, Haste, Post Haste*, the account agrees with the examination of Dr. Hudson, with respect to the king's coming with Hudson to Downham, and lodging there on Thursday the last day of April, but states that they *cannot learn* where they were on Friday night. It afterwards mentions several particular circumstances, as their being at a blind alehouse at Crimplesham about eight miles from Lynn, and the king's being in a parson's habit, and changing his black coat and cassock for a grey one procured by Mr. Skipwith; and that his majesty bought a new hat at Downham. But these particulars seemed to be delivered more from hearsay accounts, than regular evidence. The main purport of this letter confirms the deposition in Dr. Hudson's examination, that the king certainly was at Downham, on the last of April, or the first of May: and in fact he was there on both days, coming to that place on the last of April, and leaving it on the first of May.

Mr. Ferrar's MS. asserts that the king came very privately to Gidding, May 2. Dr. Hudson says the king slept at Coppinford,

Edge-hill he retired to Oxford, and in February, 1642, was created D.D. and made chaplain to his majesty. Soon after, he had an important employment in the army, in the north, under the command of the marquis of Newcastle. On the 8th of June, 1646, he was discovered at Rochester, brought to London, and committed prisoner to London-house. On Nov. 18, he escaped from his prison, and in January following he was retaken, and committed close prisoner to the Tower. He escaped also from thence in the beginning of 1648. On the 6th of June that year, intelligence was brought to the parliament that the royalists were in arms in Lincolnshire, under the command of Dr. Hudson; and two days after, information came from col. Tho. Waite that he had suppressed the insurrection of malignants at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, and had killed their commander, Dr. Hudson.

The circumstances of his death were attended with peculiar barbarity. He fled with the chief of his party to Woodcroft-house, near Peterborough. The house being forced, and most of the royalists taken, Hudson, with some of the most courageous, went to the battlements, where they defended themselves for some time. At length, upon promise of quarter, they yielded; but when they had so done, the promise of quarter was broken. Hudson being thrown over the battlements, caught hold of a spout, or out-stone, and there hung: but his hands being cut off, he fell into the moat underneath, much wounded, and desired to come on land to die there. As he approached the shore, one of his enemies beat his brains out with the butt end of his musket. See A. Wood, vol. ii. col. 113. See also the interesting papers in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, b. ix. vol. ii. p. 347—81. On this sir Walter Scott has founded the story of Dr. Rochecliffe in "*Woodstock*."

May 1. These two accounts may easily be reconciled. Dr. Hudson reckons the night, or time of his majesty's lodging and sleeping, as belonging to the preceding day, on which he came from Downham or Crimplesham, which was May the first. But as the king came very privately to Gidding, and in the very dead of the night; and as it must necessarily require some time to provide for his lodging at Coppinford, this would of course break into the morning of May the 2nd: and Mr. Ferrar might with equal propriety say that the king came very privately to Gidding, and that he conducted his majesty to sleep at Coppinford, May 2.

These circumstances must awaken the compassion¹⁰ of every feeling heart, even amongst those who are disposed to lay the heaviest load of blame upon the king: since they are mentioned not as an insinuation that he was free from faults, or as an extenuation of those with which he might be justly charged: but as a proof of very affecting distress, and a strong instance of the instability of worldly greatness. He had his faults; and who hath not? but let it be remembered that there were virtues to set in the balance against them.

I have been anxious to ascertain this point, from a desire to make it known beyond all doubt, what was the very last place where this most unfortunate prince was in the hands of those whom he might safely trust, and under the protection of an honest and confidential friend; and that this place was the residence, and now contains the remains of that worthy person to whose memory these pages are devoted.

In fitting up the house at Gidding, moral sentences, and short passages from the Scriptures¹¹ had been put up in various places; and in the great parlour was an inscription which gave rise to

¹⁰ *Awaken the compassion.*] The distresses of this unhappy monarch, independently of the last bloody scene of the tragedy, excited much commiseration in the English hearts even of many who never sided amongst his partizans in the war. We are told in the Life of Mr. Thomas Rosewell, afterwards a dissenting minister, and who was found guilty of treason in the reign of Charles II., that "travelling a little from home, he accidentally saw king Charles the First, in the fields, sitting at dinner under a tree, with some few persons about him. This made such deep impressions in his young and tender mind, as disposed him to the greater compassion and loyalty towards that unhappy monarch."—*Trial of Mr. Thomas Rosewell*, p. 5.

¹¹ *Passages from the Scriptures.*] This was according to a practice introduced, both into houses and churches, about the time of the Reformation.

"*Christophor.* I am loth to go so soone out of this your hall, which

much speculation and censure. It was nevertheless first approved of by several judicious divines, and particularly by Mr. Herbert,

feedeth mine eies with so many godly and goodly spectacles. *Philemon*. Why is here any thing that you thinke worthy to be looked upon? *Christoph.* Every thing is here so pleasaunte and comfortable to the eye of a Christian man, that he being in this haull may justlye seeme to be in a delectable paradise, I had almost sayd in another heaven. For here is nothing dumme: all things speake. *Theophile.* I pray you what is there written upon your parclose dore? *Philem.* The saying of Christ, *I am the dore; by me if any man entreth in, he shall be safe, and shall goe in and out, and shall find pasture.* This is done to put me and my householde in remembrance that Christ is the dore by whome we must enter into the favour of God. *Eusebius.* This is Christenly done. What is this, that is written upon your chimney? *Phil.* The saying of the prophete Esay, *The fire of them shall not be quenched.* *Christ.* This is a terrible and hard saying. *Phil.* I have paynted this sentence in that place, that as the other fixed upon the dore maketh me to rejoyse and to put my whole affyaunce in Christ, so this in like manner should absterre and feare me and mine from doying evil whan by lookyng on this text we consider with ourselves the unquenchable flames of hell fier.—*Euseb.* What have ye there written in your window? *Philem.* Christes saying in the Gospel of S. John, *I am the light of the world. He that followeth me walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.* *Theoph.* Your table also, me thinke, speaketh. *Philem.* Herein is graven the saying of Christ, *Blessed is he that eateth bread in the kingdom of God.* This is to admonish us, that we should not have all our pleasure in eating, drinking, and banketing after the maner of Epicures, but rather desier so to live in this world, that after this life we may be fed in the joyful kingdom of God by enjoying the most glorious sight of the divine majestie. *Euseb.* What have ye paynted over youre table? *Philem.* The sayinge of the prophete Esay, yea rather the commaundement of God by his prophet, *Breake thy bread to the hungry, and leade in the needy and way-faring into thy house.* *Euseb.* I pray you what is that your chaires and stoles have carved on them? *Philem.* A saying of Christ in the Revelation of John; *To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne.* It is not unknownen to you, I am sure, how comfortable a thing it is for a very body to sit, and to have a restyng place. Certes it is a thousande times more comfortable to have a place where body and soule after so many great and daungerous conflicts in this miserable worlde, may quietly rest. Therefore have I wrytten this texte on my chayres and stoles, to put me and myne in remembrance, that if we will find rest after this life, we must seriously not dally, but fighte with Satan our enemy.” The cup, the dishes, the laver, the virginals, the door posts, all had their respective superscriptions in the house of Philemon, which are recounted in the progress of the Dialogue. The last instance mentioned, is the following: “*Euseb.* I pray you what two great tables have you hanging there openly? *Phil.* This is the table of the Ten Commaundements, which teacheth us what we ought to do, and what to eschewe. The other is a table also which containeth in it the offices of all degrees and estates. It teacheth us what we

who advised it to be engraved in brass, and so hung up that it might be seen of all. But calumny was now gone forth, and nothing could be done at Gidding that was not subjected to the severest misrepresentation. The inscription was as follows :

I H S

HE who (by reproof of our errors, and remonstrance of that which is more perfect) seeks to make us better, is welcome as an Angel of God.

And

HE who (by a cheerful participation of that which is good) confirms us in the same, is welcome as a Christian Friend.

But

He who any ways goes about to disturb us in that which is and ought to be amongst Christians (tho' it be not usual in the world) is a burden whilst he stays and shall bear his judgment whosoever he be.

And

HE who faults us in absence for that which in presence he made shew to approve of, doth by a double guilt of flattery and slander violate the bands both of friendship and charity.

MARY FERRAR, *Widow,*

Mother of this Family,

aged fourscore years,

(who bids adieu to all fears and hopes of this world, and only desires to serve God)

set up this Table.

The extraordinary course of life pursued at Gidding, the strict-

owe to our most noble Prince, to our parentes, and to all superiours. In this table every man from the highest degree to the lowest may learne his office and duty. Therefore are these two tables red every day openly in my house : my wife and children, with all my servaunts beyng called thereunto, and giving attendance diligently to the reading of the same. If any of my houshold transgresse any parcel of God's lawe, he is brought streight way to these tables, and by them is his faulte declared unto hym. This is the order of my house. Other correccion than this use I none : yet notwithstanding I thanke my Lord God, all doe theyr duty so well, that I cannot wish it to be done better." Becon's *Christmasse Banket*, Works, vol. i. fol. 17, A.D. 1564. See also fol. 34. In the reign of queen Mary all the texts of Scripture which had been written on the walls of churches were commanded by authority to be blotted out and defaced. See Becon's *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 176. b. and Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 57.

So again, Ferrar's friend, George Herbert, speaking of the country parsonage : " Even the walls are not idle, but something is written or painted there, which may excite the reader to a thought of piety ; especially the 101st Psalm, which is expressed in a fair table, as being the rule of a family." *A Priest to the Temple*, chap. x.

ness of their rules, their prayers, literally without ceasing, their abstinence, mortifications, nightly watchings, and various other peculiarities, gave birth to censure in some, and inflamed the malevolence of others, but excited the wonder and curiosity of all. So that they were frequently visited¹ with different views by persons of all denominations, and of opposite opinions. They received all who came with courteous civility; and from those who were inquisitive they concealed nothing: for in truth there was not any thing either in their opinions or their practice that was in the least degree necessary to be concealed. Whether their conduct was a subject of admiration or of imitation is a distinct enquiry, which at present there is not any occasion to enter upon. They were at the time, notwithstanding all the real good they did, severally slandered and vilified: by some they were abused as papists; by others as puritans. Mr. Ferrar himself, though pos-

¹ *Frequently visited.*] “The nearest gentleman in the neighbourhood was a Roman Catholic: yet he and his lady often visited Gidding, without any pressing expectations to be paid those respects in the same kind, by a family so constantly better employed than in returning visits of compliment. Besides, the master of their morals used to warn them all, but especially the younger people under his care, ‘that *he* is wise and good, and like to continue so, that keeps himself out of temptation.’

“One day his neighbour brought with him to Gidding, three learned priests of his own religious communion; one of them a celebrated writer for the church of Rome; all of them full of curiosity to sound a man of such depth of learning, of such an excellent understanding, and of so great piety, as rumour had attached to the character of Mr. Ferrar. He did not decline engaging with them; in which he was upon a vast advantage above ordinary managers of similar controversies, having in his travels, with his own eyes, seen their practices, and made it so much his business to compare them with their pretences. The conference was spun out to a great length; it was supported on all hands with equal temper, and with such acuteness too, as not to leave the question where they found it. They traversed every essential point of difference between protestant and papist, and parted upon such terms as were proper for men who desired at least to maintain the communion of charity with each other.

“One of them afterwards related that he had ‘seen Little Gidding, the place so much in every body’s mouth;’ that ‘they found the master of the house another kind of man than they expected: a deep and solid man, of a wonderful memory, sharp-witted, and of a flaming eloquence: one who, besides his various reading, spoke out of experience, with insight into *things*, as well as *books*.’ In conclusion, he was heard to say, that this man, if he lived to make himself known to the world, would give their church her hands full to answer him, and trouble them in another manner than Luther had done.”—*Brief Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar* (from bishop Turner, &c.) p. 133, 4.

sessed of uncommon patience, and resignation, yet in anguish of spirit complained to his friends, that the perpetual obloquy he endured was a sort of unceasing martyrdom².

Hence violent invectives, and inflammatory pamphlets were published against them. Amongst others, not long after Mr. Ferrar's death, a treatise³ was addressed to the parliament, en-

² *Unceasing martyrdom.*] "He was so exercised with contradictions, as no man that lived so private as he desired to do, could possibly be more. I have heard him say, valuing, not resenting, his own sufferings, in this kind, that *to fry a faggot was not more martyrdom, than continual obloquy*. He was torn asunder as with mad horses, or crushed betwixt the upper and under milstone of contrary reports; that he was a *Papist*, and that he was a *Puritan*. What is, if this be not, to be sawn asunder as Esay, stoned as Jeremy, made a drum, or tympanized, as other saints of God were! And after his death, when by injunction, which he laid upon his friends when he lay on his death bed, a great company of comedies, tragedies, love hymns, heroical poems, &c. were burnt upon his grave, as utter enemies to Christian principles and practices, (that was his brand) some poor people said, *He was a conjuror.*" Oley's *Life of Mr. George Herbert*, prefixed to his *Country Parson*.

³ *A treatise.*] The history of this *treatise*, which had no little effect at the time when it first appeared, and which has not been without some influence in our own times, is curious. Sir Thomas Hetley or Hedley, knight, a lawyer of some note, who, with Heneage Finch, and others, on the 26th June, 1623, had been made serjeant-at-law, was desirous of learning some particulars as to the proceedings of the Ferrars family at Gidding, which was not very distant from Brampton, where he possessed some property. He therefore requested his friend and relation, Edward Lenton, (of Gray's Inn and of Notley, or Noctele Abbey, in Buckinghamshire, near Thame,) to visit Gidding for that purpose. Some time in the year 1635, Edward Lenton went there, and wrote a letter to sir T. Hetley, intituled, "*Letter to Sir Thomas Hetley, knt., serjeant-at-lawe, upon his request, to certifie as I found concerninge the reputed nunnerie at Giddinge, in Huntingdonshire,*" giving a very favourable account of the Ferrars family, and of their proceedings. This was circulated in manuscript, the temper of the times not being very favourable to its appearance in print. The author's name was not given, and it appears to have been purposely concealed. The British Museum possesses several contemporary copies, one of which is said to be "by a friend:" another has the initials "H. S." The Letter was first printed by Thomas Hearne, in his edition of *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*, Oxford, 1725, vol. i. p. cix., "from a MS. lent to the publisher on July 6th, 1724, by Thomas Ward, of Longbridge, near Warwick, esq.," which MS. was signed "H. S.;" and it was again printed by Hearne, with the author's real name, in his edition of *Th. Caii Vindiciæ Academiæ Oxoniensis*, Oxford, 1730, vol. ii. p. 702. It will also be found at the end of the present life, p. 251.

But although Lenton did not venture to print his letter to Hetley, others

titled, *The Arminian Nunnery, or a brief description and relation of the late erected monastical place, called the Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire: humbly addressed to the wise consideration of the present parliament. The foundation is by a company of Ferrars at Gidding. Printed for Tho. Underhill, 1641.*

In which production there is nothing but falshood, or what is much worse, truth wilfully so mangled and misrepresented as to answer the vilest ends of falshood. And this sort of malignity was carried to such a length, that not long before the real tragedy of king Charles was perpetrated, certain soldiers of the parliament party resolved to plunder the house at Gidding. The family being informed of their hasty approach, thought it prudent to fly, and, as to their persons, endeavour to escape the intended violence.

These military zealots, in the rage of what they called reformation, ransacked both the church and the house. In doing which they expressed a particular spite against the organ. This they broke in pieces, of which they made a large fire, and thereat roasted several of Mr. Ferrar's sheep, which they had killed in his grounds. This done they seized all the plate, furniture, and provision which they could conveniently carry away. And in this general devastation perished those works of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, which merited a better fate.

Certainly no family suffered more from less cause of offence: for though they were pious and firm members of the church of

were not so scrupulous. A transcript fell into the hands of some zealous, but unprincipled puritan, who interpolated his own observations, and otherwise falsified it, and printed it under the title (given above) of "*The Arminian Nunnery, &c.*," 1641, with a rude wood-cut, on the title page, of a nun and a church. This pamphlet is now very rare, but copies are in the British Museum and Bodleian libraries, and the former possesses a transcript made by Humphrey Wanley, from a copy belonging to Dr. Charlcott, master of University College. It has been reprinted by Hearne, in his edition of "*Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*," Oxford, 1725, vol. i. p. cxxv. The modern edition of Hearne's work also contains it. Being avowedly a falsification of the truth, it has not been thought proper to reprint it here. This false and abusive publication naturally excited the attention of John Ferrar, and in reply to his remonstrances, Edward Lenton sent him a copy of the true *Letter*, with an explanation, dated Notley, near Thame, 27th October (1642). The same causes which prevented the publication of the letter to Hetley, operated to keep this letter of explanation in MS. It was first printed by Hearne in his edition of *Th. Caii Vindiciæ Acad. Oxon.*, 1730., vol. ii. p. 693. It will be found in the present vol., at p. 251, post.

England, they behaved themselves quietly, and with Christian benevolence towards all men of all denominations : and although they practised austerities which were not exceeded by the severest orders of the monastic institutions, yet they neither required them from others, nor in themselves attributed any saving merit to them ; austerities which mistaken piety thought a duty, but which, it must be confessed, have not any proper foundation in the Christian institution.

A short time before the commission of these violences, bishop Williams paid his last friendly visit at Gidding, and seeing the inscription in the parlour, said to Mr. John Ferrar, "I would advise you to take this table down. You see the times grow high and turbulent, and no one knows where the rage and madness of the people may end. I am just come from Boston, where I was used very coarsely. I do not speak as by authority, I only advise you as a friend, for fear of offence or worse consequences." Then after sincerely condoling with them on their irreparable misfortune in the death of Nicholas Ferrar, he bade them his final farewell. But ever after continued their firm friend, and constantly vindicated the family from the many slanders of their false accusers.—But to return from this digression.

Mrs. Ferrar, towards the close of her life, seems to have been convinced that the mortifications practised by the family, were more than were necessary, and she became apprehensive for the health, and even for the life of her beloved son. She therefore earnestly entreated him, and with many tears besought him, that he would relax a little in the severe discipline which he exercised upon himself. And he, being an example of filial obedience, complied in some degree with her request, during the remainder of her life : but this was not of long continuance.

In the year 1635, ten years after coming to Gidding, this excellent woman died, aged eighty-three years. Her character, as follows, is given by her son Mr. John Ferrar, who collected, and left the materials for these memoirs. "Though of so great age, at her dying day, she had no infirmity, and scarce any sign of old age upon her. Her hearing, sight, and all her senses were very good. She had never lost a tooth ; she walked very upright, and with great agility. Nor was she troubled with any pains or uneasiness of body. While she lived at Gidding she rose, summer and winter, at five o'clock, and sometimes sooner. In her person she was of a comely presence, and had a countenance so

full of gravity that it drew respect from all who beheld her. In her words she was courteous, in her actions obliging. In her diet always very temperate; saying, she did not live to eat and drink, but ate and drank to live. She was a pattern of piety, benevolence and charity. And thus she lived and died, esteemed, revered, and beloved, of all who knew her." Such are the effects of a life of temperance and virtue.

While his mother was yet living Mr. Ferrar did so far comply with her request, that he went to bed, or lay down upon it, from nine in the evening till one in the morning, which was his constant hour of rising to his devotions. But after her death he never did either: but wrapping himself in a loose frieze gown, slept on a bear's skin upon the boards. He also watched either in the oratory, or in the church three nights in the week.

These nightly watchings having been frequently mentioned, it may not be improper here to give a short account of the rules under which they were performed. It was agreed that there should be a constant double nightwatch, of men at one end of the house, and of women at the other. That each watch should consist of two or more persons. That the watchings should begin at nine o'clock at night, and end at one in the morning. That each watch should in those four hours, carefully and distinctly say over the whole book of psalms, in the way of Antiphony, one repeating one verse, and the rest the other. That they should then pray for the life of the king and his sons. The time of their watch being ended, they went to Mr. Ferrar's door, bade him good morrow, and left a lighted candle for him. At one he constantly rose, and betook himself to religious meditation, founding this practice on an acceptation too literal of the passage, *At midnight will I rise and give thanks*, and some other passages of similar import. Several religious persons both in the neighbourhood, and from distant places, attended these watchings: and amongst these the celebrated Mr. Richard Crashaw, fellow of Peterhouse, who was very intimate in the family, and frequently came from Cambridge for this purpose, and at his return often watched in Little St. Mary's church near Peterhouse⁴.

⁴ *Near Peterhouse.*] [A most respectable author hath given his sanction, if not to the severity, at least to a moderate observation of this mode of psalmody, in his *Comment on the 134th Psalm*.

"Bless ye the Lord all ye servants of the Lord, who by night stand in the

His friends perceiving a visible decay of his strength, remonstrated against these austerities, fearing bad consequences to his health; they told him that he was much too strict in his way of life; they advised him to go abroad, to take the air frequently, and to admit of some innocent amusement. He replied, "that to rise and go to bed when we please, to take the air and get a good appetite, to eat heartily, to drink wine, and cheer the spirits, to hunt, and hawk, to ride abroad, and make visits, to play at cards and dice, these are what the world terms gallant and pleasant things, and recreations fit for a gentleman: but such a life would be so great a slavery to me, and withal I think it of so dangerous a tendency, that if I was told I must either live in that manner, or presently suffer death, the latter would most certainly be my choice."

There cannot be any doubt but that these austerities gradually reduced a constitution originally not very strong, and shortened the life of a most virtuous, and most valuable man.

house of the Lord. Bless him in the chearful and busy hours of the day: bless him in the solemn and peaceful watches of the night.

"The pious Mr. Nicholas Ferrar exhibited in the last century an instance of a protestant family, in which a constant course of psalmody was appointed, and so strictly kept up, that through the whole four and twenty hours of day and night, there was no portion of time when some of the members were not employed in performing that most pleasant part of duty and devotion." Dr. Horne.

The high degree of veneration in which Mr. Ferrar held the book of Psalms appears from the peculiar attention he bestowed upon it; as hath been particularly related in the foregoing part of these memoirs. Nor is he singular in this respect. Dr. Horne says, the "Psalms are an epitome of the Bible, adapted to the purposes of devotion. That for this purpose they are adorned with figures, and set off with all the graces of poetry, and poetry itself designed yet farther to be recommended by the charms of music, thus consecrated to the service of God; that so, delight may prepare the way for improvement, and pleasure become the handmaid of wisdom, while every turbulent passion is calmed by sacred melody, and the evil spirit still dispossessed by the harp of the son of Jesse." "What is there necessary for man to know," says the pious and judicious Hooker, "which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners, an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, and a strong confirmation to the most perfect among others." Hooker. See Dr. Horne's *Pref. to his Commentary*.

On such respectable authority, I may safely recommend a proper degree of attention to the example of Mr. Ferrar, so far as time, and opportunity, and the peculiar circumstances of situation will admit.]

About three months before his death, perceiving in himself some inward faintness, and apprehending that his last hour was now drawing very near, he broke off abruptly from writing any farther on a subject which was now under his consideration. *This breaking off is yet to be seen in that unfinished treatise, with his reason for discontinuing it.* He then began to write down *Contemplations on Death* in the following words :

“The remembrance of death is very powerful to restrain us from sinning. For he who shall well consider that the day will come (and he knoweth not how soon) when he shall be laid on a sick bed, weak and faint, without ease and almost without strength, encompassed with melancholy thoughts, and overwhelmed with anguish ; when on one side, his distemper increasing upon him, the physician tells him that he is past all hope of life, and on the other, his friends urge him to dispose of his worldly goods, and share his wealth among them : that wealth which he procured with trouble, and preserved with anxiety : that wealth which he now parts from with sorrow : when again the priest calls on him to take the preparatory measures for his departure : when he himself now begins to be assured that here he hath no abiding city : that this is no longer a world for him : that no more suns will rise and set upon him : that for him there will be no more seeing, no more hearing, no more speaking, no more touching, no more tasting, no more fancying, no more understanding, no more remembering, no more desiring, no more loving, no more delights of any sort to be enjoyed by him ; but that death will at one stroke deprive him of all these things : that he will speedily be carried out of the house which he had called his own, and is now become another’s : that he will be put into a cold, narrow grave : that earth will be consigned to earth, ashes to ashes, and dust to dust : let any man duly and daily ponder these things, and how can it be that he should dare ”——

Here the strength of this good man failed him, and his essay is left thus unfinished.

On the second of November he found that his weakness increased, yet he went to church, and on that day officiated for the last time. After this, his faintness continued gradually to increase, but he suffered not the least degree of bodily pain. He conversed with his family, and earnestly encouraged them to persevere in the way he had pointed out to them. And addressing himself particularly to his brother, said, “My dear brother, I

must now shortly appear before God, and give an account of what I have taught this family. And here with a safe conscience I can say, that I have delivered nothing to you but what I thought agreeable to his word: therefore abide steadily by what I have taught. Worship God in spirit and in truth. I will use no more words. One thing however I must add, that you may be both forewarned, and prepared. Sad times⁵ are coming on, very sad times indeed; you will live to see them." Then grasping his brother's hand, he said, "Oh! my brother! I pity you, who must see these dreadful alterations. And when you shall see the true worship of God brought to nought, and suppressed, then look, and fear that desolation is nigh at hand. And in this great trial may God of his infinite mercy support and deliver you."

The third day before his death he summoned all his family round him, and then desired his brother to go and mark out a place⁶ for his grave according to the particular directions he

⁵ *Sad times.*] "When some farmers near the place where master Ferrar lived, somewhat before these times, desired longer leases to be made them, he intimated, that seven years would be long enough. Troublous times were coming: they might thank God if they enjoyed them so long, in peace." Oley's *Life of Mr. George Herbert*. "When these sad times were come, religion and loyalty were such eye sores, that all the Ferrars fled away, and dispersed, and took joyfully the spoiling of their goods. All that they had restored to the church, all that they had bestowed upon sacred comeliness, all that they had gathered for their own livelihood and for alms, was seized upon as a lawful prey, taken from superstitious persons." Hackett's *Life of Abp. Williams*, part 2. p. 53.

⁶ *Mark out a place.*] "Three days before his death, at about eight o'clock in the morning, he summoned all his family around him, and addressed his brother John to this effect: 'Brother, I would have you go to the church, and at the west end, at the door where we enter the church, I would have you measure from the steps seven feet to the westward, and at the end of those seven feet, *there* let my grave be made.' His brother stood almost drowned in tears, as in truth were all the standers-by: indeed never had a family more cause to bewail a loss. Mr. Ferrar continued: 'Brother, that *first* place of the length of seven feet, I leave for *your* burying-place; you are my elder brother: God, I hope, will let you there take-up your resting-place, till we all rise again in joy.' When his brother returned, saying it was done as he desired; 'then go,' he added, 'and remove from my study those three large hampers full of books, that stand there locked up these many years. They are comedies, tragedies, heroic poems, and romances: let them be carried to the place marked out for my grave, and *there*, upon it, *see you burn them all* immediately.' And this he uttered with some vehemence and

then gave. When his brother returned, saying it was done as he desired, he requested them all in presence of each other to take out of his study three large hampers full of books, which had been there locked up many years. "They are comedies, tragedies, heroic poems, and romances; let them be immediately burnt upon the place marked out for my grave: and when you shall have so done, come back and inform me." When information was brought him that they were all consumed, he desired that this act might be considered as the testimony of his disapprobation of all such productions, as tending to corrupt the mind of man, and improper for the perusal of every good and sincere Christian.

On the first of December, 1637, he found himself declining very fast, and desired to receive the sacrament: after which, and taking a most affectionate farewell of all his family, without a struggle, or a groan, he expired in a rapturous ecstasy⁷ of devotion.

Thus lived, and thus died Nicholas Ferrar, the best of sons, of brothers, and of friends, on Monday, Dec. 2, 1637, precisely as the clock struck one: the hour at which for many years he constantly rose to pay his addresses to heaven.

indignation, adding, 'Go, brother; let it be done, let it be done; and then come again all of you to me.'

"These books had been carefully locked up ever since the family had taken up their abode at Gidding, in order that no one should make use of them, or see them. There were many hundreds in several languages, which Mr. Ferrar had procured at different places in his travels, some of them with much search and cost.

"His orders were obeyed. The vain things which once had charmed him, were sacrificed over the spot which was to receive his mortal remains; and the smoke and flame of this holocaust, as they flared from the eminence on which the house and church stood, excited the attention and alarm of the neighbourhood, and drew together very many persons, who imagined a destructive fire was happening at Gidding.

"When the people saw what was doing, they went away, and reported that Mr. Ferrar was dying, and his books burning. Within a few days the report of this transaction had assumed another feature, and it was currently asserted in the neighbouring market towns, that he would not die in peace until he had burned all *his books of magic and conjuration*.

.... "When his brother returned, and assured him that they were all burnt, he sat up in his bed, and poured out his soul in hearty thanksgivings to Almighty God."—*Brief Memoirs, &c.* (from Bp. Turner), p. 182—6.

⁷ *A rapturous ecstasy.*] See *Brief Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar* (from Bp. Turner) by the Rev. T. M. Macdonogh, p. 188—91.

That he was eminently pious towards God, benevolent towards man, and perfectly sincere in all his dealings: that he was industrious beyond his strength, and indefatigable in what he thought his duty: that he was blessed by providence with uncommon abilities; and by unremitted exertion of his various talents attained many valuable accomplishments, is very manifest from the preceding memoirs, and is the least that can be said in his praise; and though greatly to his honour, is yet no more than that degree of excellence which may have been attained by many. But the spiritual exaltation of mind by which he rose above all earthly considerations of advantage, and devoted himself entirely to God, whom in the strictest sense he loved with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength, being united to the active virtues of a citizen of the world, gives him a peculiar pre-eminence even among those who excel in virtue. For though he practised self-denial to the utmost, and exercised religious severities upon himself scarce inferior to those of the recluses who retired to deserts, and shut themselves up in dens and caves of the earth, yet he did not, like them, by a solitary and morose retirement, deprive himself of the power continually to do good, but led a life of active virtue and benevolence. His youth was spent in an incessant application to learned studies, and the time of his travel was given to the acquisition of universal wisdom. On his return home, in conducting the affairs of an important establishment, he displayed uncommon abilities, integrity and spirit. As a member of the house of commons he gained distinguished honour, and was appointed the principal manager to prosecute, and bring to justice the great man and corrupt minister of that time. And having thus discharged the duties of a virtuous citizen, he devoted the rest of his life to the instruction of youth, to works of Christian charity, and to the worship of God in a religious retirement, while he was yet in possession of his health and strength, and in the prime of manhood. That like the great author, who was his daily and nightly study and admiration, the royal Psalmist, he might not sacrifice to God, that which cost him nothing. In one word, he was a rare example of that excellence in which are blended all the brilliant qualities of the great man, with all the amiable virtues of the good.

As a sequel to the preceding memoirs, I will subjoin a short account of Mr. Nich. Ferrar, jun. as being proper, if not necessary, to clear up some difficulties concerning the works of these two extraordinary persons, who were blessed with a similarity of genius, and possessed uncommon accomplishments in learning and virtue.

Nicholas Ferrar, jun. was the son of John Ferrar, esq. (elder brother to the sen. Nicholas) and Bathsheba, daughter of Mr. Israel Owen of London. He was born in the year 1620. By a picture of him in the editor's possession, taken when he might be something more than a year old, he appears to have been a robust and healthy child. When he became capable of instruction his uncle took him under his own immediate care, and finding in him a quickness of parts, and a turn of disposition congenial to his own, he instructed, and assisted him in the same course of studies which he himself had pursued in the early part of his life.

In this he made such a rapid proficiency, as was the astonishment of all who knew him, and, could it not be proved by sufficient testimony, might occasion a great difficulty of belief.

It cannot be expected that the life of a young man, who scarce ever went from the sequestered place of his education, and died when he was but little more than twenty years of age, should abound with incidents; but if the term of existence were to be measured by virtue and knowledge, few would be found who have lived so long.

This extraordinary youth was dearly beloved of his uncle, who spared no diligence or expense in his education, providing able tutors both in the sciences and in languages, and bestowing great part of his own time in his instruction. He too like his uncle, with uncommon quickness of parts, and extraordinary strength of memory, possessed an equal ardour for improvement, and an indefatigable spirit of application.

He also was the constant attendant of his uncle in his religious exercises, and particularly in the nightly watches, and acts of devotion. And it is to be feared that these (may I say?) too severe exertions might in some degree tend to shorten the term of life.

He was but seventeen at the death of his uncle, and he survived him but four years. He died May 19, 1640, in his twenty-first year.

The first work in which young N. Ferrar appears to have been employed by his uncle was the translation of Mynsinger's Devotions; a volume containing a very large collection of prayers for all sorts and conditions of men. N. Ferrar, sen. commended this book of Occasional Devotions as the best he had ever seen upon the subject, and said that it could not but do much good in the world. This the nephew performed when he was about fourteen years of age. His greater works, as they are arranged in the original MS. stand as follows: and I give them in the very words of the MS. without correction of some little inaccuracies in the account, which it is hoped will meet with pardon⁸.

Sir,

Upon your request, and bound by the great obligation of your worth, I have thus scribbled out, what here follows; rather willing to shame myself in this kind, than not to fulfil your desires. Such as it is, you will please to accept, from,

Sir,

Your much obliged in all love and service,

J. F.

1. FIRST WORK⁹.

Glory be to God on High.

The actions, doctrines, and other passages touching our blessed Lord and

⁸ *With pardon.*] In the room of what follows in Dr. Peckard's *Life*, from the conclusion of this paragraph, (from p. 260 to p. 278) the reader is here presented with a much more complete, and extremely interesting account, transcribed, by the permission of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, from a MS. (No. 251) in the Lambeth library. These papers appear to have been written by Mr. John Ferrar, the father of the extraordinary young man to whom they refer, the eldest brother of Nicholas Ferrar, sen. and the compiler of the original MS. from which Dr. Peckard's Memoirs of the elder Nicholas are taken. They were written probably in the year 1653; but to whom they are addressed, it does not appear.

⁹ *First Work.*] A copy of this work, of which the title, with one or two trifling variations, agrees with that given above, but dated in 1635, is in the British Museum. See above, p. 199, note. It is in old green morocco binding richly gilt. The present editor has also seen, in the possession of his friend the Rev. Thomas Bowdler, the representative of the last baronet of the Cotton family, another copy of this work, dated 1635. Conington, the seat of the Cottons, is not more than five miles from Little Gidding. Of the Ferrar volumes given to George Herbert and Dr. Thomas Jackson (see p. 197) no trace has been found. Mr. Mapletoft's was afterwards in the

Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the Four Evangelists, reduced into one complete body of history ; wherein that which is severally related by them, is digested into order, and that which is jointly related by all, or any of them, is first expressed in their own words, by way of comparison ; secondly, brought into one narration, by way of composition ; thirdly, extracted into one clear context, by way of collection : yet so as whatsoever was omitted in the context, is inserted by way of supplement in another print, and in such a manner as all the Four Evangelists may easily be read severally, and distinctly, each a-part and alone, from first to last¹. Done at Little Gidding, anno 1630.

In each page throughout the whole book were sundry exquisite pictures added, expressing either the facts themselves, or other types and figures, or matters appertaining thereunto, much to the pleasure of the eye, and delight to the reader.

2. SECOND WORK².

The history of the Israelites, from the death of king Saul, to the carrying away captive into Babylon : collected out of the books of Kings and Chronicles, in the words of the texts themselves, without any alteration of importance by addition to them, or diminution from them : whereby, *first*, all the actions and passages, which are in either of the books of Kings or Chronicles, whether jointly or severally, are reduced into the body of one complete narration ; *secondly*, they are digested into an orderly dependancy one upon the other ; *thirdly*, many difficult places are cleared : and many seeming differences between the books of Kings and Chronicles compounded : and all this so contrived, as notwithstanding these mutual compositions of the books of Kings and Chronicles in this historical collection, yet the form of each

possession of Mr. Heming of Hillingdon ; and other copies have been said to exist in the libraries of the marquis of Salisbury, and St. John's College, Oxford.

¹ *First to last.*] From a copy of this Harmony Dr. Peckard produces (p. 274) the following memorandum :

“This book was presented by my great-grandmother, by my honoured mother's two sisters (the daughters of John and Susanna Collet), and by their uncle Nicholas Ferrar, who was my godfather, to my ever honoured mother, Susanna Mapletoft, the same year in which I was born (1631). And I desire my son, to whom I do give it, with the Great Concordance, and other story books, that it may be preserved in the family as long as may be.

“JOHN MAPLETOFT, Jan. 23, 1715.”

² *Second Work.*] A copy of this, dated 1637, is also in the British Museum, to which it came with the old Royal Library. It is also in old green morocco binding, ornamented with lines of gold. The British Museum also possesses, from the same source, a work by the Ferrars family not hitherto described, it is in two parts, entitled *Acta Apostolorum elegantiss. monochromatis delineata. The Revelation of St. John the Divine*. In a large folio volume, in old green morocco, richly gilt, of a different pattern from either of the preceding.

of them is preserved intire, in such a manner as they may easily be read severally and distinctly, from first to last. Also there are three sundry kinds of tables: the *first* summarily declaring the several heads and chapters, into which this historical collection is divided; the *second* specifying what passages are related in the aforesaid books of Kings and Chronicles, and what are jointly related by them both, as also in what heads and chapters in the collection they may be found; the *third* shewing where every chapter of the texts themselves, and every part of them may be very readily found in this collection.

N. There is an intention, and preparation making (if the times permit) to make a second piece in this kind: but to illustrate it in a more pleasant and profitable way, and manner, than this first work was done. The good Lord say Amen to it!

3. THIRD WORK.

MONOTEESEAPON.

The actions, doctrines and other passages touching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the Four Evangelists; harmonically, symmetrically, and collaterally placed, in four languages, English, Latin, French, Italian, reduced into one complete body of history; wherein that which is severally related by them, is digested into order, and that which is jointly related by all or any of them, is *first* extracted into one narration, by way of composition; *secondly*, brought into one clear context, by the way of collection: to which are, in all the pages of the book, added sundry of the best pictures that could be gotten, expressing the facts themselves, or their types, figures, or other matters appertaining thereunto; done at Little Gidding, anno 1640.

4. FOURTH WORK.

The Gospel of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the holy Evangelists, in eight several languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, High Dutch, Saxon and Welsh, all interpreted with Latin or English, word for word, interlineally placed, and at one view to be seen and read; so done and contrived for the use and benefit of all such as are desirous with sureness, ease, speed and pleasure, to attain to the knowledge of these languages: likewise it may be of very good help to strangers that may desire to learn the English tongue.

5. FIFTH WORK.

Novum Testamentum Domini et Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi viginti quatuor linguis expressum, vid.

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Hebraice. | 7. Anglo-Saxonice. |
| 2. Græce. | 8. Muscovitice. |
| 3. Syriace. | 9. Cambro-Britannice. |
| 4. Arabice. | 10. Belgice. |
| 5. Æthiopice. | 11. Suedice. |
| 6. Latine. | 12. Hibernice. |

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 13. Germanice. | 19. Gallice. |
| 14. Polonice. | 20. Italice. |
| 15. Danice. | 21. Hispanice. |
| 16. Bohemice. | 22. Cantabrice. |
| 17. Hungarice. | 23. Lusitanice. |
| 18. Anglice. | 24. Sclavonice. |

Unaquæque lingua proprio suo caractere scripta, et omnes Harmonice et Symmetrice collocatæ, etiamque Syriaca literis et vocalibus Hebraicis scripta, cum interlineari Latina interpretatione insuper adjecta.

6. SIXTH WORK.

Sacrosanctum S. Johannis Evangelium in totidem linguis quot sunt capita, vid.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Caput | Caput |
| 1. Æthiopice. | 12. Germanice. |
| 2. Græce. | 13. Hungarice. |
| 3. Syriace. | 14. Gallice. |
| 4. Arabice. | 15. Italice. |
| 5. Latine. | 16. Hispanice. |
| 6. Saxonice. | 17. Suedice. |
| 7. Hebraice. | 18. Danice. |
| 8. Anglice. | 19. Polonice. |
| 9. Cambro-Britannice. | 20. Belgice. |
| 10. Bohemice. | 21. Hibernice et Muscovitice. |
| 11. Cantabrice. | |

Et unaquæque lingua per interlinearem Latinam interpretationem ad verbum redditam et positam, explicata.

Some Observations that happened upon these forenamed Works, done at Gidding, and the acceptation of them by the King and Prince.

1. Upon the first work.

His sacred majesty, anno 1631, having heard of some rare contrivements, as he was pleased to term them, of books done at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, in an unusual way and manner, for their own private uses and employments; and that the younger sort learned them without book, and hourly made repetition of some part of them, that so both their hands and minds might be partakers in what was good and useful: it so happened that being at Aphthorpe³ at the earl of Westmoreland's house, in

³ At Aphthorpe.] In Northamptonshire.

his progress, about seven miles off Gidding; he sent a gentleman of his court, well loved of him, to Gidding; who came and declared, that the king his master desired that there might be sent by him a book, but he knew not the name of it, that was made at Gidding, and somewhat of it every hour repeated by them. The tidings were much unexpected, and Nicholas Ferrar at London. Leave was craved, that the deferring of the sending of it might be respite one week, and the king might be informed, that the book was wholly unfitting every way for a king's eye: and those that had given him any notice of such a thing had much misinformed his majesty; and when he should see it, he would con them no thanks⁴, the book being made only for the young people in the family. But all excuses could not satisfy this gentleman. He said if we enforced him to go without it, he knew he should be again sent for it that night; and no nays he would have. So necessity enforced the delivery; and the gentleman seemed greatly contented; took the book, saying not his man, but himself would carry it: he knew it would be an acceptable service to his master; and engaged his faith, that at the king's departure from Apthorpe, he would bring it again. But a quarter of a year past. Then came the gentleman again; but brought no book; but after much compliment said, the king so liked the work itself, and the contrivement of it in all kinds, that there had not a day passed, but the king, in the midst of all his progress and sports, spent one hour in the perusing of it: and that would apparently be seen by the notations he had made upon the margins of it with his own hand: and that his master would upon no terms part with it, except he brought him a promise from the family, that they would make him one for his daily use, which he should esteem as a rich jewel. Some months after the gentleman, acquainting the king what he had done in obedience to his command, brought back the book from London to Gidding; saying, that upon the condition that within the space of twelve months the king might have one made him, he was to render back that again; and so with many courtly terms he departed, with intimation from Nicholas Ferrar, that his majesty's commands should be obeyed.

⁴ *He would con them no thanks.*] So, "Freind Hoggarde, I cun you thanke, that you have learned somewhat at Father Latimer's Sermons."—Robert Crowley's *Confutation of the Aunsuer to the Ballad, called "The Abuse of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altare."* Signat. A 3. b. A.D. 1548.

The book being opened, there was found, as the gentleman had said, the king's notes in many places in the margin; which testified the king's diligent perusal of it. And in one place which is not to be forgotten, to the eternal memory of his majesty's superlative humility (no small virtue in a king,) having written something in one place, he puts it out again very neatly with his pen. But that, it seems, not contenting him, he vouchsafes to underwrite, "*I confess my error: it was well before,*" (an example to all his subjects) "*I was mistaken.*"

Before the year came about, such diligence and expedition was used, that a book was presented to his majesty, being bound in crimson velvet, and richly gilded upon the velvet, a thing not usual. The king graciously with a cheerful countenance received it: and after a curious perusal, after having asked many questions concerning the work, and the parties that had done it; said to the lord's grace of Canterbury, and divers other lords that stood about him, (doctor Cosin being also there, that was his chaplain for that month), "Truly my lords, I prize this as a rare and rich jewel, and worth a king's acceptance. The substance of it is of the best alloy in the world, and ought to be the only desirable book. And for the skill, care, cost, used in it, there is no defect, but a superlative diligence in all about it. I very much thank them all: and it shall be my *Vade mecum*. How happy a king were I, if I had many more such workmen and women in my kingdom. God's blessing on their hearts, and painful hands! I know they will receive no reward for it." Then he gave the book to the lords to peruse, saying, there are fine pictures in it. The lords said, they believed the like book was not in the world to be seen. It was a precious gem, and worthy of his cabinet.

Then said the king to my lord of Canterbury, and to doctor Cosin, "What think you? Will not these good people be willing that I put them to a further trouble? I find their ability and art is excellent: and why should I doubt of their condescension to my desire?" "Your majesty need not," replied the archbishop; and doctor Cosin seconded him. "We know they will fulfill your commands in all things in their powers." "Well," said the king, "let me tell you, I often read the books of Kings and Chronicles, as is befitting a king: but in many things, I find some seeming contradictions; and one book saith more, and the other less, in many circumstances the latter being a supply to the former. Now I seeing this judicious and well-contrived book

of the Four Evangelists, I gladly would have these skilful persons to make me another book that might so be ordered, that I might read these stories of Kings and Chronicles so interwoven by them, as if one pen had written the whole books; and to make it a complete history altogether: yet so again ordering the matter, that I may also read them severally and apart, if I would. I have often spoken to many of my chaplains about this thing; but they have excused themselves (from it) as a difficult work, and (they) not skilful in that way." "Let your majesty rest contented, and doubt not, but with the best expedition that can be, the thing shall be done as you intimate. Doctor Cosin shall acquaint them speedily with your majesty's pleasure."

So intimation was given them at Gidding of this thing: and they with all care and diligence instantly set about it. And thus was this second work, (as you see in the insuing title,) begun and finished in a year's time. And what happened in the presenting and acceptance of it, you shall find by the insuing discourse that follows upon it.

THE SECOND WORK *done at Little Gidding, whereof the title is as you see, was in the time of twelve months finished; and the proceedings that happened thereupon, here insueth.*

The king's most excellent majesty having in the interim often demanded when the book would be done, saying the time seemed long unto him till he saw it:

It being now sent up to London, my lord of Canterbury understanding so much by Dr. Cosin and one Mr. Ramsay, that had married one of the daughters of the family, he being a minister, desired it might be brought such a day to court. My lord took it, and perused it, and to admiration beheld it, saying, "Here is a master-piece indeed in all kinds, inside and outside, all performed by those judicious heads, and active hands of Little Gidding. Sure these, and the like words they intend, deserve to make it alter its name from *Parva* to *Magna*. Come, said he, let us go to the king, who, I am sure, will bid us welcome for this royal present."

At their coming into the room where the king was, he seeing

my lord of Canterbury to have a stately great book in his two hands, presently rose out of his chair where he was sitting, many lords then standing round about him: "What," said he, "shall I now enjoy that rich jewel I have thus long desired? Have you my lord, brought me my book?" "Yea sir," replied the bishop of Canterbury. "Give it me; give it me," said the king. "Your expectations, sir," said he, "are not only performed, but out of doubt many ways surpassed. For my own part, I wonder at the work, and all the parts of it." "Let me have it;" said the king. So smiling he took it, and carried it to the table.

Then first seriously viewing the outside of the book, being bound curiously in purple velvet, and that also most artificially gilt upon the velvet in an extraordinary manner, he said, "My lords, the outside thus glorious, what think you will be the inside and matter of it?" Then untying the stately string, he opening it read the frontispiece and contents of the book: then turning to my lord of Canterbury, he said, "You have given me a right character of the work: truly it passeth what I could have wished: and what I think none but those heads and hands in my kingdom, can do the like again." And so he began to view it leaf by leaf, and turned it all over very diligently, observing the form and contrivement of it. Then looking upon his lords, that had their eyes also fixed upon it, he said, "My lords, this, this is a jewel in all respects, to be continually worn on a king's breast, and in his heart." And then he shewed them the fair orderly contrivement of the joint books of Kings and Chronicles, thus united together in one history, "as if written," said he, "by one man's pen." And so, many words passed about it, between the lords and the king, they extolling it as an excellent piece. "Well," said the king, "I will not part with this diamond, for all those in my Jewel-house. For it is so delightful to me: and I know the virtues of it will pass all the precious stones in the world. It is a most rare crystall glass, and most useful, and needful, and profitable for me and all kings. It shews and represents to the life, God's exceeding high and rich mercies, to all pious and virtuous kings, and likewise his severe justice to all ill and bad. What then more profitable to us all, or more needful? It shall, I assure you, be my companion in the day time: and the sweetest perfumed bags that can lie under my head in the night. Truly I am very much taken with it at all times; but more, it being thus comprised in a full pleasant history. My lord of Canterbury, I

now perceive that these good people at Gidding can do more works in this kind, than this. Let them have my hearty thanks returned. I know they look for none, neither will they receive any reward. Yet let them know, as occasion shall be, I will not forget them : and God bless them in their good intentions !” And so after some more talk the lords had of Gidding, the king took up the book, and went away with it in his arms.

Some while after, doctor Cosin gave notice, that the king, the more he perused both books given him, the more he liked them ; and had conference with him about the printing of them, that, as he said, “all his people might have the benefit of them.” And doctor Cosin told the king, it was a kingly motion, and by his majesty’s favour, they should be put out, as at his command, and the latter as done by his directions.

N. It is to be known, that these works were so done as if they had been printed the ordinary way ; as most that saw them did think so. But it was in another kind done ; though all was printed indeed, and not written, as some may conceive at the reading of the titles of the books.

THE THIRD WORK was occasioned and effected upon a letter sent to Gidding from a person of honour, that the prince, having seen the king his father’s book, that was first of all presented him, of the Concordance of the Four Evangelists, &c. would have fain begged it of the king ; but he told him, he might not part with that rich jewel, for he daily made use of it ; but if he desired one, he made no question, but the same heart and hands that framed his, would fit him also with one for his use ; and hoped he would make good use of it, for it was the book of books, &c.

Upon the intimation given of the prince’s desire, though Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, senior, was then with God, yet his young nephew, that bare his name, whom his uncle entirely loved, (not permitting him to be any where brought up but at Gidding, and under his own eye) having seen all the former works done in the house ; his beloved kinswomen, that were the handy-work mistresses of the former, were also most willing to lay to their help-

ing assistances; so the young youth, having attained to the knowledge of many languages (as you shall hear hereafter, being a study that his wise, judicious uncle, Nicholas Ferrar, had put him upon, finding him every way fitted naturally for such knowledge,) they laying their heads together, thought a concordance of four several languages would be most useful, and beneficial, and pleasant to the young prince's disposition; and so, in the name of God, after all materials were provided and ready, they uniting their heads and hands lovingly together, setting apart so many hours in the fore-noons, and so many in the afternoons, as their other exercises and occasions permitted, constantly met in a long fair spacious room, which they named the Concordance Chamber, wherein were large tables round the sides of the walls, placed for their better conveniency and contrivement of their works of this and the like kind; and therein also were placed two very large and great presses, which were turned with iron bars, for the effecting of their designs.

And now we are in the Concordance room (which was all coloured over with green pleasant colour varnished, for the more pleasure to their eyes, and a chimney in it for more warmth, as occasion served,) let me here relate, that each person of the family, and some other good friends of their kindred, gave each their sentence, which should be written round the upper part of the walls of the room; that so when they entered the chamber, or at any time looked up from the walls, these sentences presented themselves to their eyes.—As you entered in at the door into the room, over your head at that end was written that sentence of Scripture, that their uncle, of blessed memory, did frequently use upon several occasions.

At the upper end was written high upon the wall—

*“Glory be to God on High,
Peace on Earth, Good will toward Men.”
“Prosper thou, O Lord, the work of our hands.
O prosper thou our handy works.”*

And under it, (on each side of that upper window,) on the one side was written:

“Thou art too delicate, O brother, if thou desirest to reign both here with the world, and hereafter to reign with Christ in heaven.”

And on the other side of the window ;

“ Innocency is never better lodged than at the Sign of Labour.”

And then on both sides of the walls there are written,

“ Love not sleep, least thou come to poverty.

Open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread.”

“ He that spendeth his time—”

“ Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings.”

“ The industrious man hath no leisure to sin ; and the idle man hath no power to avoid sin.”

THIS THIRD WORK thus finished, it was upon consultation thought fitting, that it should not go single and alone, but to stay awhile till Nicholas Ferrar, junior, had finished and ordered four other pieces of works, being businesses of many and several languages, and the titles of them are those four succeeding frontispieces, that follow one after the other, as you have seen : the Four Evangelists, in such and such languages as is there described, written by his own hand, and so composed by his head and industry.

All these five pieces, that one for the prince, and four for the king, being all made ready, they were carried up to London ; but in the way they went by Cambridge, and there were shewed to some eminent persons, a bishop then present there, and other learned scholars (and before that time, also to the bishop of Peterborough, and other doctors that there had sight of them). All these learned men gave their approbation to the works, and no small commendation, as well as admiration, that they were so contrived and ordered, for substance and form, by one of those tender years.

Nicholas Ferrar coming to London, as he had directions, addressed himself to my lord of Canterbury, from him to receive orders how to proceed. Who when he saw the young man, and was informed of his errand, by those that conducted him to his presence, the young man kneeling down, craving his blessing, and kissing his hand, my lord embraced him very lovingly, took him up, and after some salutes, he desired a sight of the books ; which

when he had well seen and perused, he very highly commended them in every particular, and said, "These truly are jewels only for princes : and your printed one will greatly take the prince, to whom I perceive you intend it. So will the other four pieces be no less acceptable to the king himself ; and so all things, the form, the matter, the writing, will make the king admire them, I know. And," said he, "but that my eyes see the things, I should hardly have given credit to my ears, from any relation made of them by another. But," said he, "I now find, great is education, when it meets with answerable ability, and had its directions from so eminent a man, as that counsellor was, that gave the hints and rise to all these contrivements before his death." And after much discourse he gave Nicholas Ferrar leave to depart. And gave directions that next day in the afternoon, being Maundy Thursday, Nicholas Ferrar should be in such a room at White Hall.

The bishop came at the time he had appointed to that room, where he found Nicholas Ferrar and others waiting his leisure. And they perceived he came out of another room where the king then was. "Come," said he, "in God's name, follow me, where I go ;" and led them into a room, where the king stood by the fire, with many nobles attending him. When the king saw the archbishop enter the room, he said, "What, have you brought with you those rarities and jewels you told me of?" "Yea, sire," replied the bishop, "here is the young gentleman, and his works." So the bishop taking him by the hand, led him up to the king. He falling down on his knees, the king gave him his hand to kiss, bidding him rise up. The box was opened ; and Nicholas Ferrar first presented to the king that book made for the prince : who taking it from him, looking well on the outside, which was all green velvet, stately and richly gilt all over, with great broad strings, edged with gold lace, and curiously bound, said, "Here is a fine book for Charles indeed ! I hope it will soon make him in love with what is within it : for I know it is good." So opening it, and with much pleasure perusing it, he said merrily to the lords, "What think you of it? For my part, I like it in all respects exceeding well ; and find Charles will here have a double benefit by the well contrivement of it, not only obtain by the daily reading in it a full information of our blessed Saviour's life, doctrine, and actions (the chief foundation of Christian religion ;) but the knowledge of four languages, A couple of better things

a prince cannot desire ; nor the world recommend unto him. And lo ! here are also store of rare pictures to delight his eye with."

Then Nicholas Ferrar, the king looking upon him, bowing himself to the ground, said, " May it please your sacred majesty, this work was undertaken upon the prince's command. But I dared not present it to him, till it had your majesty's approbation and allowance." " Why so ?" said the king ; " It is an excellent thing for him, and will do him much good." " Sir," said Nicholas Ferrar, " my learned and religious wise uncle, under whose wings I was covered, and had my education from my youth, gave me amongst other rules, this one : that I should never give any thing, though never so good or fitting, to any person whatever, that had a superior over him, without his consent and approbation first obtained : as nothing to a son, to a wife, to a servant : for he said it was not seemly nor comely so to do. Whereupon, sir, I have by the favour of my lord of Canterbury's grace, come to present this piece unto your majesty's view, and to beg your good leave to carry it to the prince." The king with attention heard all, and turning him to the lords, said, " You all hear this wise counsel, and you all see the practice of it. I do assure you, it doth wonderfully please me. I like the rule well : and it is worthy of all our practice. And now you see we all have gained by the sight of this rich jewel a third good thing." Then turning him to the lord of Canterbury, he said, " Let this young gentleman have your letters to the prince to-morrow, to Richmond, and let him carry this present. It is a good day you know, and a good work would be done upon it." So he gave Nicholas Ferrar the book : who carrying it to the box, took out of it a very large paper book, which was the FOURTH WORK, and laid it on the table before the king. " For whom," said the king, " is this model ?" " For your majesty's eyes, if you please to honour it so much." " And that I will gladly do," said the king, " and never be weary of such sights as I know you will offer unto me."

The king having well perused the title page, beginning, "*The Gospel of our Lord and Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, in eight several languages, &c.*" said unto the lords, " You all see, that one good thing produceth another. Here we have more and more rarities, from print now to pen. These are fair hands well written, and as well composed." Then replied the lord of Canterbury, " when your majesty hath seen all, you will have more and more cause to admire." " What !" said the king, " is it possible we shall be-

hold yet more rarities?" "Then," said the bishop to Nicholas Ferrar, "reach the other piece that is in the box:" and this we call the FIFTH WORK, the title being *Novum Testamentum, &c. in viginti quatuor linguis, &c.* The king opening the book said, "Better and better. This is the largest and fairest paper that ever I saw." Then, reading the title page, he said, "What is this? What have we here? The incomparablest book this will be, as ever eye beheld. My lords, come, look well upon it. This finished must be the emperor of all books. It is the crown of all works. It is an admirable master-piece. The world cannot match it. I believe you are all of my opinion. The lords all seconded the king, and each spake his mind of it. "I observe two things amongst others," said the king, "very remarkable, if not admirable. The first is, how it is possible, that a young man of twenty-one years of age," (for he had asked the lord of Canterbury before, how old Nicholas Ferrar was) "should ever attain to the understanding and knowledge of more languages, than he is of years; and to have the courage to venture upon such an Atlas work, or Hercules labour. The other is also of high commendation, to see him write so many several languages, so well as these are, each in its proper character. Sure so few years had been well spent, some men might think, to have attained only to the writing thus fairly of these twenty-four languages." All the lords replied, his majesty had judged right; and said, except they had seen as they did, the young gentleman there, and the book itself, all the world should not have persuaded them to the belief of it. And so much discourse passed upon the business to and fro, and many questions demanded and answered, here, too long to repeat.

"Well," said the king to my lord of Canterbury, "there is one thing yet that I would be fully satisfied in, and see the proof and real demonstration of it, over and above what I have yet seen. I do really believe and know, that these persons here would not present this unto me, or any thing else, that were not full of truth. I say, I no way doubt of all I have seen: yet if I may be resolved in one question, that I shall demand, it will wonderfully please me. The thing, my lord, is this. Let me, if it be possible, have more than this affirmation, by word and pen thus shewed me, that he understands all these several languages, and can English them, word for word, properly. I know yourself,

my lord, and many other men in my court, can try and prove him in many of them ; but where shall I find men to try and pose him in all the others, that are so unusual and scarce known ?” My lord of Canterbury, being somewhat at a stand, replied, “ Sir, you need not be so scrupulous, but be confident that he can and doth understand all of them :” and then looking upon Nicholas Ferrar, to see what he could say for himself in this kind ; who all the while stood silent attending the end and upshot of the king’s demands ; then bowing himself to the ground at his majesty’s feet, he spake in this manner and effect. “ May it please your sacred majesty, the difficulty you in your great wisdom have propounded so judiciously, to have a present proof given you, that I understand all these several twenty-four languages, and can translate them into English or Latin, is that which I conceived your majesty would put me upon, when you should see that which you have done ; and to that intent I now brought with me, what will and may fully satisfy your majesty, as it was my part to do, and to prepare for it in that kind, as you require.” “ Let us then now see it,” said the king. Now you are to know that this proof-book Nicholas Ferrar had of purpose concealed it, from my lord of Canterbury, not shewing it him, when he at first saw the rest of them. So Nicholas Ferrar presently stepped to the box, it being covered under papers at the bottom of it, and came and gave it into the king’s hands. The king opening it, and smiling, reading the title page of it, which was this, *Sacrosanctum Sancti Johannis Evangelium, in totidem Linguis quot sunt Capita, &c.* “ I now see I shall be fully contented ;” and so turning the book all over, leaf by leaf, and perusing it, seeing each chapter interpreted in each language, word for word with English or Latin, he called my lord of Canterbury to the table, who all this while stood somewhat in doubt what this proof would be ; “ Lo ! here is an ample proof and manifestation, wittily contrived ; and I am fully satisfied in all things. He could never have done this, but that he is a master of them all. And I am the more glad I raised the doubt ; but much more that he hath thus undeniably made a full proof of his rare abilities in every kind. What say you to it, my lord ?” Who replied, it was far beyond what he should have thought of ; and was right glad to see it. So many questions were asked and answered to the king’s good liking. The king turning to the rest of the lords, who also took the book and were

admiring at it, and spake of it in no small way of commendation, said, "We have spent part of our Maunday Thursday to good purpose, have we not, my lords, think you?" They all replied they had seen those good things and rarities, that they never did before, nor should see the like they believed again for the future. "It is very rightly said," said the king. So looking upon Nicholas Ferrar he willed him, that he should go the next morning to Richmond, and carry the prince the book made for him. "And after the holiday," said he, "return to my Lord of Canterbury; and then you shall know my good approbation of yourself and all you have done; and he shall signify to you my will and pleasure, what I will have you to do, and where you are to go."

So dismissing him with a cheerful royal look, the king said to my lord of Canterbury, "Alas! what pity is it, that this youth hath not his speech, altogether so ready as his pen, and great understanding is." For the king had observed, that sometimes at the first bringing out his words, he would make a small pause; but once having begun, he spake readily and roundly, as other men did. "Sir," said my lord of Canterbury, "I conceive that small impediment in his tongue hath been very happy for him." "How can you, my lord, make that good?" "Sir," said he, "out of doubt, the small defect in that one tongue hath gained, by the directions of that learned and wise uncle of his, that directed him to the study of all these languages, (as finding his great abilities of wit, memory, and industry,) the attaining of them, and producing these and the like rare works, that you see, done by him to admiration. So oftentimes God, in his great wisdom and love, turns those things, we account our prejudice, to our greatest happiness, if with pleasure and chearfulness we undergo them, and to his own further glory. So that neither he nor his parents have cause to grieve at that small defect he hath in his one tongue, that by it hath gained so many more, that make him more eminent, than that one could have done. For certainly, sir, so many other abilities that are united in the young man, had taken and put him upon some other studies, than this of languages, if this small imperfection had not accompanied it: and instead of one mother tongue, he hath gained twenty-four; a full recompence I take it to be." "Well," said the king, "you have somewhat to the purpose, my lord." Then said my lord of Holland, "He should do well to carry always in his mouth some small pebble stones, that would (help) him much." "Nay, nay,"

said the king, "I have tried that⁵, but it helps not. I will tell him the best and surest way is to take good deliberation at first, and not to be too sudden in speech. And let him also learn to sing, that will do well." Then said one of the lords to Nicholas Ferrar, "Do you not learn to sing, and music also?" He replied he did. So humble reverence done, Nicholas Ferrar going away, my lord of Canterbury stepped to Nicholas Ferrar and told him, he must not fail to come to Lambeth, and call for his letter in the morning, for bishop Duppa, the prince's tutor.

This was done next morning; and so in a coach with four horses, Nicholas Ferrar went to Richmond, with some other company of his friends. Coming to Richmond, the bishop's secretary acquainted his lord, of a letter sent to him by the lord of Canterbury. The bishop was then with the prince, who coming from him, Nicholas Ferrar delivered him the letter. The contents read, he embraced Nicholas Ferrar, who kneeled down to crave his blessing, and kiss his hands. Nicholas Ferrar was called for to come in to the prince, who gave him his hand to kiss. He presented the book unto him. The prince hastily opened it, saying, "Here's a gallant outside:" gave it then to the bishop: he read the title-page and frontis-piece. Then the prince took it, and turning it all over, leaf by leaf, said, "Better and better." The courtiers that stood about him, demanded how he liked that rare piece. "Well, well, very," said he. "It pleaseth me exceedingly; and I wish daily to read in it." So many questions were asked and answered. And the little duke of York, having also seen the book, and fine pictures in it, came to Nicholas Ferrar, and said unto him, "Will you not make me also such another

⁵ *I have tried that.*] The king here alludes to the imperfections of his own utterance: respecting which an interesting circumstance is recorded by sir Philip Warwick. He is speaking of a critical season; the three days of Charles's appearance on his trial before the regicides.

"The king's deportment was very majestic and steady; and though his tongue *usually hesitated* yet it was free *at this time*; for he was never decomposed in mind."—*Memoirs*, p. 339.

His elder brother, prince Henry, had suffered under a similar imperfection.

"His speech," says sir Charles Cornwallis, treasurer of his household, "was slow and somewhat impeded. . . . Oftentimes he would say of himself, that he had the most unserviceable tongue of any man living."—*Discourse of the most illustrious prince Henry, &c.* Harleian Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 339, 40.

fine book? I pray you do it." Nicholas Ferrar replied, his grace should not fail to have one made for him also. But said the duke, "How long will it be before I have it?" "With all good speed," said Nicholas Ferrar. "But how long time will that be? I pray tell the gentle-women at Gidding, I will heartily thank them, if they will dispatch it." (For he had heard Nicholas Ferrar tell the prince, who questioned with him, who bound the book so finely, and made it so neatly and stately, and had laid on all the pictures so curiously; that it was done by the art and hands of his kins-women at Gidding.) All the courtiers standing by, heartily laughed to see the duke's earnestness, who would have no nay; but a promise speedily to have one made for him⁶, like his brother's. The prince at last went to dinner, expressing much joy at his book.

The bishop took Nicholas Ferrar by the hand, and with great demonstration of favour led him into a room, where divers young lords were, the duke of Buckingham and others, who sitting down to dinner, the bishop placed Nicholas Ferrar by the table at his side. The bishop demanded many questions at table concerning Gidding, to which he received satisfaction; saying, my lord of Canterbury's letters had informed him of what had passed before the king at White Hall; and of the rare pieces which were shewed the king, whereof he said he hoped one day to have the happiness to see them; and said, "This present given the prince was very acceptable, and he made no question but the prince would receive not only much pleasure in it, but great good by it in every kind."

After dinner ended, and other courtiers come to talk with Nicholas Ferrar, the bishop departed the room, and not long after came in again; took Nicholas Ferrar by the hand, and carried him into a room, where the prince was, the duke, and divers court ladies looking upon the book. The bishop after a while told the prince what books were presented to the king his father, at White Hall. The prince demanded to see them also: but the bishop said they were left there. "Ah," said he, "I would you had brought them, that I might also have seen those rare things." So after many questions demanded and answered, it growing late, Nicholas Ferrar craved leave to depart; and humbly bowing

⁶ *One made for him.*] In the margin it is added, "The book which was made and printed for the duke never had opportunity to be presented to his grace. It is yet still at Gidding."

himself to the prince, the prince rose up, and came towards him, and moving his hat, the bishop standing by him, said, "I am much beholden to you, for the jewel you have given me, and for the contrivement of it; and to the Gidding gentlewomen, that have taken so much pains about it, to make it so curious a piece." Then putting his hand into his pocket, he pulled out a handful of twenty shillings pieces of gold, saying (Nicholas Ferrar stepping back), "Nay, I do not give you this as any reward in recompence of your book, for I esteem it every way above much gold; and prize it at a far greater rate. Only you shall take this as a present testimony of my acceptance of it, and my esteem of you. I shall study how I may in the future let all know how much I deem of your worth, and the book:" and so gave him his handful of gold. And so Nicholas Ferrar departing, divers courtiers would needs accompany him to his coach, and the bishop down stairs. And so, with great demonstration of much civility they parted, the bishop willing his secretary to accompany him to the coach.

Saturday morning repair was made to the bishop of Canterbury, to let him know what had passed at Richmond; for so he had given order; who said he much longed to know what entertainment was given to the book, and person. He liked all well that passed, and said he was right glad, that things went as he hoped; and should acquaint the king with all. Then taking Nicholas Ferrar's father aside, he said, "Let your care now cease for your hopeful son, or for his future preferment, or estate, or present maintenance. God hath so inclined the king's heart, and his liking to your son, and the gifts God hath indued him with; and having been informed of his virtuous, pious education, and singular industry and Christian deportment, and of his sober inclination, that he will take him from you into his own protection and care, and make him his scholar and servant; and hath given me order, that after the holidays being past, I should send him to Oxford; and that there he shall be maintained in all things needful for him at the king's proper charge; and shall not (need) what he can desire, to further him in the prosecution of these works he hath begun in matter of languages: and what help of books, or heads, or hands he shall require, he shall not be unfurnished with; for the king would have this work of the New Testament, in twenty-four languages, to be accomplished by his care and assistance; and to have the help of all the learned men that can be

had, to that end. Assure yourself he shall want nothing. In a word the king is greatly in love with him : and you will, and have cause to bless and praise God for such a son." So John Ferrar being ravished with joy, in all humble manner gave thanks to my lord's grace. And they returning to Nicholas Ferrar, my lord embraced him, and gave him his benediction. Nicholas Ferrar kneeling down, took the bishop by the hand, and kissed it. He took him up in his arms, and laid his hand to his cheek, and earnestly besought God Almighty to bless him, and increase all graces in him, and fit him every day more and more for an instrument of his glory here upon earth, and a saint in heaven ; "which," said he, "is the only happiness that can be desired, and ought to be our chief end in all our actions. God bless you ! God bless you ! I have told your father, what is to be done for you, after the holidays. God will provide for you, better than your father can :—God bless you ! and keep you !" So they parted from his grace.

But he never saw him more ! for within a few days after⁷, Nicholas Ferrar fell ill : and on Easter day he was desirous, being next morning (having found himself not well the day before) to receive the communion at Paul's, whither he went early in the morning, and communicated ; and returning home, had little appetite to his dinner, eating little or nothing. He went yet to a sermon in the afternoon ; but at night grew somewhat worse. And on Monday morning, his father with all care and diligence went to a learned physician, who came and visited him, and gave him what he thought fitting ; but he grew worse and worse. Then was another physician joined to the first. They consulted, and prescribed things for him, but he mended not ; but with great patience and chearfulness did bear his sickness, and was very comfortable in it to all that came to visit him, wholly referring himself to God's good will and pleasure ; only telling his friends, and the bishop of Peterborough, doctor Towers, that loved him dearly, and came to visit him twice in that short time, that he was no way troubled to die, and to go to heaven, where he knew was only peace and quiet and joys permanent, whereas all things in the world were but trouble and vexation : and death must be the end of all men ; and he that went soonest to heaven, was the happiest man. The bishop

⁷ *A few days after.*] "Easter-Eve." Margin of the manuscript.

would say, when he went away, and had a long time talked with him, that Nicholas Ferrar was better prepared to die than he, and was a true child of God : and could comfort himself in God, without directions from him, or others : that his pious education under his pious uncle of blessed memory, his old and dear friend, was now shewed forth in these his so young years, that they had taken mighty root downward, and in his soul, and now sprang up with not only leaves and fair blossoms, but with good and ripe fruit of heavenly matters. It joyed his heart to see him so disposed to God-ward, and to so willingly leave the world, and the late testimonies of worth, that he had received from the best in the land. That sure he was too good longer to stay here. God would take him to heaven ; and willed his father to prepare for his departure ; and to take it with all thankfulness to God ; and not look what himself he might think had here lost on earth, but to that crown which his good son, by the mercies of God, and merits of his Saviour, he was persuaded would soon enjoy in heaven. “He is too good ; he is too good,” said he, “to live longer in these ill approaching times. For there is much fear now that the glory of church and state is at the highest.” For then tumults began : and the bishop of Canterbury’s house at Lambeth^s, was one night assaulted by a rabble of lewd people ; which when Nicholas Ferrar was told one morning, as he lay in his sick bed, “Alas ! alas !” said he, “God help his church, and poor England ! I now fear indeed, what my dear uncle said before he died, is at hand, that evil days were coming, and happy were they that went to heaven before they came. Can or will the insolency of such a rabble be unpunished ? It is high time that supreme authority take care of these growing evils. God amend all ! Truly, truly, it troubles me.” And when at other times some friend would say to him. “Good cousin, are you not grieved to leave this world ; you are now so young, and in the flower of your youth and hopes ?” He would cheerfully answer, “No, truly ; I leave all to God’s good will and pleasure, that is my best father, and knoweth what is best for me. Alas ! I am too young to be mine own judge, what is best for me, to die

^s *At Lambeth.*] In the church-warden’s accounts of the parish of Lambeth in this year, 1640, is the following entry :

“May 8th, Paide for trayning when the mutinie was in Lambeth
against the archbishopp £1 0 0.”

or live ; but let all be, as God's will is. If I live, I desire it may be to his further glory, and mine own soul's good, and the comfort and service, that I intend to be to my father, that loves me so dearly, and in his old age to be his servant. If I die, I hope my father will submit all to God's will and pleasure, and rejoice at my happiness in heaven, where by the merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour, I know I shall go out of this wretched life." In this manner, and upon the visits of friends, he would discourse ; and the bishop came to him two days before he died, and found him most cheerful to die, and to be with God, as he would say to him ; who gave him absolution, and with many tears departed, saying to his father, " God give you consolation ; and prepare yourself to part with your good son. He will, in a few hours, I think, go to a better world : for he is no way for this, that I see, by his body and by his soul. Be of good comfort ; you give him but again to him, that gave him you for a season." And in two days after, God took him away ; who died praying and calling upon God, " Lord Jesus receive my soul ! Lord receive it !" Amen.

This following EPITAPH will more at large inform the reader concerning Nicholas Ferrar junior, his life and death, briefly thus expressed by a friend of his, Mr. Mark Frank, once fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge.

Lector,
quisquis es
quem { vel sortis humanæ
 vel elusæ spei } miseret,
 vel ereptæ virtutis }
Siste te paulum ad hoc lachrymarum monumentum,
Sepulchrum Nicolai
generosæ Ferrarorum familiæ hæredis ;
piissimi illius Nicolai,
quem ipse orbis admiratur
tanquam unicum integræ virtutis domicilium,
Charissimi nepotis :
Londini, si patriam quæris, oriundi,
Geddingæ Parvæ, juxta Venantodunum, educati.
Juvenis nimirum
qui, inter privatas illas solitudines,
Stupenda sua indole actus
Ipsum sibi Academiam habuit.

Qui ad vicesimam tertiam linguam
 vix tutorem habuit, vix indiguit,
 vix annos petiit;
 Et tamen annorum numerum linguis duabus
 superavit :

Ingenio quam annis major.
 Cui { Grammatica, Necessitati,
 Historia, Otio,
 Philosophia, Studio,
 Mathematica, Voluptati,
 Musica, Pietati,
 Theologia, Praxi, } fuit.
 Qui

eleganti, admiranda potius industria
 in sacris concinnandis Harmoniis
 (quibus ne verbum aut superesse
 aut deesse Evangelistis ostenditur)
 Regi et Aulae cognitus
 Et doctrinae simul et religionis specimen dedit.

Qui { Precibus
 Jejuniis } crebris,
 Vigiliis }

Abstinentia perpetua
 vel a primo decennio Deo inserviit
 Familiae suae et exemplum, et solatium pietatis;
 summae erga parentes obedientiae,
 singularis erga amicos amicitiae,
 eximiae erga omnes humanitatis,
 profusae erga pauperes benignitatis,
 Verbis, Veste, Vita, sobrius, modestus, humilimus,

Qui in omnibus { Parentum Vota
 Amicorum Spem } longe post se reliquit.
 Omnium Fidem }

Nec hic stetit;
 dum majora adhuc anhelans
 nullum studiis suis statuerat
 nisi Universae Naturae terminum.
 Sed Natura praepropere terminum posuit
 ne deesset tandem velocissimo ingenio
 quod evolveret.

Libentissimi hic assensit
 ut mens, nondum satiata scientiis
 inveniret in Deo quod in terris non potuit.

Inde est
 Amicorum dolori, reipublicae literariae damno,
 Spei humanae confusioni, gloriae tamen suae
 quod hinc abiit
 vel ad Doctorum vel Virginum Chorum,

Anno
Regis Caroli XVIº.
Ætatis suæ XXIº.
Christi MDCXL
Die Maii XIXº.

There was found amongst other papers in his study this following; in this manner, that all might be printed in one book together, at one view to be seen, in two pages of the book, as it opened, twenty-five on one side, twenty-five on the other.

Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi
Testamentum,
Lingua

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Hebraica. | 26. Anglica. |
| 2. Syriaca. | 27. Saxonica. |
| 3. Arabica. | 28. Italica. |
| 4. Chaldaica. | 29. Gallica. |
| 5. Æthiopica. | 30. Hispanica. |
| 6. Samaritana. | 31. Belgica. |
| 7. Armenica. | 32. Gothica. |
| 8. Coptica. | 33. Vandalica. |
| 9. Sclavonica. | 34. Estonica. |
| 10. Moscovitica. | 35. Prutenica. |
| 11. Græca. | 36. Jazigica. |
| 12. Latina. | 37. Illyrica. |
| 13. Cambro-Britannica. | 38. Epirotica. |
| 14. Hibernica. | 39. Persica. |
| 15. Monica. | 40. Georgiana. |
| 16. Hungarica. | 41. Turcica. |
| 17. Cantabrica. | 42. Tartarica. |
| 18. Cauchica. | 43. Jacobitica. |
| 19. Wallaccica. | 44. Indica orientali. |
| 20. Rhætica. | 45. Japonica. |
| 21. Islandica. | 46. Danica. |
| 22. Swedica. | 47. Polonica. |
| 23. Finennica. | 48. Bohemica. |
| 24. Livonica. | 49. Lusatica. |
| 25. Germanica. | 50. Indica occident. vel Americana. |

This by the help of God I intend to effect: and also to translate the Church Catechism into these languages; so likewise the 117 psalm, "Praise the Lord all ye heathens: praise him all ye nations," and present them to the king, that he may print them, and send them to all nations, &c.

7. SEVENTH WORK.

The whole law of God, as it is delivered in the five books of Moses, methodically distributed into three great classes, moral, ceremonial, political. And each of these again subdivided into several heads as the variety of matter requires; wherein each particular subject dispersedly related in the forenamed books, is reduced to the proper head and place whereunto it belongeth. Containing in all three hundred thirty-three heads: also every head of the political law is reduced to that precept of the moral law, to which it properly belongs; likewise there are sundry treatises, shewing in what, and how, divers of the ceremonial laws were shadows and types of the Messiah that was to come. And also in what Adam, Abel, Noah, Abram, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson, David, Solomon and his Temple, Elisha, Job, Daniel, Jonah, the pillar fire, the Red Sea, the rock, and manna, were all figures of our Lord and blessed Saviour J. Christ.

With an harmony of all the prophets, foretelling the birth, life, and death of Jesus Christ that was to come; to confirm the Christian and convince the Jew: together with a discourse of the twelve stones in Aaron's pectoral, their several virtues, &c.

As also an harmonical parallel between the types of the O. Testament, and the four Evangelists' relations concerning our dear Lord and Saviour, respectively prefigured by the holy prophets, and other sacred writers. Moreover there are divers treatises showing how, and in what manner, times and places, the several promises and threatenings, foretold by Moses, did accordingly befall the Jews: with the fulfilling also of our Saviour's prophecy in the destruction of their city and temple, and the desolation of the land of Jewry: with the miseries which the Jews have sustained under many nations, and in particular here in England, France, Spain, Germany, &c. and their strange dispositions, and God's judgment on them to this day.

All to testify the truth of the Divine Oracles.

This work is also set forth with abundance of pictures, the better to express the stories and contents of it.

This precedent work, called the *Seventh* piece, was also contrived in Nicholas Ferrar's lifetime, and a draught of it made, though not altogether⁹ with the additions and annexations to it: but was after his death contrived fully, as in the manner before set down: and made for the prince's use, to be presented to him, by the advice of some judicious and learned friends, that held it a work worthy of his acceptance, and might be both of pleasure and contentment, and useful to him in many kinds.

⁹ *Though not altogether.*] "But in his lifetime, he gave one in this kind to the bishop of Canterbury, containing only the first part of the *whole Law of God*. This the bishop sent to the university Library of Oxford, where there it is to be now seen, bound up, and so done by the hands of the Virgins of Gidding, in green velvet, fairly bound and gilt." Marginal note in the MS.

It so happened that in the year 1642 the troubles in this land began to grow to height; and the king and prince were forced by the disorders at London to repair to York. And the king lodging with the prince and some other nobility at Huntingdon one night, the next day afternoon it was his gracious pleasure to come and honour Little Gidding with his royal presence, the prince attending him, the palsgrave, the duke of Lennox, and divers other nobles; and where his majesty staid some hours.

First he went to view the chapel, and was pleased to express his good liking of it, saying, it was a fine neat thing. "But," said he, "where are those images, &c. so much talked of?" Answer was made, "Such as his majesty now beheld it, was all that ever was there seen, or in it." He smiling said to the duke and palsgrave, "I knew it full well, that never any were in it. But what will not malice invent?" One lord said, "It was affirmed to me, that there was a cross in one of the windows in painted glass." Answer was made, "Never any, but that, if so they meant it, that was upon the crown, that there was placed upon the lion's head, that did, in the west window at the entry into the church over the door, stand, where the king's arms¹ were placed in painted glass, and the lion that supported the arms had on the crown he wore on his head a little cross, as was ever used in the king's arms and supporters: and this was all the crosses that ever were seen in Gidding church; or any other painted glass or pictures." The king looking up upon it, said, "What strange reports are in the world!" So the prince, palsgrave and duke all smiled; and the duke said, "Envy was *quick-sighted*."—"Nay," said the palsgrave, "can see *what is not*."

Then the king was pleased to go into the house, and demanded where the great book was that he had heard was made for Charles's use. It was soon brought unto him; and the largeness and weight of it was such that he that carried it seemed to be well laden. Which the duke observing, said, "Sir, one of your strongest guard will but be able to carry this book." It being laid on the table before the king, it was told him, that though it were then fairly bound up in purple velvet, that the outside was not fully finished, as it should be, for the prince's use and better liking. "Well," said the king, "it is very well done." So he opened the book, the prince standing at the table's end, and the palsgrave and duke on each side of the king. The king read the

¹ *King's arms.*] See note in vol. iii. p. 233.

title-page and frontispiece all over very deliberately: and well viewing the form of it, and how adorned with a stately garnish of pictures, &c. and the curiousness of the writing of it, said, "Charles, here is a book that contains excellent things. This will make you both wise and good." Then he proceeded to turn it over leaf by leaf, and took exact notice of all in it: and it being full of pictures of sundry men's cuts, he could tell the palsgrave, who seemed also to be knowing in that kind², that this and this, and that and that, were of such a man's graving and invention. The prince all the while greatly eyed all things, and seemed much to be pleased with the book. The king having spent some hours in the perusal of it, and demanding many questions, as occasion was, concerning the contrivement of it, having received answers to all he demanded, at length said, "It was only a jewel for a prince: and hoped Charles would make good use of it. And I see and find by what I have myself received formerly from this good house, that they go on daily in the prosecution of these excellent pieces. They are brave employments of their time." The palsgrave said to the prince, "Sir, your father the king is master of the goodliest ship in the world; and I may now say, you will be master of the gallantest greatest book in the world. For I never saw such paper before; and believe there is no book of this largeness to be seen in Christendom." "The paper and the book in all conditions," said the king, "I believe is not to be matched. Here hath also in this book not wanted, you see, skill, care, nor cost." "It is a most admirable piece," replied the duke of Richmond. So the king closing the book, said, "Charles this is yours." He replied, "But, sir, shall I not now have it with me?" Reply was made by one of the

² *Knowing in that kind.*] "It is a trite observation, that gunpowder was discovered by a monk, and printing by a soldier. It is an *additional* honour to the latter profession *to have invented mezzotinto*. . . . Born with the taste of an uncle, whom his sword was not fortunate in defending, *prince Rupert* was fond of those sciences which soften and adorn a hero's private hours; and knew how to mix them with his minutes of amusement, without dedicating his life to their pursuit, like us, who, wanting capacity for momentous views, make serious study of what is only the transitory occupation of a genius. Had the court of the first Charles been peaceful, how agreeably had the prince's congenial prosperity flattered and confirmed the inclination of his *uncle*. How the muse of arts would have repaid the patronage of the monarch, when for his first artist she would have presented him with his *nephew*!"—Horace Walpole's *Catalogue of Engravers*, &c. edit. 1786. p. 133-5.

family, "If it please your highness, the book is not on the outside so finished as it is intended for you; but shall be, with all expedition, done, and you shall have it." "Well," said the king, "you must content yourself for a while."

The palsgrave, who had left the king discoursing, had stepped into the other room by, and there seen the poor alms widows rooms, which were built for them. He then comes to the king, saying, "Sir, you shall, if you please to go with me, see another good thing, that will like you well." So the king and prince followed him, and the duke. So being come into the widows rooms, which were handsomely wainscotted, and four beds in them, after the Dutch manner of their alms houses, all along the walls; the room being rubbed, and cleanly kept, the king looking well about him, and upon all things said, "Truly this is worth the sight. I did not think to have seen a thing in this kind, that so well pleaseth me. God's blessing be upon the founders of it! Time was," speaking to the palsgrave, "that you would have thought such a lodging not amiss." "Yea, sir," said he, "and happy I had had it full often." So some questions the king asked about the widows, &c. and going out of the room into a long arbour in the garden, the duke following him, he put his hand into his pocket, and took out of it five pieces in gold saying to the duke, "Let these be given to the poor widows. It is all I have, else they should have more;" (these he had won the night before of the palsgrave at cards at Huntingdon) "and will them to pray for me."

While the king was walking, and talking, and commending the fine and pleasant situation of the house upon a little hill, which it stood upon, to divers about him, saying, "Gidding is a happy place in many respects; I am glad I have seen it." The young lords had gone into the buttery, and there found apple-pies and cheese-cakes, and came out with pieces in their hands into the parlour, to the prince, and merrily said, "Sir, will your highness taste; it is a good apple-pye as ever we eat." The prince laughed heartily at them: so wine was brought. The king came in, saying, "It grows late: the sun is going down: we must away." So their horses were brought to the door. The king mounting, those of the family, men and women, all kneeled down, and heartily prayed God to bless and defend him from his enemies; and give him a long and happy reign. He lifting up his hand to his hat, replied, "Pray, pray for my speedy and safe return again." So the prince also took horse, and away they went.

And as the king rode through the grounds, he espied a hare sitting, and then called to the duke for his piece, which he carried; and as he sat on horse-back killed the hare; but not so dead, but she ran a little way. But the prince, seeing her rise up, skipped off his horse, and ran after her through two or three furrows of water, and caught her, and laughing shewed her to the king. And away they went: but it was late before they got to Stamford that night.

I had forgot to relate, that the king, a mile before he came at the house, seeing it stand upon a hill, demanded of sir Capel Beedells³, who then waited upon him, and sir Richard Stone, the high sheriff, whom he knighted the evening before, when he came into Huntingdon, what house that was that stood so pleasantly. They told him, Little Gidding. "Is that it? I must go and visit it. Doth not our way lie beneath it?" They said, "Aye." Those of the family of Little Gidding, out of their windows, seeing the king's company afar off, coming that way, they all went down the hill, to the end of the lordship, and at the bridge attended the king's coming that way, as most desirous to see him and to kiss his hands. When the king came near them, he asked sir Capel who those people were? He said the Ferrars' and Colletts' family that dwelt at Gidding. So the king approaching foremost of all, they went all to meet him; and kneeling down prayed God to bless and preserve his majesty, and keep him safe from all his enemies' malice. The king gave them all, as they passed by, his hand to kiss. The prince seeing that, came galloping up, and did the like. Some of them went to kiss the palsgrave's hand, but he refused. But turning to the duke, and the other young lords, he said, "These ladies will not so soon get up the hill again. Come, let us take them up behind us." And so he came to persuade them. But they excused themselves, and made haste up the hill. The king rode on purpose a foot pace up the hill, talking with sir Capel and Mr. Hill, and demanding many questions.

And this is what then happened at the presenting of this book, which ever since hath been preserved at Gidding, and attends the happy hour to be delivered into the right owner's hand; which God Almighty grant in his due time!

Amen, Amen, Amen.

³ *Beedells.*] Sir Capel Bedell, or Beedells (of Hamerton, in Huntingdonshire, two miles from Little Gidding) was created a baronet in 1622. He died *s. p.* in 1663.

Nicholas Ferrar, in a paper found in his study, thus writes in it:—

“The king of England (he would say) had more several languages spoken by the subjects of his dominions than any king in Christendom: and therefore deserved to have a Bible of many languages, above other princes.

“There are twelve spoken in his dominions.

“1. English, spoken in England, and a good part of Scotland: those, I mean, that lie next to England. It is chiefly compounded of the Saxon, French, and Latin.

“2. Scottish, spoken more northerly in Scotland. It retains more of the old Saxon, and is not mingled with so many French words, as English is. Bishop Douglas translated Virgil into this dialect.

“3. Welsh, spoken in Wales.

“4. Cornish, spoken in Cornwall. It is a dialect of the Welsh, but very various.

“5. Irish, spoken in Ireland.

“6. Scot-Irish, a dialect of Irish; and is spoken in the Hebrides, islands lying on the West of Scotland.

“7. Hethyan. Hethy is an island of the Orcades, in which is spoken a language, which is a dialect of the Gothish or Norwegian.

“8. There is in Pembrokeshire in Wales, a country called Little England beyond Wales. They use a language compounded of the Dutch and Welsh.

“9. In the islands of Guernsey and Jersey they speak a corrupt kind of French, somewhat like the Walloon, which the Belgæ *qui non teutonizant* speak.

“10. In the famous Isle of Man is spoken a language that is compounded of Welsh, Irish, Norwegian, but most Irish words.

“This island deserves, and the people of it, a perpetual memorial, for many excellent things in it: which I cannot but thus briefly touch, in regard that my learned and pious uncle Nicholas Ferrar, of blessed memory, who had seen many parts of the world, would highly commend it, as a happy place to live in. For he would say, it were to be wished, and happy it were for England, that the same manner for law were here used, being a speedy and right way of justice, the soul of a kingdom, &c. That there were no beggars found in that island: that the inhabitants were most honest and religious, loving their pastors, to whom they use much reverence and respect; they frequenting duly divine service, without division in the church or innovation in the commonwealth. They detest the disorders, as well civil as ecclesiastical, of neighbour nations. And the women of this country, to their no small commendation, whenever they go out of the doors, gird themselves about with that winding-sheet, that they purpose to be buried in, to shew themselves perpetually mindful of their mortality. O rare example to all!

“11. The languages spoken by the savages in the Virginia }
plantation. } These in the
“12. That other kind also spoken in New England by } New World.”
those savages.”

Also there was another paper that named all the mother tongues, with their daughters, which as yet I cannot find: but hope I shall; and then (will it be) here underneath to be added. Sir, you know I did once shew it you in his study, with the other works before-mentioned, and these that follow.

8. EIGHTH WORK; prepared but not begun. Materials only prepared, and a model drawn of it.

Glory be to God on High.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in twenty-six languages, with Arabick, Syriac, Greek, all interpreted, word for word, with Latin; likewise Hebrew, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabick, Syriac and Greek, all having their several Latin translations lying opposite to them; which six languages are taken out of that most rare and accomplished Bible of the king of France, lately come forth, and as the French report, at the expence of very many thousand pounds, and great pains taken in it, and no few years spent to finish it. All these twenty-six languages are so composed and ordered, that at one view they may be seen and read, with much ease and pleasure as well as to use and benefit. The several twenty-six languages are those that follow:

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Hebrew. | 14. English-Saxon. |
| 2. Syriack. | 15. German. |
| 3. Greek. | 16. Danish. |
| 4. Arabick. | 17. Swedish. |
| 5. Chaldee. | 18. Low Dutch. |
| 6. Samaritan. | 19. English. |
| 7. Æthiopian. | 20. Welsh. |
| 8. Sclavonian. | 21. Irish. |
| 9. Hungarian. | 22. Latin. |
| 10. Cantabrian. | 23. Italian. |
| 11. Muscovian. | 24. Spanish. |
| 12. Polonian. | 25. French. |
| 13. Bohemian. | 26. Portugall. |

And moreover there are twelve several English translations; twenty various Latin translations; three Italian; three Spanish; three French; three High Dutch; and three Netherlands. And all these⁴ also so placed,

⁴ *And all these.*] “But these several translations are since resolved to be omitted, and in the place and stead of them, some other thing of more use and consequence there placed, and more suitable to this work.”

“Since this frontispiece was contrived, and the model of the work framed, it is by the advice and counsel of second thoughts (determined) that in the place and stead of the twelve several English translations, the twenty various, &c. there shall be placed now either a Concordance of the Four Evangelists, according to that first pattern you have seen and read, being the first work done at Gidding, and presented to the king, and set forth with pictures; or that in that place of the several translations, if no Concordance be there

ordered, and contrived that the eye may discern them at one time, and peruse them all with great content : and for the conclusion of the work there is added at the end of the book, that of doctor Fulke, intituled, “ A Defence of the sincere and true translation of the Holy Scripture in the English tongue, against the manifold cavils, and insolent slanders of Gregory Martin, one of the translators of the Rhemish Bible :” and theirs and ours compared together in two several columns. And the Lord’s Prayer is also annexed in three-score several languages. Laus Deo.

Of this *eighth* piece the model and form was contrived to be as you have seen on the foregoing page in that manner. But these sad times coming on a-main gave an obstruction to the proceedings and attempt, so that it hath lain still till this year 165—. And now it hath so fallen out⁵ that, (to the honour of those worthy learned men, that have by their great care and diligence set it on foot,) the printing of the Holy Bible in eight several languages is designed here in England ; the which work in many respects is like to pass that Bible both of the king of Spain’s, and the aforementioned king of France’s : in which regard it is now thought fitting to defer this model, and intended work, till that our Bible be finished. And then by the good blessing of God, and the help of some of those active hands, that are yet alive, who were instruments of the other many precedent works, as you have heard, this may in a good hour be begun, and by the help of God and good friends brought into light and finished. So contriving it by that neat way of pasting upon mighty large paper, provided for the same purpose, without which it cannot be effected, that these twenty-six or twenty-eight several languages may be, upon the opening of the book, all seen and read with much profitableness and no less pleasure. A book it will be that

placed, then doctor Hammond’s, that learned man’s, Comments lately printed, shall be placed, and brought into this book, as a necessary and profitable jewel, to be interwoven into the book, as the model drawn doth justly declare to the eye. Glory be to God on high : Peace on earth : Good will amongst men. Amen.” Marginal note in the MS.

⁵ *So fallen out.*] The printing of the Polyglot, an illustrious monument of zeal and learning, erected to the glory of their country by bishop Walton, and other episcopal divines, in times of great distress and persecution, began in 1653, and was finished in 1657. The first printed proposals respecting it were issued in the year 1652.

hath not its parallel or match in the whole world, and may well become, as many learned men say that have seen the model of it, the best library in the Christian world, and a jewel not misbecoming the greatest potentate's study. God Almighty give both means and heads and hands to effect it : to whom must be the glory, praise and honour ! Amen, Amen, Amen^c.

^c Here end the extracts from the Lambeth MS. No. 251.

APPENDIX.

MR. JOHN FERRAR, author of the old MS. frequently referred to, wrote to Ed. Lenton, Esq. of Notley, enquiring whether a letter from him formerly written to Serjt. Hetley, was not the groundwork of a libellous pamphlet¹, entitled, *The Arminian Nunnery, at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire*. Mr. Lenton's answer and vindication of himself, as follows, is dated Oct. 27, the year not specified, but it was 1642 :

Sir,

If your messenger had staid but one night longer, I would not have delayed my answer to your so discrete and respectful a letter ; which makes me wish we were better acquainted, in hopes to confirm your good and charitable opinion of me.

Sir, I confess I should much degenerate from my birth (being a gentleman), my breeding (well known to the world), and the religion I profess ; if having, upon something a bold visit, been entertained in your family with kind and civil respects, I should requite it with such scorn and calumny as this libellous pamphlet seems to insinuate.

Sir, my conceit of it is, that, in this time of too much liberty (if not licentiousness) of the press, many ballad-makers and necessitous persons (it may be, set on work by some printers themselves, to promote their trade) distil their barren brains to make provision for their empty bellies, by publishing such novelties and fictions as they think will vent best ; and, when they have spent their own little wit, borrow of others to eke it out ; and so, enterlacing some shreds of their own, they patch up a penny pamphlet, to serve for their morning's draught.

Of this strain I take this book to be. The ground whereof

¹ *Libellous pamphlet.*] See the note at p. 208.

(you doubt, but I doubt not) was the letter I writt to Sir Thomas Hettley (many years since) upon his request, that, in my passage from him to my lord Montague's, being by your house, I would see and certify what I could in so short a stay, touching the various reports divulged in most places of your religious rites and ceremonies.

To which my true relation (which I am sorry and marvel how it should light in such hucksters-hands) the pamphleteer, by his additions and subtractions, interweaving truth with falsehood to purchase some credit to his untruths, hath drawn conclusions and accusations of Arminianism and other fopperies, not once mentioned in my letter ; but, as wisely as that atheist, who, to prove there was no God, vouched one end of a verse where David in his psalms saith, *There is no God* ; and left out the beginning of the verse, *That the fool hath said it in his heart*.

By this time, sir, I hope you see I am so far from being the author, infuser, abettor or countenancer of this fable, that, by it I take myself to be as much abused, and that there is as much aspersion cast upon me as upon your family, by a sly and cunning intimation (my letter being his ground-work) to make me thought (by such as know me not well) to be the author and divulger of his lies and scandals, which (by God's mercy) my soul abhors.

Had he shewed his dislike of some of the ceremonies, &c. (as I myself did, by way of argument) I should not (nor, I think, you) so much have kindled at it. But so to add to, subtract, pervert, and falsify my letter, I think the author (if haply he may be found out) deserves to be censured as a counterfeiter of false letters and tokens, and as a contriver and publisher of false news, according to the law of the land and the statutes in like case provided.

His ignorance (which yet excuseth not *a toto*, if *a tanto*) I think will be his best plea. For, it should seem, he is no great clerk. Which I observe even almost at the beginning of his story, where he tells a tale as of a third person, and in the same clause, within two or three lines after, ineptly changeth it into the first person ; without any apt transition. A solecism which a mean scholar would hardly have fallen into.

To have put the true copy of my letter in print, without my privity, had been a great inhumanity. But, to pervert it with so

many falsifications, and laying his inhumanities on me, I think, none but a licentious libeller, or a beggarly ballad-maker, would have offered.

I was so conscious to myself of intending no wrong to your family in my relation, that I thought to have sent your brother [N. F.] a copy thereof; and had done it, if want of opportunity in his lifetime, and his death afterwards, had not prevented me. And I would now send you a true copy thereof, if you had not wrote to me, that you had it presently after my writing it. And sith I have been at your house long since (for it is about seven years past, as I take it, that I writ the relation) I presume you would have expostulated the matter with me, if you had taken any just exception or distaste at it. But therein you might well perceive, that I endeavoured not to detract any thing from you, or to conceal even the civility or humility I found, or what I had heard or believed of your works of charity.

Thus, sir, even the very same day I received your's (for there needs no long time to answer a matter of fact with matter of truth; and being full of indignation to be thus traduced, whereof I longed instantly to discharge myself) I scribbled over this candid and ingenuous answer. And I am now troubled that you gave me no direction for the address thereof to you; which, when haply you shall receive, I leave to your own discretion, to make what use thereof you please; presuming that you will therein have the like respects to me which herein I have had to you. So leaving us to the guidance of our good God, I subscribe, as you to me, your friend and servant,

ED. LENTON.

Notley, near Thame, Oct. 27.

To the worshipful my worthily esteemed friend
John Ferrar, Esq. at his house in Little
Gidding in Huntingdonshire.

The copy of my letter to sir Thomas Hetley, kt. and serjeant at law, upon his request to certify as I found.

Good Mr. Serjeant ^a.

I can give you but a short account of my not two hours stay at the reputed (at least reported) nunnery at Gidding; and yet

must leave out three parts of our passages, as fitter for a relation than a letter.

I came thither after ten ; and found a fair house, fairly seated ; to which I passed through a fine grove and sweet walks, letticed and gardened on both sides.

Their livelihood 500*l.* per annum, as my lord Montague² told me ; one of his mansion houses being within two or three miles of them.

A man-servant brought me into a fair spacious parlour. Whither, soon after, came to me the old gentlewoman's second son [Nicholas Ferrar ;] a batchelor, of a plain presence, but of able speech and parts. Who, after I had (as well as in such case I could) deprecated any ill conceit of me, for so unusual and bold a visit, entertained me very civilly and with much humility. Yet said, I was the first who ever came to them in that kind ; though not the first whom they had heard of, who determined to come. After deprecations and some compliments, he said, I should see his mother, if I pleased. I shewing my desire, he went up into a chamber, and presently returned with these ; namely, his mother, a tall, straight, clear-complexioned, grave matron, of eighty years of age : his elder brother, married (but whether a widower, I asked not), a short, black-complexioned man : his apparel and hair so fashioned as made him shew priest-like : and his sister, married to one Mr. Colet : by whom she hath 14 or 15 children : all which are in the house (which I saw not yet). And of these, and two or three maid-servants, the family consists.

I saluted the mother and daughter, not like nuns, but as we use to salute other women. And (after we were all seated circular-wise, and my deprecations renewed to the other three^b) I desired that, to their favour of entertaining me, they would add the giving of me a free liberty to speak ingenuously what I conceived of any thing I should see or have heard of, without any distaste to them.

Which being granted ; I first told them, what I had heard of the nuns of Gidding. Of two, watching and praying all night. Of their canonical hours. Of their crosses on the outside and inside of their chapel. Of an altar there, richly decked with plate, tapestry, and tapers. Of their adorations and genicula-

² *Lord Montague*] Edward, first lord Montagu of Boughton.

^b Mr. John Ferrar, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, and Mr. John Collet.

tions at their entering therein. Which, I objected, might savor of superstition and popery.

Here the younger son, the mouth for them all, cut me off ; and, to this last, answered first, with a protestation, that he did as verily believe the pope to be antichrist as any article of his faith. Wherewith I was satisfied and silenced, touching that point.

For the nunnery ; he said, That the name of nuns was odious. But the truth (from whence that untrue report might arise) was, that two of his nieces had lived, one, thirty ; the other, thirty-two years, virgins ; and so resolved to continue (as he hoped they would) the better to give themselves to fasting and prayer : but had made no vows³.

For the canonical hours, he said, they usually prayed *six* times a day. As I remember, *twice* a day publicly, in the chapel ; and four times more, privately, in the house. In the chapel, after the order of the book of common-prayer : in their house, particular prayers for a private family.

I said, if they spent so much time in praying, they would leave little for preaching or for their weekly callings. For the one I vouched the text, *He that turneth away his ear from*

³ *No vows.*] “Yet nothing is so sound, but in time it will run into corruption. For I must not hold it in, that some persons in Little Gidding had run into excess, and incurred offence, if the bishop had not broken the snare, which they were preparing for their own feet. For after he had spoken well of the family in the pulpit, and privately to divers, some of them could not see when they were well, but aspired to be transcendents above their measure. For two daughters of the stock came to the bishop, and offered themselves to be veiled virgins, to take upon them the vow of perpetual chastity, with the solemnity of the episcopal blessing, and ratification : whom he admonished very fatherly, that they knew not what they went about : that they had no promise to confirm that grace unto them ; that this readiness, which they had in the present, should be in their will, without repentance to their life’s end. *Let the younger women marry*, was the best advice, that they might not be led into temptation. And that they might not forget what he taught them, he drew up his judgment in three sheets of paper, and sent it to them home, that they might dress themselves by that glass, and learn not to think of human nature, above that which it is, a sea of flowings and ebbings, and of all manner of inconstancy. The direction of God was in this counsel ; for one of the gentlewomen afterwards took a liking to a good husband, and was well bestowed.” Hacket’s *Life of Archbishop Williams*, part ii. p. 52.

hearing the law, even his prayer shall be abomination^c. For the other, Six days shalt thou labour, &c.

To the one he answered, that a neighbour minister of another parish came on Sunday-mornings, and preached ; and sometimes they went to his parish. To the other, that their calling was to serve God ; which he took to be the best.

I replied, that for men in health and of active bodies and parts, it were a tempting of God to quit our callings, and wholly to betake ourselves to fasting, prayer, and a contemplative life, which by some is thought little better than a serious kind of idleness : not to term it (as St. Austin terms moral virtues without Christ) *splendida peccata*.

He enjoined, that they had found divers perplexities, distractions, and almost utter ruin, in their callings. But (if others knew what comfort and content God ministered to them since their sequestration, and with what incredible improvements of their livelihood) it might encourage others to [take] the like course.

I said that such an imitation might be of dangerous consequence. And that if any, in good case before, should fall into poverty [when entered into it,] few afterwards would follow the example.

For their night-watchings, and their rising at four of the clock in the morning (which I thought was [too] much for one of fourscore years, and for children). To the one he said, it was not [too] much ; since they always went to bed at seven of the clock in the evening. For the other, he confessed, there were every night two (*alternatim*) continued all night in their devotions, who went not to bed until the rest arose.

For the crosses he made the usual answer, that they were not ashamed of that badge of the Christian profession which the first propugners of the faith bare in their banners, and which we, in our church discipline, retain to this day.

For their chapel ; that it was now near chapel time (for eleven is the hour in the forenoon), and that I might, if I pleased, accompany them thither, and so satisfy myself best of what I had heard concerning that. Which afterwards I willingly entertained.

^c Prov. xxviii. 9.

In the mean time I told them, I perceived all was not true which I had heard of the place. For I could see no such inscription on the frontispiece of the house, containing a kind of invitation of such as were willing to learn of them, or would teach them better. Which, I said, was some encouragement for me to come (as one desirous to learn, not teach), and might be some excuse of my audacity, if they would be pleased so to accept it. But he, barring me from farther compliments, said, the ground of that report hung over my head.

We sitting by the chimney, [I saw] in the chimney piece was a manuscript tabletture; which, after I had read, I craved leave to beg a copy of (so they would not take me for too bold a beggar). He forthwith took it down, and commanded it to be presently transcribed and given to me. I offered the writer money, for his deserved pains: which was refused. And the master [N. F.] conjured me not to offer it a second time. And thereupon [also he] made it his [farther] suit [to me], not to offer any thing to any in that house, at my parting, or otherwise. The words of the protestation are as followeth^d.

The matter of this declaration being in such general terms, I said, I thought it without exception. But I prayed leave to except a circumstance, namely, the superscription: it being the proper character of the Jesuits in every book and exhibit of theirs. He said it was that auspicious name, [Jesus] worthy to be the alpha and omega of all our doings; and that we are commanded to write such things *on the posts of our houses and upon our gates*. (Deut. vi. 9.) I told him, I was far from excepting against that sacred, saving name of Jesus: only I could have wished it written at length, or any other way, to have differenced it from that which the papists only use, but no Protestants. And, that the text he mentioned, was in the Old Testament (where there was no mention of Jesus, but of Jehovah) to my remembrance. But

We passed from this towards the chapel, being about forty paces from the house; yet [were] staid a little (as with a parenthesis) by a glass of sack, a sugar-cake, and a fine napkin, brought by a mannerly maid. Which refreshed my memory to tell them what my lord bishop of Lincoln [Williams] said of them. Wherein yet I brake no laws of humanity or hospitality (though spoken at his table.) For he said nothing but what they wished and were

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“I H S

“He who by reproof,” &c. see p. 206 of these Memoirs.

glad to hear; [all] being but the relation of the grave and discreet answers (as my lord himself termed them) of the old gentlewoman to some of his lordship's expostulations.

To that part concerning the young deacon, whom his lordship had heard of, to come from Cambridge to officiate in their chapel; he (innuendo even the younger son, who only was the speaker) said, that himself was the young deacon intended. That he is two and forty years old; was fellow of an house in Cambridge; and hath taken the orders of a deacon.—To say nothing of his having been at Rome (whereof I could have excepted no more against him than he might against me). For having been so long in the labour of the chapel, it is now high time we were at the church—

At the entering thereof he made a low obeysance; a few paces farther, a lower; coming to the half-pace (which was at the east end, where the tables stood) he bowed to the ground, if not prostrated himself: then went up into a fair, large reading place (a preaching place being of the same proportion, right over against it). The mother, with all her train (which were her daughter and daughter's daughters) had a fair island seat.

He placed me above, upon the half-pace, with two fair window cushions of green velvet before me. Over against me was such another seat, so suited; but no body to sit in it. The daughter's four sons kneeled all the while on the edge of the half-pace; all in black gowns. (And they went to church in round Monmouth caps, as my man said; for I looked not back) the rest all in black, save one of the daughter's daughters, who was in a fryer's grey gown.

We being thus placed, the deacon (for so I must now call him) with a very loud and distinct voice, began with the Litany, read divers prayers and collects in the book of Common-prayer, and Athanasius his creed, and concluded with The Peace of God, &c.

All ended, the mother, with all her company, attended my coming down. But her son (the deacon) told her, I would stay awhile to view the chapel. So with all their civil salutations towards me (which I returned them afar off; for I durst not come nearer, lest I should have light upon one of the virgins; not knowing whether they would have taken a kiss⁴ in good part or no) they departed home.

⁴ *A kiss.*] Then, and long afterwards, a common salutation. On its use at an earlier time, see vol. i. p. 533.

Now (none but the deacon and I left) I observed the chapel, in general, to be fairly and sweetly adorned with herbs and flowers, natural in some places, and artificial upon every *pillar* along both sides the chapel (such as are in cathedral churches) with tapers (I mean great virgin-wax-candles) on every pillar.

The half-pace at the upper end (for there was no other division betwixt the body of the chapel and the east part) was all covered with tapestry. And, upon that half-pace, stood the communion-table (not altar-wise, as reported^e) with a rich carpet hanging very large upon the half-pace; and some plate, as a chalice, and candlesticks, with wax candles.

By the preaching place stood the font; the leg, laver, and cover, all of brass, cut and carved. The cover had a cross erected. The laver was of the bigness of a barber's bason.

And this is all which I had leisure to observe in the chapel; save that I asked for the organs? And he told me, they were not there; but that they had a pair in their house.

I asked also, what use they made of so many tapers? He said, to give them light, when they could not see without them.

Then (having, as I told you before, obtained leave to say what I listed) I asked him, to whom he made all those courtesies? He said, to God. I asked if the papists made any other answer for their bowing to images and crucifixes? yet we account them idolators for so doing. He said, we have no such warrant for the one. But for the other we have a precept, to *do all things with decency and order*; as he took this to be.

I demanded, then, why he used not the same solemnity in his service at his house? And, whether he thought the chapel more holy than his house? He said, No. But that God was more

* [Formerly the church puritans generally set the communion table either in the body of the church, or (if in the chancel, yet) with the two ends pointing east and west (not north and south). And Williams, now bishop of Lincoln (in opposition to archbishop Laud and others, who set it altar-wise) insisted much upon their standing so. And, in obedience to bishop Williams (who was his diocesan) no doubt it was, that Mr. Ferrar set his communion table, after the puritan manner, with the two ends pointing east and west. Though, I guess, it stood otherwise 'till this year 1635. Be that as it will, this passage may serve to shew, that bishop Williams was, even then, hatching his "Holy Table, Name, and Thing" (printed [*anonymously*] in 1637) and setting others to oppose the archbishop's usage.—Though the bishop's own practice, in his own chapel at Buckden, both before and after, was otherwise. F. P.]

immediately present, while we were worshipping him in the temple.

I replied, that I thought God was as present at Paul's cross as at Paul's church ; and at the preaching-place at Whitehall, and 'spital sermons, as elsewhere. For where two or three are gathered together in his name, God is in the midst of them. And yet in those places (no not in the body of the church, though there be a sermon and prayers there) we do not use this threefold reverence, nor any low bowing, unless in the chancel towards the east, where an altar, or some crucifix, is?—He answered me something of the trinary number, which I did not understand, nor well hear.

This, as all other our discourse, being ended with mildness and moderation (on his part at least) I said farther, since their devotions (from which they would be loth to be diverted or interrupted, as in the said protestation appears) are more strict and regular than usual, if in their consciences they were persuaded that all their formalities and ceremonies were but *adiaphora* (things indifferent) I then thought they were as wise as serpents (in the Scripture sense) in complying so with the church ceremonies, that they might the safelier hold on their course without exception. For in this comportment, I thought, authority would not except against them, unless for exceeding the cathedrals ; who make but one reverence, whereas they make three. He said, I spake like one who seemed to have had experience in the world.

It being now near twelve o'clock, we ended our discourse, and I called for my horses ; hoping that thereupon he would have invited me to stay dinner : not that I care for his or any man's meat (for you had given me a dinner in too good a breakfast) but that I might have gained more time to have seen and observed more of their fashions ; and whether the virgins and younger sort would have mingled with us ? with divers other things, which such a dinner-time would have best have ministered matter for. But, instead of making me stay, he helped me in calling for my horses ; accompanying me even to my stirrup. And so, I not returning into the house, as we friendly met, we friendly parted.

Many more questions I thought on, when it was too late ; and yet you see I was not idle for the short time I stayed. I asked him, of their monthly receiving the sacrament ? And, whether their servants (when they received) were attended by their mas-

ters and mistresses, and suffered not so much as to lay and take away their own trenchers, as I had heard? whereat he smiled, as at a frivolous fable, and said, the only difference [then] from other days was, that the servants (the day they received) sat at the same table with them.

I heard also that they never roast any meat; only boil and bake (but not in paste), that their servants may not be much hindered from their devotions. And that they have but one horse amongst them all. But of these I made no mention.

They are extraordinary well reported of by their neighbours, viz. that they are very liberal to the poor; at great cost in preparing physic and surgery, for the sick and sore (whom they visit often), and that some sixty or eighty poor people they task with catechetical questions: which when they come and make answer to, they are rewarded with money and their dinner. By means of which reward of meat and money, the poor catechumens learn their lessons well; and so their bodies and souls too are well fed.

I find them full of humanity and humility. And others speak as much of their charity: which I also verily believe. And therefore am far from censuring them: of whom I think much better than of myself. My opposing of some of their opinions and practices as you see in this my relation (wherein I may have varied in some circumstances, but nothing from the substance) was only by way of argument, and for my own better information, I shall be glad to observe how wiser men will judge of them, or imitate their course of life.

I intended not a third part of this when I began, as you may see by my first lines. But one thing drawing on another, I have now left out little or nothing to my remembrance; saving what I thought fitting in good manners, upon my first affront, to make way for my welcome, and *ad captandam benevolentiam*; which is not worth the repeating, if I could; and I am something better at acting such a part, than at relating it: though good at neither.

After this long and tedious relation, I must now make but short thanks to yourself and my lady for my long and kind welcome; wherein my wife joins with me; praying your remembering our loving respects to our kind nieces (hoping the good scholars at Westminster are well). And so I leave you to the grace of God; and am the same, your loving friend,

EDWARD LENTON.

HAVING been desired by a very worthy and judicious friend to give a specimen of Mr. Ferrar's devotional compositions, I here add one prayer, which was used regularly the first Sunday in every month, and one which was drawn up on the particular occasion of the dangerous illness of his dear friend Mr. Geo. Herbert.

The established rule of the family was to receive the sacrament the first Sunday of every month in the parish church, and on those days in their devotions at home to add a general form of thanksgiving for dangers escaped, and mercies received ; of which the following is a copy something shortened.

“ We come, O Lord, most mighty God, and merciful Father, to offer unto thy Divine Majesty, the monthly tribute of that duty, which indeed we are continually bound to perform, the tender of our most humble and hearty thanks for those inestimable benefits which we, unworthy sinners, have from time to time in abundant manner received of thy goodness, and do even unto this hour enjoy. Yet by our ingratitude and abuse of them, we have deserved not only the deprivation of these good things, but that by a rigorous chastisement thou shouldest make us an example of thine impartial justice. For there is none, O Lord, to whom thou hast given more abundance or greater variety of the comforts of this life. If we should go about to tell them, they are more in number than the sand ; there are none upon whom thou hast more freely conferred them : yet ought we to confess that we are not worthy of the least of thy favours. And as in regard of our unworthiness, so likewise in respect of the lowliness of our condition whence thou hast raised us, of the dangers wherewith we have been environed, of the difficulties wherewith we have been enthralled, we must needs cry out, Great are the wondrous works which thou hast done : for on every side we hear the voice of the beholders, Blessed are the people who are in such a case. Wonderful indeed hath been thy goodness towards us : while the wise have been disappointed in their counsels, while the full of friends have been left desolate, while the men whose hands were mighty have found nothing, while the strong on every side have fallen, we, O Lord, have been by thy power raised up, by thine arm have we been strengthened, guided by thy counsels, and relieved by the favour of thy mercies. And that we might know that it was thy doing, by those ways and means which we thought not of, thou hast brought us into a wealthy place, and to these many comforts which we now enjoy. And although we have

not any way deserved thy favours, yet is thy patience extended towards us. We must needs acknowledge, O Lord, that the liberality of thy hand is extended even beyond the largeness of our own hearts. And yet, O Lord, all this is nothing in comparison of that which we may farther enjoy. By how much the things of heaven do surpass those of the earth, by how much everlasting happiness is more worth than the transitory and feeble pleasures of this life, by so much more surpassing are those graces and favours with which thou hast furnished us for the knowledge of thy heavenly will, and for the practices of those duties, of which our conversation in this world, is capable.

“Thou hast given to us a freedom from all other affairs, that we may without distraction attend thy service. That holy gospel which came down from heaven, which things the angels desire to look into, is by thy goodness, continually open to our view: the sweet music thereof is continually sounding in our ears: heavenly songs are by thy mercy put into our mouths, and our tongues and lips made daily instruments of pouring forth thy praise. This, Lord, is the work, and this the pleasure of the angels in heaven: and dost thou vouchsafe to make us partakers of so high an happiness? The knowledge of thee, and of thy Son is everlasting life. Thy service is perfect freedom: how happy then are we, that thou dost constantly retain us in the daily exercise thereof!

“With these favours, and mercies, O Lord, we ought to acknowledge ourselves most happy: we ought to be joyful in the midst of adversities, in the depth of affliction, and in the height of distress. How much more then are we bound to thee for thy merciful continuance of those blessings which we enjoy! we are bound, O Lord, but unable to perform this duty as we ought; yet since thou hast invited us, we now come to the performance thereof; to render to thy divine majesty the most humble and hearty acknowledgment of our own demerits, and thy infinite goodness. We beseech thee that thou wilt enlarge our hearts, and open our mouths, that our prayers may be set forth in thy sight as incense, and the lifting up of our hands as a sacrifice unto thee, for the only merits of thy dear Son, in whose name and mediation we offer up both our prayers and praises, and together with them ourselves, beseeching thee that they being sanctified by thy grace, may be every way made acceptable to thee. Amen.”

On particular occurrences, Mr. Ferrar composed more particular forms, to be used occasionally, of which the following is an example.

“On Friday” (date not mentioned) “Mr. Mapletoft brought us word that Mr. Herbert was said to be past hope of recovery, which was very grievous news to us, and so much the more so, being altogether unexpected. We presently therefore made our public supplication for his health in the words, and manner following :

“O most mighty God, and merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, if it be thy good pleasure, to continue to us that singular benefit which thou hast given us in the friendship of thy servant, our dear brother, who now lieth on the bed of sickness. Let him abide with us yet awhile, for the furtherance of our faith. We have indeed deserved by our ingratitude, not only the loss of him, but whatever other opportunities thou hast given us for the attainment of our salvation. We do not deserve to be heard in our supplications ; but thy mercies are above all thy works. In consideration whereof we prostrate ourselves in all humble earnestness, beseeching thee, if so it may seem good to thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt hear us in this, who hast heard us in all the rest, and that thou wilt bring him back again from the gates of death : that thou wilt yet a while spare him, that he may live to thy honour and our comfort. Lord, thou hast willed that our delights should be in the saints on earth, and in such as excel in virtue : how then should we not be afflicted, and mourn when thou takest them away from us ! Thou hast made him a great help, and furtherance of the best things amongst us, how then can we but esteem the loss of him, a chastisement from thy displeasure ! O Lord, we beseech thee that it may not be so : we beseech thee, if it be thy good pleasure, restore unto us our dear brother, by restoring to him his health : so will we praise and magnify thy name, and mercy, with a song of thanksgiving. Hear us, O Lord, for thy dear Son’s sake, Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.”

Thus have I complied with the desire of a worthy friend ; and in so doing have, I think, given to the public, in these examples, not only a proof of the piety of Mr. Ferrar, but also of his excellence in devotional composition.

BISHOP HALL.

Let us all adore and bless God's wisest choices, and set vigorously to the task that lies before us; improving the present advantages, and supplying in the abundance of the inward beauty what is wanting to the outward lustre of a Church; and we shall not fail to find that the grots and caves lie as open to the celestial influences as the fairest and most beautified temples.—And it must be our greatest blame and wretchedness, if what hath now befallen us be not effectually better for us, than whatever else even piety could have suggested to us to wish or pray for.

DOCTOR HENRY HAMMOND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the year 1660 was published in 4to, a volume intituled, *The Shaking of the Olive Tree: the remaining Works of that incomparable prelate Joseph Hall, D.D. late lord bishop of Norwich.* It contained among other things, *Observations of some specialities of Divine Providence in the Life of Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich;* and his *Hard Measure;* both written with his own hand. The Following Life is composed principally of a republication of those two tracts. They are printed from the above-mentioned edition of the year 1660.

BISHOP HALL.

NOT out of a vain affectation of my own glory, which I know how little it can avail me, when I am gone hence; but out of a sincere desire to give glory to my God, (whose wonderful providence I have noted in all my ways) have I recorded some remarkable passages of my fore-past life. What I have done is worthy of nothing, but silence and forgetfulness: but what God hath done for me, is worthy of everlasting and thankful memory.

I was born July 1, 1574, at five of the clock in the morning, in Bristow-Park, within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch, a town in Leicestershire, of honest and well allowed patronage. My father was an officer under that truly honourable and religious Henry, earl of Huntingdon, president of the north, and under him had the government of that market-town, wherein the chief seat of that earldom is placed. My mother Winifride, of the house of the Bambridges¹, was a woman of that rare sanctity, that (were it not for my interest in nature,) I durst say, that neither Aleth, the mother of that just honour of Clareval²; nor Monica, nor any other of those pious matrons, antiently famous for devotion, need to disdain her admittance to comparison. She was continually exercised with the affliction of a weak body, and oft of a wounded spirit, the agonies whereof, as she would oft recount with much passion, professing that the greatest bodily sicknesses were but flea-bites to those scorpions, so from them all at last she found an happy and comfortable deliverance, and that not without a

¹ *Bambridges*] Or rather Bainbridge, or Bainbrigge, of Ashby and Lockington.

² *Just honour of Clareval.*] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose mother was Alethea, daughter of the Count of Montbar.

more than ordinary hand of God. For on a time being in great distress of conscience, she thought in her dream, there stood by her a grave personage, in the gown, and other habits of a physician, who enquiring of her estate, and receiving a sad and querulous answer from her, took her by the hand, and bade her be of good comfort, for this should be the last fit that ever she should feel of this kind ; whereto she seemed to answer, that upon that condition, she could well be content for the time, with that, or any other torment. Reply was made to her, as she thought, with a redoubled assurance of that happy issue of this her last trial ; whereat she began to conceive an unspeakable joy ; which yet upon her awaking left her more disconsolate, as then conceiting her happiness imaginary, her misery real ; when the very same day, she was visited by the reverend, and (in his time) famous divine, Mr. Anthony Gilby ³, under whose ministry she lived ; who, upon the relation of this her pleasing vision, and the contrary effects it had in her, began to persuade her, that dream was no other than divine, and that she had good reason to think that gracious premonition was sent her from God himself, who, though ordinarily he keeps the common road of his proceedings, yet sometimes in the distresses of his servants, he goes unusual ways to their relief. Hereupon she began to take heart, and by good counsel and her fervent prayers, found that happy prediction verified to her ; and upon all occasions in the remainder of her life, was ready to magnify the mercy of her God in so sensible a deliverance. What with the trial of both these hands of God, so had she profited in the school of Christ, that it was hard for any friend to come from her discourse no whit holier. How often have I blessed the memory of those divine passages of experimental divinity, which I have heard from her mouth ! What day did she pass without a large task of private devotion, whence she would still come forth with a countenance of undissembled mortification ! Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety ; neither have I known any soul, that more accurately practised them, than her own. Temptations, desertions, and spiritual comforts were her usual theme ; shortly, for I can hardly take

³ *Anthony Gilby.*] A native of Lincolnshire, vicar of Ashby. He was one of the most eminent of the early puritans. Peck says that he lived at Ashby "as great as a bishop." See Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 318. Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 250. Fuller's *Church History*, ix. 76.

off my pen from so exemplary a subject, her life and death were saint-like.

My parents had from mine infancy devoted me to this sacred calling, whereto, by the blessing of God, I have seasonably attained. For this cause I was trained up in the public school of the place. After I had spent some years (not altogether indiligently) under the ferule of such masters as the place afforded, and had near attained to some competent ripeness for the university; my school-master, being a great admirer of one Mr. Pelset⁴, who was then lately come from Cambridge, to be the public preacher of Leicester, (a man very eminent in those times, for the fame of his learning, but especially for his sacred oratory) persuaded my father, that if I might have my education under so excellent and complete a divine, it might be both a nearer, and easier way to his purposed end, than by an academical institution. The motion sounded well in my father's ears, and carried fair probabilities; neither was it other than fore-compacted betwixt my school-master and Mr. Pelset; so as on both sides it was entertained with great forwardness.

The gentleman, upon essay taken of my fitness for the use of his studies, undertakes within one seven years, to send me forth, no less furnished with arts, languages and grounds of theorical divinity, than the carefulest tutor in the strictest college of either university. Which that he might assuredly perform, to prevent the danger of any mutable thoughts in my parents, or myself, he desired mutual bonds to be drawn betwixt us. The great charge of my father, (whom it pleased God to bless with twelve children) made him the more apt to yield to so likely a project for a younger son. There, and now were all the hopes of my future life upon blasting. The indentures were preparing, the time was set, my suits were addressed for the journey. What was the issue? O God, thy providence made and found it. Thou knowest how sincerely and heartily, in those my young years^a, I did cast myself upon thy hands; with what faithful resolution, I did in this particular occasion resign myself over to thy disposition, earnestly begging of thee in my fervent prayers, to order all things to the best; and confidently waiting upon thy will for the event. Cer-

⁴ *Mr. Pelset.*] More probably Pelsant, of the Leicestershire family of that name; several members of it held preferments in the county.

^a Anno Ætatis 15°.

tainly, never did I in all my life more clearly roll myself upon the Divine Providence, than I did in this business ; and it succeeded accordingly.

It fell out at this time, that my elder brother having some occasions to journey unto Cambridge, was kindly entertained there, by Mr. Nathaniel Gilby⁵, fellow of Emanuel college, who, for that he was born in the same town with me, and had conceived some good opinion of my aptness to learning, inquired diligently concerning me ; and hearing of the diversion of my father's purposes from the university, importunately dissuaded from that new course, professing to pity the loss of so good hopes. My brother, partly moved with his words, and partly won by his own eyes, to a great love, and reverence of an academical life, returning home, fell upon his knees to my father, and after the report of Mr. Gilby's words, and his own admiration of the place, earnestly besought him, that he would be pleased to alter that so prejudicial a resolution, that he would not suffer my hopes to be drowned in a shallow country-channel ; but that he would revive his first purposes for Cambridge ; adding in the zeal of his love, that if the chargeableness of that course were the hinderance, he did there humbly beseech him, rather to sell some part of that land, which himself should in course of nature inherit, than to abridge me of that happy means to perfect my education.

No sooner had he spoken these words than my father no less passionately condescended ; not without a vehement protestation, that whatsoever it might cost him, I should (God willing) be sent to the university. Neither were those words sooner out of his lips, than there was a messenger from Mr. Pelset knocking at the door, to call me to that fairer bondage, signifying, that the next day he expected me, with a full dispatch of all that business. To whom my father replied, that he came some minutes too late ; that he had now otherwise determined of me ; and with a respective message of thanks to the master, sent the man home empty, leaving me full of the tears of joy for so happy a change. Indeed I had been but lost, if that project had succeeded ; as it well appeared in the experience of him who succeeded in that room, which was by me thus unexpectedly forsaken.—O God, how was I then taken up with a thankful acknowledgment, and joyful admiration of thy gracious providence over me !

⁵ *Nathaniel Gilby.*] Son of the preceding Anthony Gilby, whom he succeeded as vicar of Ashby.

And now I lived in the expectation of Cambridge; whither ere long I happily came, under Mr. Gilby's tuition, together with my worthy friend Mr. Hugh Cholmley⁶, who, as we had been partners of one lesson from our cradles, so were we now for many years partners of one bed. My two first years were necessarily chargeable, above the proportion of my father's power, whose not very large cistern, was to feed many pipes besides mine. His weariness of expense was wrought upon by the counsel of some unwise friends, who persuaded him to fasten me upon that school as master, whereof I was lately a scholar. Now was I fetched home with an heavy heart; and now this second time had mine hopes been nipped in the blossom, had not God raised me up an unhoped benefactor, Mr. Edmund Sleigh⁷ of Derby (whose pious memory I have cause ever to love and reverence). Out of no other relation to me, save that he married my aunt, pitying my too apparent dejectedness, he voluntarily urged, and solicited my father for my return to the university, and offered freely to contribute the one half of my maintenance there, till I should attain to the degree of master of arts, which he no less really and lovingly performed. The condition was gladly accepted; thither was I sent back with joy enough, and ere long, chosen scholar of that strict and well ordered college.

By that time I had spent six years there, now the third year of my bachelorship should at once both make an end of my maintenance, and in respect of standing, gave me a capacity of further preferment in that house, were it not that my country excluded me, for our statute allowed but one of a shire to be fellow there, and my tutor being of the same town with me, must therefore necessarily hold me out. But, O my God, how strangely did thy gracious providence bring this business about! I was now entertaining motions of remove. A place was offered me in the island of Guernsey, which I had in speech and chase. It fell out that the father of my loving chamberfellow, Mr. Cholmley, a gentleman that had likewise dependance upon the most noble Henry earl of Huntingdon, having occasion to go to York, unto that his honourable lord, fell into some mention of me. That good earl (who well esteemed my father's service) having belikely

⁶ *Hugh Cholmley.*] Probably of the family of Chomley of Bransby.

⁷ *Edmund Sleigh.*] Of Derby and Little Ireton, of a good family, which became extinct at the death, in 1679, of Sir Samuel Sleigh, of Ash and Etwall in Derbyshire, and of Gray's Inn, London, knight.

heard some better words of me than I could deserve, made earnest inquiry after me, what were my courses ; what my hopes ; and hearing of the likelihood of my removal, professed much dislike of it ; not without some vehemence, demanding why I was not chosen fellow of that college, wherein by report I received such approbation. Answer was returned that my country debarred me ; which being filled with my tutor, whom his lordship well knew, could not by the statute admit a second. The earl presently replied, that if that were the hinderance he would soon take order to remove it ; whereupon his lordship presently sends for my tutor Mr. Gilby unto York, and with proffer of large conditions of the chaplainship in his house, and assured promises of better provisions, drew him to relinquish his place in the college to a free election. No sooner was his assent signified, than the days were set for the public (and indeed exquisite) examination of the competitors. By that time two days of the three allotted to this trial were past, certain news came to us of the unexpected death⁸ of that incomparably religious and noble earl of Huntingdon, by whose loss my then disappointed tutor must necessarily be left to the wide world unprovided for. Upon notice thereof I presently repaired to the master of the college, Mr. Dr. Chaderton⁹, and besought him to tender that hard condition to which my good tutor must needs be driven if the election proceeded ; to stay any farther progress in that business ; and to leave me to my own good hopes wheresoever, whose youth exposed me both to less needs, and more opportunities of provision. Answer was made me, that the place was pronounced void however, and therefore that my tutor was divested of all possibility of remedy ; and must wait upon the providence of God for his disposing elsewhere, and the election must necessarily proceed the day following. Then was I with a cheerful unanimity chosen into that society, which if it had any equals, I dare say had none beyond it, for good order, studious carriage, strict government, austere piety ; in which I spent six or seven years more with such contentment, as the rest of my life hath in vain striven to

⁸ *Death.*] 1595.

⁹ *Dr. Chaderton.*] Laurence Chaderton was the first master of Emanuel College, having been appointed by the founder, Sir Walter Mildmay. He was one of the four divines for the Conference at Hampton Court, and one of the Translators of the Bible. He, with other Cambridge divines, translated from Chronicles to Canticles inclusive. He lived till 1640.

yield. Now was I called to public disputations often, with no ill success; for never durst I appear in any of those exercises of scholarship, till I had from my knees looked up to heaven for a blessing, and renewed my actual dependence upon that divine hand. In this while two years together was I chosen to the rhetoric lecture in the public schools, where I was encouraged with a sufficient frequency of auditors; but finding that well applauded work somewhat out of my way, not without a secret blame of myself for so much excursion, I fairly gave up that task in the midst of those poor acclamations to a worthy successor Dr. Dod, and betook myself to those serious studies, which might fit me for that high calling whereunto I was destined, wherein after I had carefully bestowed myself for a time, I took the boldness to enter into sacred orders; the honour whereof having once attained, I was no niggard of that talent which my God had entrusted to me, preaching often as occasion was offered, both in country villages abroad, and at home in the most awful auditory of the university.

And now I did but wait where and how it would please my God to employ me. There was at that time a famous school¹⁰ erected at Tiverton in Devon, and endowed with a very large pension, whose goodly fabric was answerable to the reported maintenance; the care whereof, was by the rich and bountiful founder Mr. Blundel, cast principally upon the then lord chief justice Popham¹. That faithful observer having great interest in the master of our house, Dr. Chaderton, moved him earnestly to commend some able, learned, and discrete governor to that weighty charge, whose action should not need to be so much as his oversight. It pleased our master out of his good opinion to tender this condition unto me, assuring me of no small advantages, and no great toil, since it was intended the main load of the work should lie upon other shoulders. I apprehended the motion worth the entertaining. In that severe society our times were stinted, neither was it wise or safe to refuse good offers. Doctor Chaderton carried me to London, and there presented me to the lord chief justice with much testimony of approbation.

¹⁰ *Famous school.*] Founded by Peter Blundell, clothier, a native of the place, in 1599. An account of the school was privately printed by Benjamin Incedon, of Pilton, in Devonshire, which was reprinted in 1804 by order of the feoffees.

¹ *Popham.*] Sir John Popham.

The judge seemed well apayed with the choice. I promised acceptance, he the strength of his favour. No sooner had I parted from the judge, than in the street a messenger presented me with a letter, from the right virtuous and worthy lady (of dear and happy memory) the lady Drury² of Suffolk, tendering the rectory of her Halsted³ then newly void, and very earnestly desiring me to accept of it. Dr. Chaderton observing in me some change of countenance, asked me what the matter might be. I told him the errand, and delivered him the letter beseeching his advice; which when he had read. "Sir," (quoth I) "methinks God pulls me by the sleeve, and tells me it is his will I should rather go to the east than to the west." "Nay" (he answered) "I should rather think that God would have you go westward, for that he hath contrived your engagement before the tender of this letter, which therefore coming too late may receive a fair and easy answer." To this I besought him to pardon my dissent, adding, that I well knew that divinity was the end whereto I was destined by my parents, which I had so constantly proposed to myself, that I never meant other, than to pass through this western school to it; but I saw that God who found me ready to go the farther way about, now called me the nearest and directest way to that sacred end. The good man could no further oppose, but only pleaded the distaste which would hereupon be justly taken by the lord chief justice, whom I undertook fully to satisfy; which I did⁴ with no great difficulty, commending to his lordship in my room, my old friend and chamber-fellow Mr. Cholmley, who finding an answerable acceptance disposed himself to the place; so as we two, who came together to the university, now must leave it at once.

Having then fixed my foot at Halsted, I found there a dangerous opposite to the success of my ministry, a witty and bold atheist, one Mr. Lilly, who by reason of his travails, and abilities of discourse and behaviour, had so deeply insinuated himself into my patron, sir Robert Drury, that there was small hopes (during his entireness) for me to work any good upon that noble

² *Lady Drury.*] Anne, eldest daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon, of Redgrave, the first baronet of England.

³ *Halsted.*] Now Hawsted: he was instituted December 2, 1601.

⁴ *Which I did.*] He resigned on the same day on which he had accepted the appointment. Sir John Popham, however, did not appoint Cholmley in his room, but Samuel Butler.

patron of mine; who by the suggestion of this wicked detractor was set off from me before he knew me. Hereupon (I confess) finding the obduredness and hopeless condition of that man, I bent my prayers against him, beseeching God daily, that he would be pleased to remove by some means or other, that apparent hinderance of my faithful labours; who gave me an answer accordingly. For this malicious man going hastily up to London, to exasperate my patron against me, was then and there swept away by the pestilence, and never returned to do any farther mischief.

Now the coast was clear before me, and I gained every day of the good opinion and favourable respects of that honourable gentleman and my worthy neighbours. Being now therefore settled in that sweet and civil country of Suffolk, near to St. Edmund's-Bury, my first work was to build up my house which was then extremely ruinous; which done, the uncouth solitariness of my life, and the extreme incommodity of that single house-keeping, drew my thoughts after two years to condescend to the necessity of a married estate, which God no less strangely provided for me. For walking from the church on Monday in the Whitsun-week, with a grave and reverend minister, Mr. Grandidge, I saw a comely modest gentlewoman standing at the door of that house, where we were invited to a wedding-dinner, and enquiring of that worthy friend whether he knew her, "Yes," (quoth he) "I know her well, and have bespoken her for your wife." When I further demanded an account of that answer, he told me, she was the daughter of a gentleman whom he much respected, Mr. George Winniff⁵ of Bretenham; that out of an opinion had of the fitness of that match for me, he had already treated with her father about it, whom he found very apt to entertain it, advising me not to neglect the opportunity; and not concealing the just praises of the modesty, piety, good disposition, and other virtues that were lodged in that seemly presence, I listened to the motion as sent from God; and at last upon due prosecution happily prevailed, enjoying the comfortable society of that meet help for the space of forty-nine years.

I had not passed two years in this estate when my noble friend sir Edmund Bacon⁶, with whom I had much intireness, came to

⁵ *Winniff.*] Or Wenyeve. The bishop's eldest son, Robert, was christened at Hawsted on December 26, 1605.

⁶ *Sir Edmund Bacon.*] Brother to lady Drury.

me, and earnestly solicited me for my company in a journey by him projected to the Spa in Ardenna⁷, laying before me the safety, the easiness, the pleasure, and the benefit of that small extravagance, if opportunity were taken at that time, when the earl of Hertford⁸ passed in embassy to the arch-duke Albert of Bruxells. I soon yielded, as for the reasons by him urged, so especially for the great desire I had to inform myself ocularly of the state and practice of the Romish church; the knowledge whereof might be of no small use to me in my holy station. Having therefore taken careful order for the supply of my charge, with the assent and good allowance of my nearest friends, I entered into this secret voyage⁹.

⁷ *In Ardenna.*] In the forest of Ardennes.

⁸ *Earl of Hertford.*] Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, son of the Protector duke of Somerset, and celebrated for his marriage with lady Katharine Grey. The embassy in 1605 was special, to confirm a peace; and the earl, who was generally thought to be master of more ready money than any nobleman in England, resolved to make a splendid appearance, and to spend 10,000*l.* besides his allowance.

⁹ *This secret voyage.*] See Bishop Hall's *Epistles*, Decad. i. epist. 5. *A report of some observations in my Travel.*

I give an extract or two from this letter of matters not comprehended in the text.

"All civil occurrences; as what fair cities, what strange fashions, entertainments, dangers, delights we found,—are fit for other ears, and winter evenings: what I noted *as a divine*, within the sphere of my profession, my paper shall not spare, in some part, to report.

"Along our way, how many churches saw we demolished! Nothing left, but rude heaps, to tell the passenger, there had been both devotion and hostility. O! the miserable footsteps of war, besides bloodshed, ruin, and desolation! *Fury* hath done that *there*, which *covetousness* would do *with us*:—*would* do, but *shall not*: the truth *within* shall save the walls *without*. And, to speak truly, whatever the vulgar exclaim, *idolatry* pulled down those walls; not *rage*. If there had been no Hollander to raze them, they should have fallen alone; rather than hide so much impiety under their guilty roof.—These are spectacles, not so much of *cruelty*, as *justice*: cruelty of *man*, justice of *God*.

"But,—which I wondered at, churches fall, and Jesuits' colleges rise every where: there is no city, where these are not either rearing, or built. Whence cometh this? Is it, for that *devotion* is not so necessary, as *policy*? *Those* men, as we say of the fox, fare best, when they are most cursed. None, so much spited of their own; none, so hated of all; none, so opposed by ours: and yet, these ill weeds grow. Whosoever lives long, shall see them *feared* of their own, which now *hate* them: shall see these seven lean kine devour all the fat beasts, that feed on the meadows of Tiber. I prophesy, as Pharaoh dreamed: the event shall justify my confidence.

[“At

We waited some days at Harwich for a wind, which we hoped might waft us over to Dunkirk, where our ambassador had lately landed; but at last having spent a day, and half a night at sea, we were forced for want of favour from the wind, to put in at Queenborough, from whence coasting over the rich and pleasant county of Kent, we renewed our shipping at Dover, and soon landing at Calais, we passed after two days by waggon to the strong towns of Graveling, and Dunkirk, where I could not but find much horror in myself to pass under those dark and dreadful prisons, where so many brave Englishmen had breathed out their souls in a miserable captivity. From thence we passed through Winnoxburgh, Ipre, Gaunt, Courtray, to Bruxells, where the

“At Brussels I saw some English women profess themselves vestals; with a thousand rites, I know not whether more ridiculous, or magical. Poor souls! they could not be fools enough at home. It would have made you to pity, laugh, disdain, I know not which most, to see by what cunning slights and fair pretences, that weak sex was fetched into a wilful bondage: and, if those *two* can agree, *willingly constrained* to serve a master, whom they *must* and *cannot* obey: whom they may neither forsake for their vow, nor can please for their frailty.—What follows hence? Late sorrow, secret mischief, misery irremediable. *Their* forwardness for will-worship shall condemn *our* coldness for truth. . . .

“At Ghent, a city that commands reverence for age, and wonder for greatness, we fell upon a Capuchin novice, which wept bitterly, because he was not allowed to be miserable. His head had now felt the razor; his back, the rod: all that laconical discipline pleased him well; which another, being condemned to, would justly account a torment.—What hindered, then?—Piety to his *mother* would not permit this, which he thought piety to God: *He* could not be a *willing* beggar, unless his mother must beg *unwillingly*. He was the only heir of his father; the only stay of his mother. The comfort of her widowhood depended on this her orphan; who now, *naked*, must enter into *the world* of the Capuchins, as he came first into *this*; leaving his goods to the division of the fraternity: the *least* part whereof should have been *hers*, *whose* he wished *all*. Hence those tears, that repulse. I pitied his ill-bestowed zeal; and rather wished, than durst teach him, more wisdom. *These* men for *devout*, the *Jesuits* for *learned* and pragmatial, have engrossed all opinions from other orders.—O hypocrisy! No Capuchin may take, or touch silver: for these are, you know, the quintessence of Franciscan spirits. This metal is as very an anathema to these, as the wedge of gold to Achan: at the offer whereof, he starts back, as Moses from the serpent: yet he carries a boy with him, that takes and carries it; and never complains of either metal or measure. I saw, and laughed at it; and, by this *open* trick of hypocrisy, suspected more, more *close*. How could I choose? while, commonly, the *least* appears of that which is loathsome in appearance, much more in nature.—At Namur, on a pleasant and steep hill-top, we found one, that was termed a *married* hermit; approving his wisdom above his fellows, that could make choice of so cheerful and sociable a solitariness.”

ambassador had newly sate down before us. That noble gentleman in whose company I travelled, was welcomed with many kind visitations. Amongst the rest there came to him an English gentleman, who having run himself out of breath in the inns of court, had forsaken his country, and therewith his religion, and was turned both bigot and physician, residing now in Bruxells. This man, after few interchanges of compliment with sir Edmund Bacon, fell into an hyperbolical predication of the wonderful miracles done newly¹ by our lady at Zichem, or Sherpen heavell, that is Sharp hill; by Lipsius called *Aspricollis*; the credit whereof when that worthy knight wittily questioned, he avowed a particular miracle of cure wrought by her upon himself. I coming into the room in the midst of this discourse (habited not like a divine, but in such colour and fashion as might best secure my travel) and hearing my countryman's zealous and confident relations, at last asked him this question, "Sir," (quoth I) "Put case this report of yours be granted for true, I beseech you teach me what difference there is betwixt these miracles which you say are wrought by this lady, and those which were wrought by Vespasian, by some vestals, by charms and spells; the rather for that I have noted, in the late published report of these miracles, some patients prescribed to come upon a Friday, and some to wash in such a well before their approach; and divers other such charm-like observations." The gentleman not expecting such a question from me, answered, "Sir, I do not profess this kind of scholarship, but we have in the city many famous divines, with whom if it would please you to confer, you might sooner receive satisfaction." I asked whom he took for the most eminent divine of that place: he named to me father Costerus², undertaking that he

¹ *Wonderful miracles done newly.*] At Sichem, a small town in Brabant, between Aerschot and Diest, and seated on the Demer, was an old church, repaired by the archdukes Albert and Isabella, called by the natives "*Scherpenheuwel*," by the French *Notre Dame de Mont-aigu*, and in Latin *Sacellum Divæ Virginis Aspricollis*. In 1605, the year before his death, Justus Lipsius gave a long account of the *nova beneficia et admiranda* operated by the miracle-working image there preserved, and he dedicated his book to the archduchess Isabella. At his death he bequeathed to the image his silver pen and his furred robe, whereupon some one wrote:

"Sensit homo frigere suæ miracula Divæ,
Crassaque pro calido stragula thure dedit."

² *Costerus.*] Franciscus Costerus, Provincial in the Netherlands, afterwards general of the order at Rome. He was at this time in his 75th year. He died in 1619.

would be very glad to give me conference, if I would be pleased to come up to the Jesuits college. I willingly yielded. In the afternoon the forward gentleman prevented his time to attend me to the father, (as he styled him,) who (as he said) was ready to entertain me with a meeting. I went alone up with him; the porter shutting the door after me, welcomed me with a *Deo gratias*. I had not stayed long in the Jesuits hall, before Costerus came in to me, who after a friendly salutation, fell into a formal speech of the unity of that church, out of which is no salvation, and had proceeded to lose his breath, and labour, had not I (as civilly as I might) interrupted him with this short answer; "Sir, I beseech you mistake me not. My nation tells you of what religion I am. I come not hither out of any doubt of my professed belief, or any purpose to change it, but moving a question to this gentleman, concerning the pretended miracles of the time, he pleased to refer me to yourself for my answer, which motion of his I was the more willing to embrace, for the fame that I have heard of your learning and worth; and if you can give me satisfaction herein, I am ready to receive it." Hereupon we settled to our places, at a table in the end of the hall, and buckled to a farther discourse. He fell into a poor and unperfect account of the difference of divine miracles and diabolical; which I modestly refuted: from thence he slipped into a cholerick invective against our church, which (as he said) could not yield one miracle; and when I answered, that in our church, we had manifest proofs of the ejection of devils by fasting and prayer, he answered that if it could be proved, that ever any devil was dispossessed in our church, he would quit his religion.—Many questions were incidentally traversed by me; wherein I found no satisfaction given me. The conference was long and vehement; in the heat whereof, who should come in but father Baldwin³, an English jesuit, known to me, as by face (after I came to Brussels) so much more by fame. He sate down upon a bench at the further end of the table, and heard no small part of our dissertation, seeming not too well apaid, that a gentleman of his nation, (for still I was spoken to in that habit, by the stile of *dominatio vestra*) should depart from the Jesuits college

³ *Father Baldwin.*] William Baldwin, a native of Cornwall, at first professor of theology at Louvain, and vice-prefect of the English Jesuit mission in the Netherlands; afterwards rector of the English seminary at St. Omer. He died September 28, 1632, aged 69.

no better satisfied. On the next morning therefore he sends the same English physician to my lodging with a courteous compellation, professing to take it unkindly, that his countryman should make choice of any other, to confer with, than himself, who desired both mine acquaintance and full satisfaction. Sir Edmund Bacon, in whose hearing the message was delivered, gave me secret signs of his utter unwillingness to give way to my further conferences, the issue whereof (since we were to pass further, and beyond the bounds of that protection) might prove dangerous. I returned a mannerly answer of thanks to father Baldwin; but for any further conference, that it were bootless. I could not hope to convert him, and was resolved he should not alter me, and therefore both of us should rest where we were.

Departing from Brussels we were for Namur, and Liege. In the way we found the good hand of God, in delivering us from the danger of free-booters, and of a nightly entrance (amidst a suspicious convoy) into that bloody city. Thence we came to the Spadane waters, where I had good leisure to add a second century of meditations⁴ to those I had published before my journey. After we had spent a just time at those medicinal wells, we returned to Liege, and in our passage up the river Mosa⁵, I had a dangerous conflict with a Sorbonist, a prior of the Carmelites, who took occasion by our kneeling at the receipt of the eucharist, to persuade all the company of our acknowledgment of a transubstantiation. I satisfied the cavil, shewing upon what ground⁶ this meet posture obtained with us. The man grew furious upon his conviction, and his vehement associates began to join with him, in a right down railing upon our church, and religion. I told them they knew where they were: for me, I had taken notice of the security of their laws, inhibiting any argument held against their religion established, and therefore stood only upon my defence, not casting any aspersion upon theirs, but ready to maintain our own; which though I performed in as fair terms as I might, yet the choler of those zealots was so moved, that the paleness of their changed countenances began to threaten

⁴ *Century of Meditations.*] See "Meditations and Vows," century the third, dedicated to sir Edmund Bacon. Bp. Hall's *Works*, vol. i. p. 37, 8. edit. 1634. fol.

⁵ *Mosa.*] The Maas.

⁶ *Upon what ground.*] See the Rubrics subjoined to the order for Administration of the Holy Communion, in the Book of Common Prayer.

some perilous issue, had not sir Edmund Bacon, both by his eye, and by his tongue, wisely taken me off. I subdued myself speedily from their presence, to avoid further provocation : the prior began to bewray some suspicions of my borrowed habit, and told them, that himself had a green satin suit once prepared for his travels into England, so as I found it needful for me to lie close at Namur ; from whence travelling the next day towards Brussels in the company of two Italian captains, seignior Ascanio Negro and another whose name I have forgotten : they enquiring into our nation and religion, wondered to hear that we had any baptism or churches⁷ in England. The congruity of my Latin, (in respect of their perfect barbarism) drew me and the rest into their suspicion, so as I might overhear them muttering to each other, that we were not the men we appeared. Straight the one of them boldly exprest his conceit, and together with this charge, began to enquire of our condition. I told them that the gentleman he saw before us, was the grandchild of that renowned Bacon, the great chancellor of England, a man of great birth and quality, and that myself, and my other companions, travelled in his attendance to the Spa, from the train, and under the privilege of our late ambassador ; with which just answer I stopped their mouths.

Returning through Brussels we came down to Antwerp, the paragon of cities ; where my curiosity to see a solemn procession on St. John Baptist's day might have drawn me into danger (through my willing unreverence⁸) had not the hulk of a tall Brabanter, behind whom I stood in a corner of a street, shadowed

⁷ *Baptism or churches.*] Compare above, *Life of Whitgift*, vol. iii. pp. 618-621, and note.

⁸ *Willing unreverence.*] When Dr. Edward Pocock, the great oriental scholar, was on his return from Constantinople, in the year 1640, during some stay which he made at Genoa, there was (as he would often tell his friends) "on a certain day, a religious procession, which went through the streets with all the ceremonial pomp, that is usual on such occasions. And as he stood in a convenient place, to take a view of it, he was surprised with the discourse of some persons, at a little distance, who talked in Arabic. They were a couple of slaves in chains, who being confident that nobody could understand the language they spake in, expressed their opinions, of what they saw with all manner of freedom. And as they rallied the pageantry they beheld, with a great deal of wit, so from it they took occasion to ridicule Christianity itself, and to load it with contempt. So unhappy has the church of Rome been in her practices on the Christian religion : for whilst to serve some worldly designs, she hath laboured to engage the minds of the vulgar sort by empty shows and superstitious solemnities, she hath by those corrupt

me from notice. Thence down the fair river of Scheld, we came to Flushing, where upon the resolution of our company to stay some hours, I hasted to Middleburgh to see an ancient college. That visit lost me my passage; ere I could return, I might see our ship under sail for England. The master had with the wind altered his purpose, and called aboard with such eagerness, that my company must either away, or undergo the hazard of too much loss. I looked long after them in vain, and sadly returning to Middleburgh waited long, for an inconvenient and tempestuous passage.

After some year and half, it pleased God unexpectedly to contrive the change of my station⁹. My means were but short at Halsted; yet such as I often professed, if my then patron would have added but one ten pounds by year, (which I held to be the value of my detained due) I should never have removed. One morning as I lay in my bed, a strong motion was suddenly glanced into my thoughts of going to London. I rose and betook me to the way. The ground that appeared of that purpose, was to speak with my patron sir Robert Drury, if by occasion of the public preachingship of St. Edmunds Bury, then offered me upon good conditions, I might draw him to a willing yieldance of that parcel of my due maintenance¹, which was kept back from my not over-deserving predecessor. Who hearing my errand dissuaded me from so ungainful a change, which had it

additions, exposed what is infinitely rational, wise and good, to the laughter and reproach of infidels." Twell's *Life of Pocock*, p. 18, prefixed to Pocock's *Theological Works*, vol. i. Compare also above, *Life of Bilney*, vol. ii. p. 17, note.

⁹ *The change of my station.*] See Epistles, Decad. 1. Epist. 9. "I conjecture he did not much reside here (at Hawsted); for during his time there are not above two years in the register of the same hand. While he did reside, he preached three times a week. Till within a few years, there was (as I am informed by a gentleman who has seen it) in the parsonage-house, a plate of lead with his motto, *Imum nolo; Summum nequeo; Quiesco*. Adopted, I suppose, when he first settled here, and expressive of a mind, not totally unambitious, yet content: and it is probable, if his situation here had been comfortable, he would have lived and died in the same obscurity with his predecessors and successors in this rectory." Cullum's *History of Hawsted*, 1784, p. 65.

¹ *My due maintenance.*] "Upon his return, he found not that satisfaction which he expected in this place; his patron, sir Robert Drury, refusing to restore to the rectory about ten pounds a year, and insisting, as tradition reports, upon his acceptance of a modus for the herbage of the park." Cullum's *History of Hawsted*, p. 65.

been to my sensible advantage, he should have readily given way unto, but not offering me the expected encouragement of my continuance; with him I stayed and preached on the Sunday following. That day sir Robert Drury, meeting with the lord Denny², fell belike into the commendation of my sermon. That religious and noble lord had long harboured good thoughts concerning me, upon the reading of those poor pamphlets which I had formerly published: and long wished the opportunity to know me. To please him in this desire, sir Robert willed me to go and tender my service to his lordship, which I modestly and seriously deprecated; yet upon his earnest charge went to his lordship's gate, where I was not sorry to hear of his absence.

Being now full of cold and distemper in Drury-lane³, I was found out by a friend, in whom I had formerly no great interest, one Mr. Gurrey⁴, tutor to the earl of Essex. He told me how well my *Meditations* were accepted at the prince's court (p. Henry); and earnestly advised me to step over to Richmond, and preach to his highness. I strongly pleaded my indisposition of body, and my inpreparation for any such work, together with my bashful fears, and utter unfitness for such a presence. My averseness doubled his importunity; in fine, he left me not till he had my engagement to preach the Sunday following at Richmond. He made way for me to that awful pulpit, and encouraged me by the favour of his noble lord the earl of Essex. I preached: through the favour of my God, that sermon was not so well given as taken; in so much as that sweet prince signified his desire to hear me again the Tuesday following; which done, that labour gave more contentment than the former; so as that gracious prince, both gave me his hand and commanded me to his service. My patron seeing me (upon my return to London) looked after by some great persons, began to wish me at home, and told me that some or other would be snatching me up. I answered it was in his power to prevent. Would he be pleased to make my maintenance but so competent as in right it should be, I would never stir from him. Instead of condescending, it

² *Lord Denny.*] Sir Edward Denny of Waltham, created lord Denny, 27th October, 1604, and earl of Norwich, 24th October, 1626. He died without issue, in 1630.

³ *Drury-lane.*] Where was the town house of the Drury family, which gave its name to that locality.

⁴ *Mr. Gurrey.*] Thomas Gurrey, M.A., one of the prebendaries of Wolverhampton.

pleased him to fall into an expostulation of the rate of competencies, affirming the variableness thereof according to our own estimation, and our either raising or moderating the causes of our expences. I showed him the insufficiency of my means : that I was forced to write books to buy books : shortly, some harsh and displeasing answer so disheartened me that I resolved to embrace the first opportunity of my remove.

Now whilst I was taken up with these anxious thoughts, a messenger (it was sir Robert Wingfield of Northampton's son) came to me from the lord Denny, (now earl of Norwich) my after most honourable patron, entreating me from his lordship to speak with him. No sooner came I thither, than after a glad and noble welcome, I was entertained with the earnest offer of Waltham. The conditions were like the mover of them, free and bountiful. I received them, as from the munificent hand of my God ; and returned full of the cheerful acknowledgments of a gracious providence over me. Too late now did my former noble patron relent, and offer me those terms which had before fastened me for ever. I returned home happy in a new master, and in a new patron ; betwixt whom I divided myself and my labours, with much comfort and no less acceptance.

In the second year of mine attendance on his highness, when I came for my dismissal from that monthly service, it pleased the prince to command me a longer stay : and at last mine allowed departure, by the mouth of sir Thomas Challonner, his governor, to tender unto me a motion of more honour and favour than I was worthy of ; which was, that it was his highness' pleasure and purpose, to have me continually resident at the court as a constant attendant, whilst the rest held on their wonted vicissitudes ; for which purpose his highness would obtain for me such preferments as should yield me full contentment. I returned my humblest thanks, and my readiness to sacrifice myself to the service of so gracious a master⁵, but being conscious to myself of my unanswerableness to so great expectation, and loth to forsake so dear and noble a patron, who had placed much of his heart upon me, I did modestly put it off, and held close to my Waltham ; where in a constant course I preached a long time, (as I had done also at Halstead before) thrice in the week ; yet never durst I climb into the pulpit, to preach any sermon, whereof I had not before in my poor and plain fashion, penned every word in the

⁵ *So gracious a master.*] Prince Henry died 6th November, 1612.

same order wherein I hoped to deliver it, although in the expression I listed not to be a slave to syllables.

In this while my worthy kinsman, Mr. Samuel Burton, arch-deacon of Gloucester, knowing in how good terms I stood at court, and pitying the miserable condition of his native church of Wolverhampton, was very desirous to engage me in so difficult and noble a service as the redemption of that captivated church. For which cause he importuned me to move some of my friends, to solicit the dean of Windsor⁶, (who by an ancient annexation⁷ is patron thereof,) for the grant of a particular prebend, when it should fall vacant in that church. Answer was returned me, that it was fore promised to one of my fellow chaplains. I sate down without further expectation. Some year or two after, hearing that it was become void, and meeting with that fellow chaplain of mine; I wished him much joy of the prebend. He asked me if it were void: I assured him so; and telling him of the former answer delivered to me in my ignorance of his engagement, wished him to hasten his possession of it. He delayed not. When he came to the dean of Windsor, for his promised dis-

⁶ *Dean of Windsor.*] Most probably Anthony Maxey, who was dean from 1612 to 1618. His predecessor was Giles Thompson, who had been appointed in 1602.

⁷ *An ancient annexation.*] The deanery of Wolverhampton is one of the most ancient ecclesiastical foundations in England, dating from 996. It was confirmed by successive sovereigns. Edward II. granted to many of his free chapels, amongst which this of Wolverhampton is named, exemption from all ordinary jurisdiction, with many other privileges. In 1479, Edward IV. *annexed* the college, or free chapel, of Wolverhampton to the chapel of Windsor, so that the dean of St. George's, at Windsor, should be dean of the free chapel of Wolverhampton and prebendary of the first prebend. This grant was confirmed by act of parliament.

When, in the first year of Edward VI., collegiate churches, free chapels, &c., were dissolved, the chapel of St. George, at Windsor, was excepted, but that of Wolverhampton was seized by the crown. On the 2nd of March, 1553, shortly before his death, Edward VI. granted it to John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, who was attainted in the same year, and by queen Mary it was again annexed to St. George's chapel, at Windsor. This *annexation* was confirmed by Elizabeth, and also by James in the eighteenth year of his reign, when De Dominis was dean. In the eighth of Henry VIII., the manor and lordship of Wolverhampton were leased by the then dean, John Harman (or Vessey), to Richard Wrottesley, Esq., and James Leveson, gent., at the rent of 38*l.*, and it has ever since been leased at the same rate. In 1801, sir William Pulteney was the lessee, and the lease now belongs to his heirs. Until the late act for abolishing peculiars, the collegiate church was subject to no power but that of the sovereign, and, under it, to the perpetual visitation of the keeper of the great seal.

patch, the dean brought him forth a letter from the prince, wherein he was desired, and charged to reverse his former engagement (since that other chaplain was otherwise provided for) and to cast that favour upon me. I was sent for, (who least thought of it) and received the free collation of that poor dignity. It was not the value of the place, (which was but nineteen nobles *per annum*) that we aimed at, but the freedom of a goodly church, (consisting of a dean and eight prebendaries competently endowed) and many thousand souls lamentably swallowed up by wilful recusants, in a pretended fee-farm⁸ for ever,—O God, what an hand hadst thou in the carriage of this work! when we set foot in this suit (for another of the prebendaries joined with me) we knew not wherein to insist, nor where to ground a complaint, only we knew that a goodly patrimony was by sacrilegious conveyance detained from the church. But in the pursuit of it such marvellous light opened itself unexpectedly to us, in revealing of a counterfeit zeal, found in the ashes of that burned house of a false register; in the manifestation of rasures, and interpolations, and misdates of unjustifiable evidences, that after many years suit, the wise and honourable lord chancellor Ellesmere⁹ upon a full hearing, adjudged these two sued-for prebends, clearly to be returned to the church, untill by common law, they could (if possibly) be revicted. Our great adversary sir Walter Leveson¹⁰,

⁸ *A pretended fee-farm.*] “The farming of benefices was the ordinary practice in those days,” (Henry VIII.) (“see Fox, *Acts, &c.* vol. iii. p. 167.) and must not be confounded with *fee-farming*, which seems to have crept in shortly afterwards. The latter system is explained to have been a *permanent* arrangement, or *commutation*, and was bitterly inveighed against by Latimer. This plain-spoken preacher did not scruple to ascribe it to the machinations of Satan, ‘What an unreasonable *devil* is this? He provides a great while beforehand for the time that is to come. He hath brought up now of late the most monstrous kind of covetousness that ever was heard of. He hath invented *fee-farming* of benefices; and all to decay this office of *preaching*; insomuch that when any man hereafter shall have a benefice, he may go where he will for any *house* he shall have to dwell upon, or any *glebe land* to keep hospitality withal; but he must take up a chamber in an ale-house, and there sit to play at tables all the day.—A goodly curate!’” *Sixth Sermon before king Edward VI.* 1549. Cranmer’s *Remains*, ed. Jenkyns, i. 57, note.

⁹ *Lord chancellor Ellesmere.*] It may be remarked here, that this judge’s family is now merged in that of the defendant, against whom bishop Hall makes such strong charges: Lord Ellesmere’s very title is now revived in the person of a lineal descendant of sir Walter Leveson.

¹⁰ *Sir Walter Leveson.*] In the twelfth year of his reign, James I. granted the fee of the hundred of Seiston, in Staffordshire, to sir Walter Leveson, knt.

finding it but loss and trouble to struggle for litigious sheaves, came off to a peaceable composition with me of 40*l. per annum* for my part, whereof ten should be to the discharge of my stall in that church, till the suit should by course of common law be determined. We agreed upon fair wars. The cause was heard at the king's bench barr: when a special verdict was given for us. Upon the death of my partner in the suit, (in whose name it had now been brought) it was renewed; a jury empannelled in the county; the foreman (who had vowed he would carry it for sir Walter Leveson howsoever) was before the day, stricken mad, and so continued; we proceeded with the same success we formerly had; whilst we were thus striving, a word fell from my adversary, that gave me intimation, that a third dog would perhaps come in, and take the bone from us both; which I finding to drive at a supposed concealment¹, happily prevented, for I

The family of Leveson had acquired, at Wolverhampton, great riches by the wool trade, then called the staple, and the dealers in it merchants. At the Reformation church lands were sold at a small price, and the title being then precarious, few persons were willing to become purchasers; but the family of Leveson, having money and wishing well to the Reformation, bought many of these lands, as Trentham, Lillishul, &c. In queen Anne's time, a part of the estates was sold by another Walter Leveson, to Newport, earl of Bradford, which part afterwards passed to the Pulteney family. One of the Gowers of Stittenham, in Yorkshire, married the heiress of the elder branch of the Levesons, took the name, and seated himself at Trentham; from him the property has passed to his descendant, the present duke of Sutherland.

¹ *A supposed concealment.*] "When monasteries were dissolved, and the lands thereof, and afterwards colleges, chaunteries and fraternities were all given to the crown, some demesnes here and there pertaining thereunto, were still *privily retained*, and possessed by certain private persons, or corporations, or churches. This caused the queen (*Elizabeth*) when she understood it, to grant commissions to some persons to *search after these concealments*, and to retrieve them to the crown. But it was a world to consider, what unjust oppressions of the people, and the poor, this occasioned by some griping men that were concerned therein. For under the pretence of executing commissions for inquiry to be made for these *lands concealed*, they, by colour thereof, and without colour of commission, contrary to all right, and to the queen's meaning and intent, did intermeddle and challenge lands of long time possessed by church wardens, and such-like, upon the charitable gifts of predecessors, to the common benefit of the parishes Further they attempted to make titles to lands, possessions, plate, and goods, belonging to hospitals, and such-like places, used for maintenance of poor people; with many such other unlawful attempts and extortions." *Strype's Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 209. See also *Strype's Life of Parker*, p. 368, 69. 405. 489.

presently addressed myself to his majesty, with a petition for the renewing the charter of that church ; and the full establishment of the lands, rights, liberties, thereto belonging : which I easily obtained from those gracious hands. Now sir Walter Leveson, seeing the patrimony of the church so fast and safely settled : and misdoubting what issue those his crazy evidences would find at the common law, began to incline to offers of peace, and at last drew him so far, as that he yielded to those too many conditions, not particularly for myself, but for the whole body of all those prebends which pertained to the church ; first that he would be content to cast up that fee-farm, which he had of all the patrimony of that church, and disclaiming it, receive that which he held of the said church by lease, from us the several prebendaries, for term, whether of years, or (which he rather desired) of lives. Secondly, that he would raise the maintenance of every prebend, (whereof some were but forty shillings, others three pounds, others four, &c.) to the yearly value of thirty pounds to each man, during the said term of his lease : only for a monument of my labour and success herein, I required that my prebend might have the addition of ten pounds *per annum*, above the fellows. We were busily treating this happy match for that poor church ; sir Walter Leveson was not only willing but forward ; the then dean Mr. Antonius de Dominis², archbishop of Spalata, gave both way and furtherance to the dispatch ; all had been most happily ended, had not the scrupulousness of one or two of the number, deferred so advantageous a conclusion. In the mean while sir Walter Leveson dies, leaves his young orphan ward to the king ; all our hopes were now blown up : an office was found of all those lands ; the very wonted payments were denied, and I called into the court of wards, in fair likelihood to forego my former hold, and yielded possession : but there, it was justly awarded by the lord treasurer, then master of the wards, that the orphan could have no more, no other right than the father. I was therefore left in my former state, only upon public complaint of the hard condition wherein the orphan was left, I suffered myself to be over-intreated, to abate somewhat of that evicted composition ; which work having once firmly settled, in a just pity of the mean provision, if not the destitution of so many thousand souls, and a

² *De Dominis.*] See p. 93, *ante*. He was dean of Windsor from 1618 to 1622.

desire, and care, to have them comfortably provided for in the future, I resigned up the said prebend to a worthy preacher, Mr. Lee, who should constantly reside there, and painfully instruct that great and long neglected people; which he hath hitherto performed with great mutual contentment and happy success.

Now during this 22 years which I spent³ at Waltham; thrice

³ *Which I spent.*] To this period we may apply an interesting account given of his manner of spending his time, in a letter to his patron, lord Denny.

“Every day is a little life; and our whole life is but a day *repeated*: whence it is, that old Jacob numbers his life by *days*; and Moses desires to be taught this point of holy arithmetic, ‘to number’ not his *years*, but ‘his *days*.’ Those therefore that dare *lose* a day, are dangerously prodigal; those that dare *mispend* it, desperate. We can teach others by ourselves: let me tell your lordship how I would pass my days, whether *common* or *sacred*; and that you, or whosoever others, overhearing me, may either approve my thriftiness, or correct my errors.

“When sleep is rather driven away than leaves me, I would ever awake with God. My first thoughts are for him: if my heart be early seasoned with his presence, it will savour of him all day after. While my body is dressing, not with an effeminate curiosity, nor yet with rude neglect, my mind addresses itself to her ensuing task, bethinking what is to be done, and in what order; and marshalling, as it may, my hours with my work. That done, after some meditation, I walk up to my masters and companions,—my *books*; and sitting down amongst them, with the best contentment, I dare not reach forth my hand to salute any of them till I have first looked up to heaven, and craved favour of him, to whom all my studies are duly referred; without whom, I can neither profit nor labour. After this, out of no over great variety, I cull forth those, which may best fit my occasions: wherein I am not too scrupulous of age. Sometimes I put myself to school to one of those ancients, whom the church hath honoured with the name of *Fathers*; whose volumes, I confess not to open, without a secret reverence of their holiness and sanctity: sometimes, to those later doctors, which want nothing but age to make them classical: always, to *God’s Book*. That day is lost, whereof some hours are not improved in those divine monuments. Others I turn over, out of *choice*; these out of *duty*. Ere I can have sat unto weariness, my family, having now overcome all household distractions, invites me to our common devotions; not without some short preparation. These heartily performed, send me up with a more strong and cheerful appetite to my former work, which I find made easy to me by intermission and variety. One while mine *eyes* are busy; another while my *hand*; and sometimes my mind takes the burthen from them both. One hour is spent in *textual divinity*; another in *controversy*; *histories* relieve them both. When the mind is weary of others’ labours, it begins to undertake her own.

was I commanded and employed abroad by his majesty in public service.

First in the attendance of the right honourable earl of Carlile⁴, (then lord viscount Doncaster) who was sent upon a noble embassy⁵, with a gallant retinue into France; whose entertainment there, the annals of that nation will tell to posterity. In the midst of that service was I surprized with a miserable distemper of body; which ended in a *diarrhœa biliosa*, not without some beginnings and further threats of a dysentery: wherewith I was brought so low, that there seemed small hope of my recovery.

Sometimes it meditates and winds up for future use; sometimes it lays forth her conceits into present discourse: sometimes for itself, often for others. Neither know I whether it works or plays in these thoughts. I am sure no sport hath more pleasure; no work more use: only the decay of a weak body makes me think these delights insensibly laborious. Before my meals and after, I let myself loose from all thoughts, and would forget that I ever studied. Company, discourse, recreations, are now seasonable and welcome. I rise not immediately from my trencher to my book, but after some intermission. After my later meal, my thoughts are slight; only my memory may be charged with the task of recalling what was committed to her custody in the day; and my heart is busy in *examining* my *hands* and *mouth*, and all other *senses*, of that day's behaviour. The evening is come: no tradesman doth more carefully take in his wares, clear his shop-board, and shut his windows, than I would shut up my thoughts, and clear my mind. That student shall live miserably, which, like a camel, lies down under his burthen. All this done, calling together my family, we end the day with God.—Such are only *common* days.

“But *God's day* calls for another respect. The same sun arises on this day, and enlightens it: yet because that Sun of Righteousness arose upon it, and gave a new life unto the world in it, and drew the strength of God's moral precept into it; therefore, justly do we sing with the psalmist, *This is the day which the Lord hath made*. Now, I forget the world, and in a sort, myself: and deal, with my wonted thoughts, as great men use, who, at some times of their privacy, forbid the access of all suitors. Prayer, meditation, reading, hearing, preaching, singing, good conference, are the businesses of this day; which I dare not bestow on any work or pleasure, but heavenly; I hate *superstition* on the one side, and *looseness* on the other: but I find it hard to offend in too much devotion: easy, in profaneness. The whole week is sanctified by this day: and according to my care of this, is my blessing on the rest.” *Works*, vol. vii. p. 254—6.

⁴ *Earl of Carlile*.] James Hay. He was grandson of Hall's patron, the earl of Norwich, to whose barony of Denny he succeeded in 1630. This relationship accounts for Lord Carlisle's patronage of Hall.

⁵ *A noble embassy*.] To congratulate Louis XIII. on his marriage with Anne of Austria.

Mr. Peter Moulin⁶ (to whom I was beholden for his frequent visitations) being sent by my lord ambassador, to inform him of my estate, brought him so sad news thereof, as that he was much afflicted therewith, well supposing his welcome to Waltham could not but want much of the heart without me. Now the time of his return drew on, Dr. Moulin kindly offered to remove me, upon his lordship's departure, to his own house, promising me all careful attendance. I thanked him, but resolved, if I could but creep homewards to put myself upon the journey. A litter was provided, but of so little ease, that Simeon's penitential lodging, or a malefactor's stocks, had been less penal. I crawled down from my close chamber into that carriage, *In qua videbaris mihi efferri, tanquam in sandapila*, as Mr. Moulin wrote to me afterward; that misery had I endured in all the long passage from Paris to Dieppe, being left alone to the surly muleteers, had not the providence of my good God brought me to St. Germain's, upon the very setting out of those coaches, which had stayed there upon that morning's entertainment of my lord ambassador. How glad was I that I might change my seat, and my company. In the way, beyond all expectation, I began to gather some strength; whether the fresh air, or the desires of my home revived me, so much, and so sudden reparation ensued, as was sensible to myself, and seemed strange to others. Being shipped at Dieppe the sea used us hardly, and after a night, and a great part of the day following, sent us back well wind-beaten, to that bleak haven whence we set forth, forcing us to a more pleasing land passage, through the coasts of Normandy and Picardy; towards the end whereof, my former complaint returned upon me, and landing with me, accompanied me to, and at my long desired home. In this my absence it pleased his majesty, graciously, to confer upon me the deanry of Worcester⁷, which being promised to me before my departure, was deeply hazarded whilst I was out of sight, by the importunity and underhand working of some great ones. Dr. Field⁸, the learned and worthy dean of Gloucester, was by his potent friends put into such assurances of it, that I

⁶ *Peter Moulin.*] Pierre du Moulin, the elder.

⁷ *Deanry of Worcester.*] In the year 1616. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 310.

⁸ *Dr. Field.*] Richard Field, appointed dean of Gloucester in 1609. He died 21st November, 1616. It is sufficient to name his celebrated work "*Of the Church*, four books." Fuller calls him "that learned divine, whose memory smelleth like a Field the Lord hath blessed." See p. 101, *ante*.

heard where he took care for the furnishing that ample house. But God fetched it about for me, in that absence and nescience of mine ; and that reverend, and better deserving divine, was well satisfied with greater hopes ; and soon after exchanged this mortal estate, for an immortal and glorious.

Before I could go down through my continuing weakness, to take possession of that dignity, his majesty pleased to design me to his attendance into Scotland⁹ ; where the great love, and respect that I found, both from the ministers and people, wrought me no small envy, from some of our own. Upon a commonly received supposition, that his majesty would have no further use of his chaplains, after his remove from Edinborough, (for as much as the divines of the country, whereof there is great store and worthy choice, were allotted to every station) I easily obtained, through the solicitation of my ever honoured lord of Carle, to return with him before my fellows. No sooner was I gone, than suggestions were made to his majesty of my over plausible demeanour and doctrine to that already prejudicate people, for which his majesty, after a gracious acknowledgment of my good service there done, called me upon his return to a favourable and mild account ; not more freely professing what informations had been given against me, than his own full satisfaction, with my sincere and just answer ; as whose excellent wisdom well saw that such winning carriage of mine could be no hinderance to those his great designs. At the same time his majesty having secret notice, that a letter was coming to me from Mr. W. Struther, a reverend and learned divine of Edinborough, concerning the five points¹, then proposed, and urged to the church of Scotland, was pleased to impose upon me an earnest charge, to give him a full answer in satisfaction to those his modest doubts ; and at large to declare my judgment concerning those required observations, which I speedily performed with so great

⁹ *Into Scotland.*] See Heylin's *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 73—5, 78—9.

¹ *The five points.*] “Afterwards called the five Articles of Perth. The articles at large are to be found in the histories of those times : but in short they contained (1) the kneeling at the communion ; (2) private communion at sick people's request ; (3) private Baptism ; (4) confirmation of children ; (5) observation of festivals.” *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 162, A.D. 1717. See also Spotswood's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, fol. 539. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 78. The king's design in these measures was to bring the church of Scotland to a nearer conformity with that of England.

approbation of his majesty, that it pleased him to command a transcript thereof, as I was informed, publicly to be read in their most famous university: the effect whereof his majesty vouchsafed to signifie afterwards unto some of my best friends, with allowance beyond my hopes.

It was not long after, that his majesty finding the exigence of the affairs of the Nether-landish churches to require it, both advised them to a synodical decision, and by his incomparable wisdom promoted the work. My unworthiness was named for one of the assistants of that honourable grave and reverend meeting, where I failed not of my best service to that woefully distracted church. By that time I had stayed some two months there, the unquietness of the nights, in those garrison towns, working upon the tender disposition of my body, brought me to such weakness through want of rest, that it began to disable me from attending the synod, which yet as I might, I forced myself unto as wishing that my zeal could have discountenanced my infirmity; wherein the mean time, it is well worthy of my thankful remembrance, that being in an afflicted and languishing condition, for a fortnight together with that sleepless distemper, yet it pleased God, the very night before I was to preach the Latin sermon² to the synod to bestow upon me such a comfortable refreshing of sufficient sleep, as whereby my spirits were revived, and I was enabled with much vigour and vivacity to perform that service; which was no sooner done than my former complaint renewed upon me, and prevailed against all the remedies that the counsel of physicians could advise me unto; so as after long strife, I was compelled to yield unto a retirement (for the time) to the Hague, to see if change of place and more careful attendance, which I had in the house of our right honourable ambassa-

² *The Latin sermon.*] See Hale's *Golden Remains*, p. 381, &c. The best account of the proceedings of this far-famed synod of Dort may be found in the letters of the ever-memorable John Hales of Eton College, printed in his *Golden Remains*. See particularly the Latin edition of those letters, published by Mosheim at Hamburgh, A.D. 1724. The *Canons* of this synod are inserted in the *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum*; and the *Acta* were printed at Leyden 1620 in fol.: see also Limborch's *Life of Episcopius*, Fuller's *Church Hist.* book 10, p. 77—86. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 79, &c. Heylin's *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 401, &c. Hickman's *Animadversions on Dr. Heylin*, p. 405—22. The magnificent copy of the *Acta Synodi Dordrechtensis* which belonged to James I., bound in crimson velvet, embroidered in gold, is now preserved in the old Royal Library in the British Museum.

dor, the lord Carleton³ (now viscount Dorchester) might recover me. But when notwithstanding all means, my weakness increased so far, as that there was small likelihood left of so much strength remaining, as might bring me back into England, it pleased his gracious majesty by our noble ambassador's solicitation, to call me off, and to substitute a worthy divine Mr. Dr. Goade⁴ in my unwillingly forsaken room. Returning by Dort, I sent in my sad farewell to that grave assembly, who by common vote sent to me the president of the synod, and the assistants, with a respective and gracious valediction; neither did the deputies of my lords the states neglect (after a very respectful compliment sent from them to me by Daniel Heinsius) to visit me; and after a noble acknowledgment of more good service from me than I durst own, dismissed me with an honourable retribution, and sent after me a rich medal of gold, the portraiture of the synod, for a precious monument of their respects to my poor endeavours, who failed not whilst I was at the Hague, to impart unto them my poor advice concerning the proceeding of that synodical meeting. The difficulties of my return in such weakness were many and great; wherein, if ever, God manifested his special providence to me, in over-ruling the cross accidents of that passage, and after many dangers and despairs, contriving my safe arrival.

After not many years settling at home, it grieved my soul, to see our own church begin to sicken⁵ of the same disease which we had endeavoured to cure in our neighbours. Mr. Montague's⁶ tart and vehement assertions of some positions, near of kin to the Remonstrants of Netherland, gave occasion of raising no small broil in the church. Sides were taken, pulpits every where rang of these opinions; but parliament took notice of the division, and questioned the occasioner. Now as one that desired to

³ *Lord Carleton.*] Sir Dudley Carlton, created lord Carlton in 1628; viscount Dorchester, 25th July, 1628. He died in 1631.

⁴ *Mr. Dr. Goade.*] Thomas Goad, S.T.P., chantor of St. Paul's in London, prebendary of Hilton, in the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, and chaplain to archbishop Abbot.

⁵ *Begin to sicken.*] See Fuller's *Church History*, book 10, p. 119, &c. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 124—7. Also bishop Hall's *Way of Peace in the five busy Articles of Arminius*. *Parliamentary Hist.* 6, 7.

⁶ *Mr. Montague's.*] Richard Mountague, or Montagu, who was not connected with the noble family of that name, was the son of Laurence Montague, minister of Dorney, in Buckinghamshire: he was bishop successively of Chichester in 1628, and of Norwich in 1638. He died in 1641.

do all good offices to our dear and common mother, I set my thoughts on work, how so dangerous a quarrel might be happily composed; and finding that mis-taking was more guilty of this dissention than mis-believing; (since it plainly appeared to me, that Mr. Montague meant to express, not Arminius⁷, but bishop Overall, a more moderate and safe author, however he sped in delivery of him;) I wrote a little project of pacification⁸, wherein I desired to rectify the judgment of men, concerning this misapprehended controversy, shewing them the true parties in this unseasonable plea; and because bishop Overall went a midway,

⁷ *To express, not Arminius.*] On this subject Mountague shall best speak for himself. It would be well if his wise and noble sentiments could make their due impression upon many shallow controversialists in our own days.

"I disavow the name and title of Arminian. I am no more Arminian than they are Gomarians; not so much in all probability. They delight, it seemeth, to be called after men's names; for anon they stick not to call themselves Calvinists; which title, though more honourable than Gomarian or Arminian, I am not so fond of, or doting upon, but I can be content to leave it unto those that affect it, and hold it reputation to be so instilled. I am not, nor would be accounted willingly Arminian, Calvinist, or Lutheran (names of division) but a Christian. For my faith was never taught by the doctrine of men. I was not baptized into the belief, or assumed by grace into the family of any of these, or of the pope. I will not pin my belief unto any man's sleeve, carry he his head ever so high; not unto St. Augustin, or any ancient father, *nedum* unto men of lower rank. A Christian I am, and so glory to be; only denominated of Christ Jesus my Lord and Master, by whom I never was as yet so wronged, that I would relinquish willingly that royal title, and exchange it for any of his menial servants. And further yet I do profess, that I see no reason why any member of the Church of England, a church every way so transcendant unto that of Leyden and Geneva, should lowt so low as to denominate himself of any of the most eminent amongst them

"Again for Arminianism, I must and do protest before God and his angels, *idque in verbo sacerdotis*, the time is yet to come that ever I read word in Arminius. The course of my studies was never addressed to modern epitomizers: but from my first entrance to the study of divinity, I balked the ordinary and accustomed by-paths of Bastingius's *Catechism*, Fenner's *Divinity*, Bucanus' *Common Places*, Trelcatius, Polanus, and such-like; and betook myself to Scripture the rule of faith, interpreted by antiquity, the best expositor of faith, and applier of that rule: holding it a point of discretion, to draw water, as near as I could to the well-head, and to spare labour in vain, in running further off, to cisterns and lakes. I went to *enquire*, when doubt was, *of the days of old*, as God himself directed me: and hitherto I have not repented me of it." Mountague's *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 10.

⁸ *A little project of pacification.*] *The way of Peace in the five busy articles commonly known by the name of Arminius.*

betwixt the two opinions which he held extreme, and must needs therefore somewhat differ from the commonly-received tenet in these points, I gathered out of bishop Overall on the one side, and out of our English divines at Dort on the other, such common propositions concerning these five busy articles, as wherein both of them are fully agreed; all which being put together, seemed unto me to make up so sufficient a body of accorded truth, that all other questions moved hereabouts, appeared merely superfluous, and every moderate Christian might find where to rest himself, without hazard of contradiction. These I made bold by the hands of Dr. Young⁹ the worthy dean of Winchester, to present to his excellent majesty, together with a humble motion of a peaceable silence to be enjoined to both parts, in those other collateral, and needless disquisitions: which if they might befit the schools of academical disputants, could not certainly sound well from the pulpits of popular auditories. Those reconciliatory papers fell under the eyes of some grave divines on both parts. Mr. Montague professed that he had seen them, and would subscribe to them very willingly; others that were contrarily minded, both English, Scottish, and French divines, profered their hands to a no less ready subscription; so as much peace promised to result out of that weak and poor enterprise, had not the confused noise of the misconstructions of those who never saw the work, (crying it down for the very name's sake) meeting with the royal edict of a general inhibition, buried it in a secure silence. I was scorched a little with this flame which I desired to quench; yet this could not stay my hand from thrusting itself into an hotter fire.

Some insolent Romanists (Jesuits especially) in their bold disputations (which in the time of the treaty of the Spanish match¹, and the calm of that relaxation were very frequent,) pressed

⁹ *Dr. Young.*] John Young, installed 8th July, 1616.

¹ *The Spanish match.*] "We have little news, either of *the great business*, or of any other, though messengers come weekly out of Spain: and I conceive that matters are yet very doubtful. The new chapel for the Infanta goes on in building, and our London papists report *that the angels descend every night and build part of it*. Here hath been lately a conference between one Fisher a jesuite and one Sweete on the one side; and Dr. Whyte and Dr. Featly on the other. *The question was of the antiquity and succession of the Church*. It is said we shall have it printed." Sir Henry Bourghier to Abp. Ussher, then bishop of Meath, dated July 14, 1623. *Ussher's Life and Letters*, p. 89. See also Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 27.

nothing so much, as a catalogue of the professors of our religion to be deduced from the primitive times, and with the peremptory challenge of the impossibility of this pedigree dazzled the eyes of the simple; whilst some of our learned men², undertaking to

² *Some of our learned men.*] The question which the priests and jesuits continually ingeminated was, "Where was your church before Luther?" Of "*The learned men*," of whose mode of reply to this interrogatory the bishop, not without solid reason, expresses his disapprobation; two I apprehend, were persons of no less dignity than the English and Irish primates of that day: the former, Dr. George Abbot, in his book of the *Visibility of the Church*, and the latter, Dr. James Ussher, in his *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione et statu*. Abbot, as Dr. Heylin tells us, could not find any visibility of the Christian church, but by tracing it, as well as he could, from the Berengarians to the Albigenses, from the Albigenses to the Wickliffists, from the Wickliffists unto the Hussites, and from the Hussites unto Luther and Calvin (*Life of Laud*, p. 53), whereas as bishop Hall observes, "Valdus, Wickliffe, Luther, did never go about to frame a new church, which was not, but to cleanse, restore, reforme that church which was."

"Hence may be answered that which Rome brings as her Achilles, touching the succession and visibility of the Protestants' church and doctrine in all ages since Christ: for if theirs (that of Rome) have had such succession and visibility, it is impossible to say that the Protestants' church has not had them also; the former (the church of Rome) only adding *more* articles for a Christian to believe, which the latter will not embrace as needful. . . . 'Protestants' (says Stapleton, *Fortress of Faith*, at the end of Bede's *Hist.* fol. 47 b.) 'have many things *less* than papists; they have taken away many things which papists had; they have added nothing.' And here, therefore, to my understanding, the Romanists require of us what lies on *their* part to prove. For, we, denying, in the succession of bishops from Cranmer, and Warham, even to Augustine, and so of the Britons, ever any one to have held the points which we differ in, to have been points of faith, in that degree of necessity in which they are now required; and, for proof, citing not only the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, but even that of Peckham, which we find so to differ from that late one, set out by Pius IV.—as we cannot but say, it is unjust in them to press us to a profession in religion further than our ancestors were required; so, they on the contrary, affirming all those holy bishops preceding, not only to have believed those articles which themselves now do, but also that they did require them of others with the like necessity in which they are now required, ought certainly to prove what they thus boldly affirm: which *when* they have done, truly for my part I shall think fit to yield; but *till* they do it, let them cease from proclaiming us heretics, who hold no other than the ancient faith at first delivered unto us.

"But this, as a point rather *dogmatical* for divines, than *historical*, the subject I undertook, I shall not here further wade into." Twisden's *Historical Vindication*, p. 198.

satisfy so needless and unjust a demand, gave, as I conceived, great advantage to the adversary. In a just indignation to see us thus wronged by mis-stating the question betwixt us, as if we, yielding ourselves of an other church, originally and fundamentally different, should make good our own erection upon the ruins, yea, the nullity of theirs, and well considering the infinite and great inconveniences, that must needs follow upon this defence³, I adventured to set my pen on work; desiring to rectify the opinions of those men, whom an ignorant zeal had transported, to the prejudice of our holy cause, laying forth the damnable corruptions of the Roman church, yet making our game of the outward visibility thereof, and by this means putting them to the probation of those newly obtruded corruptions which are truly guilty of the breach betwixt us; the drift whereof, being not well conceived, by some spirits⁴, that were not so wise as fervent, I was suddenly exposed to the rash censures of many well affected and zealous protestants, as if I had in a remission to my wonted zeal to the truth attributed too much to the Roman church, and strengthened the adversaries hands and weakened our own. This envy I was

³ *Upon this defence.*] The bishop here alludes to the practices and judgment of Zanchius, Perkins, Whittaker, &c. See *The Apologetical Advertisement*. Works, vol. ii. p. 49. 55. part 2. fol.

⁴ *By some spirits.*] Sanderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, in that part of the famous Preface to his Sermons, bearing date July 13, 1657, in which he shews the advantages which the Puritan writers gave to the Romish party, by the unsoundness of their reasonings, and their extreme intolerance; and the much greater progress which popery was making in England towards the latter end of the commonwealth through their incapacity, than it had ever done before, remarks that "They promoted the interest of Rome and betrayed the Protestant Cause, partly by *mistaking the question* (a very common fault among them,) but especially through the necessity of some *false principle* or other, which having once imbibed, they think themselves bound to maintain. . . . Among those *false principles*, it shall suffice for the present to have named but this one, *That the Church with Rome is no true Church*. The disadvantages of which assertion to our cause in the dispute about *the visibility of the church* (besides the falseness and uncharitableness of it) their zeal, or prejudice rather, will not suffer them to consider. With what out-cries was bishop Hall, good man, (who little dreamt of *any peace with Rome*) pursued by Burton and other hot-spurs, for yielding it a church! who had made the same concession over and over again before he was bishop (as Junius, Reynolds, and our best controversy writers generally do,) and no notice taken, no noise made about it." P. 79, edit. 1689. Or, *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 571.

fain to take off by my speedy "Apologetical Advertisement," and after that by my "Reconciler"³, seconded with the unanimous letters of such reverend, learned, sound divines⁶, both bishops and doctors, as whose undoubtable authority, was able to bear down calumny itself. Which done I did by a seasonable moderation provide for the peace of the church, in silencing both my defendants and challengers, in this unkind and ill-raised quarrel.

Immediately before the publishing of this tractate, (which did not a little aggravate the envy and suspicion) I was by his majesty raised to the bishopric of Exeter⁷, having formerly (with much humble deprecation) refused the see of Gloucester earnestly proffered unto me. How beyond all expectation it pleased God to place me in that western charge; which (if the dukè of Buckingham's letters, he being then in France⁸, had arrived but some hours sooner) I had been defeated of; and by what strange means it pleased God to make up the competency of that provision, by the unthought of addition of the rectory of St. Breok within that diocese, if I should fully relate, the circumstances would force the confession of an extraordinary hand of God in the disposing of those events.

I entered upon that place, not without much prejudice and suspicion on some hands; for some that sate at the stern of the church, had me in great jealousy for too much favour⁹ of Puritanism. I soon had intelligence who were set over me for espials; my ways were curiously observed and scanned. However, I took the resolution to follow those courses which might most conduce to the peace and happiness of my new and weighty charge; finding therefore some factious spirits very busy in that diocese, I used all fair and gentle means to win them to good order; and therein so happily prevailed that (saving two of that numerous clergy, who continuing in their refractoriness fled away from censure,) they were all perfectly reclaimed; so as I had not one minister professedly opposite to the anciently received orders (for I was never guilty of urging any new impositions¹)

⁶ My "Reconciler."] See *Works*, vol. ii. part 2. p. 57—99.

⁶ Sound divines.] B. Morton, B. Davenant, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Primrose.

⁷ The bishopric of Exeter.] He was elected Nov. 5, and consecrated Dec. 23, 1627.

⁸ Then in France.] In the expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

⁹ Too much favour.] See *Works*, vol. i. p. 294. Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 54.

¹ Any new impositions.] Here is a reflexion, designed, no doubt, to point

of the church in that large diocese. Thus we went on comfortably together, till some persons of note in the clergy, being guilty of their own negligence and disorderly courses, began to envy our success; and finding me ever ready to encourage those whom I found conscionably forward and painful in their places, and willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lectures in several parts of my diocese, opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpit, and directly at the court; complaining of my too much indulgence to persons disaffected, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The billows went so high that I was three several times upon my knee to his majesty, to answer these great criminations; and what contestation I had with some great lords concerning these particulars, it would be too long to report; only this; under how dark a cloud I was hereupon, I was so sensible, that I plainly told the lord archbishop of Canterbury, that rather than I would be obnoxious to those slanderous tongues of his misinformers, I would cast up my rochet. I knew I went right ways, and would not endure to live under undeserved suspicions. What messages of caution I had from some of my wary brethren, and what expostulatory letters I had from above, I need not relate. Sure I am I had peace, and comfort at home, in the happy sense of that general unanimity, and loving correspondence of my clergy; till in the last year of my presiding there, after the synodical oath²

against archbishop Laud. It may be but fair then, to see what the archbishop had to say for himself respecting this charge of *imposition*, when he had the opportunity of being heard, after being taxed for it, in parliament, by one of his bitterest adversaries.

“In the mean time, since I am the man so particularly shot at, I shall answer for myself according to truth;—and with truth which I can legally prove, if need be. I have not commanded or enjoined any one thing, ceremonial, or other, upon any parochial congregation in England, much less upon all, to be either practised, or suffered, but that which is directly commanded *by law*. And if any inferior ordinary in the kingdom, or any of my own officers have given any such command, it is either *without* my knowledge, or *against* my direction. And it is well known, I have sharply chid some for this very particular. And if my lord” (lord Say) “would have acquainted me with any such troubled thoughts of his, I would have given him, so far as had been in my power, either satisfaction or remedy.” Laud’s *Answer to Lord Say’s Speech. Troubles, &c.* p. 499.

² *The synodical oath.*] The oath contained in the sixth canon of 1640, called also the *etcetera* oath, the object of which was to declare an approbation of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, as containing

was set on foot, (which yet I did never tender to any one minister of my diocese) by the incitation of some busy interlopers of the neighbour county, some of them began to enter into an unkind contestation with me, about the election of clerks of the convocation ; whom they secretly, without ever acquainting me with their desire or purpose (as driving to that end which we see now accomplished) would needs nominate and set up in competition to those, whom I had (after the usual form) recommended to them. That they had a right to free voices in that choice, I denied not ; only I had reason to take it unkindly, that they would work underhand without me, and against me ; professing that if they had before hand made their desires known to me, I should willingly have gone along with them in their election. It came to the poll. Those of my nomination carried it. The parliament began. After some hard tugging there, returning home upon a recess I was met on the way, and cheerfully welcomed with some hundreds. In no worse terms, I left that my once dear diocese : when returning to Westminster, I was soon called by his majesty (who was then in the north) to a remove to Norwich³ : but how I took the Tower in my way ; and how I have been dealt with since my repair hither, I could be lavish in the sad report, ever desiring my good God to enlarge my heart in thankfulness to him, for the sensible experience I have had of his fatherly hand over me, in the deepest of all my afflictions, and to strengthen me, for whatsoever other trials he shall be pleased to call me unto ; that being found faithful unto the death, I may obtain that crown of life, which he hath ordained for all those that overcome.

all things necessary to salvation, “and an avowal to maintain it against both papists and puritans. But nothing raised so much noise and clamour as the oath required by the sixth canon ; exclaimed against both from the pulpit and the press ; reproached in printed pamphlets, and unprinted scribbles ; and glad they were to find such an excellent advantage, as the discovering of an &c. in the body of it did unhappily give them.” Heylin’s *Life of Laud*, p. 443. The clause in which this unhappy oversight occurred, (for it was probably nothing more) stood thus : “Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand ; nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome.” Sparrow’s *Canons*, &c. p. 359, A.D. 1675.

³ *To a remove to Norwich.*] He was elected, November 15, 1641.

BISHOP HALL'S HARD MEASURE.

NOTHING could be more plain, than that upon the call of this parliament ¹, and before, there was a general plot and resolution of the faction to alter the government of the church especially. The height and insolency of some church-governors, as was conceived, and the ungrounded imposition of some innovations ² upon the churches both of Scotland and England, gave a fit hint to the project. In the vacancy therefore before the summons, and immediately after it, there was great working ³ secretly for the designation and election as of knights and burgesses, so especially (beyond all former use) of the clerks of convocation; when now the clergy were stirred up to contest with, and oppose their dioceses, for the choice of such men as were most inclined to the favour of an alteration. The parliament was no sooner set, than many vehement speeches were made against established church-government, and enforcement of extirpation both root and branch. And because it was not fit to set upon all at once, the resolution was to begin with those bishops which had subscribed to the canons ⁴ then lately published upon the shutting up of the former parliament; whom they would first have had accused of treason;

¹ *This parliament.*] The *Long Parliament*, according to the name which it afterwards earned to itself. It began Nov. 3, 1640.

² *Innovations.*] See Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 443—5, edit. 1671; and *Hist. of Nonconformity*, p. 345, or Baxter's *Life*, &c. p. 369.

³ *There was great working.*] "I was indeed sorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat elections were carried on in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other gentlemen would allay and fix the commons in a due temperament, guiding some men's well-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all states and kingdoms,—no man was better pleased with the convening of this parliament than myself; who knowing best the largeness of my own heart towards my people's good and just contentment, pleased myself most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between me and my people."—*Icon Basilikè; the Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, chap. i.

⁴ *To the canons.*] Viz. of 1640. See Sparrow's *Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons*, &c. p. 335—74.

but that not appearing feasible, they thought best to indite them⁵ of very high crimes and offences against the king, the parliament,

⁵ *To indite them.*] On the 11th March, 1640-1, the commons resolved "that for bishops or any other clergyman whatsoever to be in the commission of the peace, or to have any judicial power in the star-chamber, or in any civil court, is a hindrance to their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away;" and, on the 1st of May following, a bill to that effect passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords, where it was read a first time. On that day, bishop Hall (Exeter) delivered the following admirable speech, which is preserved in his *Works*, vol. x. p. 70-2, and in the *Parliamentary History*.

"My lords,

"This is the strangest bill that I ever heard of, since I was admitted to sit under this roof: for it strikes at the very fabric and composition of this house; at the stile of all laws; and therefore, were it not that it comes from such a recommendation, it would not, I suppose, undergo any long consideration: but, coming to us from such hands, it cannot but be worthy of your best thoughts.

"And, truly, for the main scope of the bill, I shall yield it most willingly, that ecclesiastical and sacred persons should not ordinarily be taken up with secular affairs. The minister is called *vir Dei*, a man of God: he may not be *vir seculi*. He may *lend* himself to them, upon occasion: he may not *give* himself over purposely to them. Shortly, he may not *so* attend worldly things, *as* that he do neglect divine things. This we gladly yield. Matters of justice, therefore, are not proper, as an ordinary trade, for our function; and, by my consent, shall be, as in a generality, waved and deserted: which, for my part, I never have meddled with, but in a *charitable* way; with no profit, but some charge to myself, whereof I shall be glad to be eased. *Tractent fabrilis fabri*; as the old word is.

"But if any man shall hence think fit to infer that some spiritual person may not occasionally be in a special service of his king or country; and, when he is so required by his prince, give his advice in the urgent affairs of the kingdom, which I suppose is the main point driven at; it is such an inconsequence, as I dare boldly say cannot be made good, either by divinity or reason; by the laws either of God or man: whereas the contrary may be proved and enforced by *both*.

"As for the grounds of this bill, that the minister's duty is so great, that it is able to take up the whole man, and the apostle saith, *Τίς ικανός*; *who is sufficient for these things?* and that *he, who warfares to God should not entangle himself with this world*; it is a sufficient and just conviction of those, who would *divide* themselves betwixt God and the world, and bestow any *main* part of their time upon secular affairs: but it hath no operation at all upon *this* tenet, *which we have in hand*; that a man dedicate to God, may not so much as, when he is required, cast a glance of his eye, or some minutes of time, or some motives of his tongue, upon the public business of his king and country. Those that expect this from us, may as well, and upon the same reason, hold that a minister must have no family at all; or, if he have

and kingdom, which was prosecuted with great earnestness by some prime lawyers in the house of commons, and entertained with like

one, must not care for it : yea, that he must have no *body* to tend, but be all *spirit*.

“ My lords, we are men of the same composition with others ; and our breeding hath been accordingly. We cannot have lived in the world, without having seen it, and observed it too : and our long experience and conversation, both in men and in books, cannot but have put something into us for the good of others : and now, having a *double* capacity, *qua cives, qua ecclesiastici*, as members of the commonwealth, as ministers and governors of the church ; we are ready to do our best service in *both*. One of them is no way incompatible with the other : yea, the subjects of them both are so united with the church and commonwealth, *that they cannot be severed* : yea so, as that, not the one is *in* the other, but the one *is the other*, is *both* : so as the services which we do upon these occasions to the *commonwealth*, are inseparable from our good offices to the *church* : so that, upon this ground, there is *no reason* of our exclusion. . . .

“ But, I fear it is not on some hands, the tender regard of the full scope of our calling, that is so much here stood upon, as the conceit of too much *honour*, that is done us, in taking up the room of peers, and voting in this high court : for surely, those that are averse from our *votes*, yet could be content, we should have place upon the woollsacks ; and could allow us *ears*, but not *tongues*.

“ If this be the matter, I beseech your lordships to consider that this honour is not done to *us*, but to our *profession* ; which whatever we be in our several persons, cannot easily be capable of too much respect from your lordships. *Non tibi, sed Isidi* ; as he said of old.

“ Neither is this any *new* grace, that is put upon our calling ; which, if it were now to begin, might perhaps be justly grudged to our unworthiness : but it is an ancient right and inheritance, inherent in our station : no less ancient than these walls, wherein we sit : yea, more : before ever there were parliaments, in the *magna concilia* of the kingdom we had our places. And as for my own predecessors, ever since the Conqueror’s time I can shew your lordships a just catalogue of them, that have sat before me here : and, truly, though I have just cause to be mean in mine own eyes, yet why, or wherein, there should be more unworthiness in me than the rest, that I should be stripped of that privilege which they so long enjoyed, though there were no law to hold me here, I cannot see or confess.

“ What respects of honour *have been* put upon the prime clergy of old, both by Pagans, and Jews, and Christians, and what *are* still both within Christendom and without, I shall not need to urge : it is enough to say, this of ours is not merely arbitrary ; but stands so firmly established by law and custom, that I hope it neither *will* nor *can* be removed, except you will shake those foundations, which I believe you desire to hold firm and inviolable.

“ Shortly, then, my lords, the church craves no new honour from you : and justly hopes you will not be guilty of pulling down the old. As you are the eldest sons, and next under his majesty, the honourable patrons of the

fervency by some zealous lords in the house of peers ; every of those particular canons being pressed to the most envious and dangerous height that was possible : the archbishop of York⁶, aggravating Mr. Maynard's criminations to the utmost, not without some interspersions of his own. The counsel of the accused bishops gave in such a demurring answer as stopped the mouth of that heinous indictment.

When this prevailed not, it was contrived to draw petitions accusatory from many parts of the kingdom against episcopal

church ; so she expects and beseeches you to receive her into your tenderest care ; so to order her affairs, that you leave her to posterity in no worse case than you found her.

"It is a true word of Damasus, *Ubi vilescit nomen episcopi, omnis status perturbatur ecclesiæ*. If this be suffered, the misery will be the church's : the dishonour and blur of the act in future ages will be yours.

"To shut up, therefore, let us be taken off from all ordinary trade of secular employments : and, if you please, abridge us of intermeddling with matters of common justice : but leave us possessed of those places and privileges in parliament, which our predecessors have so long and peaceably enjoyed."

On the 14th of May the bill was read a second time in the lords, and the bishops were zealously defended by Robert Pierrepont, viscount Newark (and earl of Kingston), whose speech is given by Fuller. On the 24th the bill was in committee, when the bishop of Lincoln (John Williams) spoke at great length against it, lord Say and Sele in its favour, and lord Newark again spoke on behalf of the bishops. On the 27th the lords desired a conference with the commons, and on the same day sir Edward Dering brought into the commons a bill for the utter abolishing of bishops, deans, prebendaries, &c. &c., and the second reading was carried at once by 139 to 108. On the 3rd and 4th of June further conferences took place between the two houses, and on the 3rd of July an impeachment was ordered. Accordingly, on the 3rd of August, sergeant Wylde, M.P. for Worcestershire, presented articles of impeachment against the following bishops :

Walter Curle, *Winchester*.

Matthew Wren, *Ely*.

Robert Wright, *Coventry and Lichfield*.

William Roberts, *Bangor*.

Robert Skinner, *Bristol*.

Godfrey Goodman, *Gloucester*.

John Warner, *Rochester*.

JOSEPH HALL, *Exeter*.

John Towers, *Peterborough*.

John Owen, *St. Asaph*.

Morgan Owen, *Llandaff*.

William Pierce, *Bath and Wells*.

William Laud, *Canterbury*.

George Coke, *Hereford*.

On the 26th of October another conference took place, and on the 10th of November the impeached bishops put in their plea.

⁶ *Archbishop of York*.] Meaning John Williams, who, however, at this time, was only bishop of Lincoln : he was not translated to York till the 4th of December following.

government, and the promoters of the petitions were entertained with great respects; whereas the many petitions of the opposite part, though subscribed with many thousand hands, were slighted and disregarded. Withal, the rabble of London, after their petitions cunningly and upon other pretences procured, were stirred up to come to the houses personally to crave justice both against the earl of Strafford first, and then against the archbishop of Canterbury, and lastly against the whole order of bishops; which coming at first unarmed were checked by some well-willers, and easily persuaded to gird on their rusty swords, and so accoutered came by thousands⁷ to the houses, filling all the outer rooms, offering foul abuses to the bishops as they passed, crying out, *no bishops, no bishops*; and at last, after divers days assembling, grown to that height of fury, that many of them, whereof sir Richard Wiseman professed (though to his cost⁸) to be captain, came with resolution of some violent courses, insomuch that many swords were drawn hereupon at Westminster, and the rout did not stick openly to profess that they would pull the bishops in pieces. Messages were sent down to them from the lords. They still held firm both to the place and their bloody resolutions. It now grew to be torch-light. One of the lords, the marquis of Hertford⁹, came up to the bishops' form, told us that we were in great danger, advised us to take some course for our own safety, and being desired to tell us what he thought was the best way, counselled us to continue in the parliament house all that night; "for" (saith he) "these people vow they will watch you at your going out and will search every coach for you with torches, so as you cannot escape." Hereupon the house of lords was moved for some order for the

⁷ *Came by thousands.*] Compare *Icôn Basilikè*, chap. iv. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults*.

⁸ *To his cost.*] It was on the 28th December, 1641, that this disturbance took place. An attempt was made to force the abbey, where the *regalia*, an object of plunder, were kept. The servants of the archbishop of York, who was still for the time dean of Westminster, drew their swords, and defended the church and its contents. Some mounted the roof, and threw down missiles on the assailants; the following statement by Baxter is very remarkable:—"Sir Richard Wiseman leading them [the apprentices and other rabble assailants] there was some fray about Westminster Abbey between the cavaliers and them, and sir Richard Wiseman was slain by a stone from off the abbey walls."—*Baxter's Life and Times*, p. 27.

⁹ *Marquis of Hertford.*] William Seymour, created marquis of Hertford in 1640 (afterwards, in 1660, restored as duke of Somerset); who, when young, had married lady Arabella Stuart; see p. 15, *ante*.

preventing their mutinous and riotous meetings. Messages were sent down to the house of commons to this purpose more than once. Nothing was effected: but for the present (for so much as all the danger was at the rising of the house) it was earnestly desired of the lords that some care might be taken of our safety. The motion was received by some lords with a smile. Some other lords, as the earl of Manchester¹, undertook the protection of the archbishop of York and his company (whose shelter I went under) to their lodgings; the rest, some of them by their long stay, others by secret and far-fetched passages escaped home.

It was not for us to venture any more to the house without some better assurance. Upon our resolved forbearance, therefore, the archbishop of York sent for us to his lodging at Westminster; lays before us the perilous condition we were in: advises for remedy (except we meant utterly to abandon our right, and to desert our station in parliament) to petition both his majesty and the parliament, that since we were legally called by his majesty's writ to give our attendance in parliament, we might be secured in the performance of our duty and service against those dangers that threatened us; and withal to protest against² any such acts as should be made during the time of our forced absence; for which he assured us there were many precedents in

¹ *Earl of Manchester.*] Henry Montagu, first earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal. He died November 7, 1642. His son was the well-known parliamentary general.

² *To protest against.*] The protest was presented on the 30th of December, 1641. It was signed by

John Williams, <i>Archbishop of York.</i>	William Pierce, <i>Bath and Wells.</i>
Thomas Morton, <i>Durham.</i>	John Coke, <i>Hereford.</i>
Joseph Hall, <i>Norwich.</i>	Matthew Wren, <i>Ely.</i>
Robert Wright, <i>Coventry and Lichfield.</i>	Robert Skinner, <i>Oxford.</i>
John Owen, <i>St. Asaph.</i>	George Goodwin, <i>Gloucester.</i>
	John Warner, <i>Peterborough.</i>
	Morgan Owen, <i>Llandaff.</i>

At this time five sees were vacant, viz.—

<i>Worcester,</i>	by the death of John Thornborough.
<i>Lincoln,</i>	by the translation of Williams to York.
<i>Exeter,</i>	„ „ Hall to Norwich.
<i>Bristol,</i>	„ „ Skinner to Oxford.
<i>Chichester,</i>	„ „ Duppa to Sarum.

And on the day of the protest a motion was made that they should not be filled up.

former parliaments, and which if we did not, we should betray the trust committed to us by his majesty, and shamefully betray and abdicate the due right³ both of ourselves and successors. To this purpose in our presence he drew up the said petition and protestation, avowing it to be legal, just and agreeable to all former proceedings; and being fair written sent it to our several lodgings for our hands; which we accordingly subscribed, intending yet to have had some further consultation concerning the delivering and whole carriage of it. But ere we could suppose it to be in any hand but his own, the first news we heard was, that there were messengers addressed to fetch us into the parliament upon an accusation of high treason. For whereas this paper was to have been delivered, first to his majesty's secretary, and after perusal

³ *The due right.*] "This is on the hypothesis, that there are *three* estates, lords spiritual and temporal, and commons. Two of them sit in one house, and (*together*) compose *one* body; the third sit in one house, and compose *another* body. The lords spiritual are excluded: they remonstrate, and say a force being put upon a *part* of the body, the acts of the *other* part are void. This is good reasoning, on the hypothesis: but the hypothesis is false. The bishops do not make a *third* estate, but are *part* of the *general* baronage which composes the house of lords."—Warburton's *Remarks on Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*; Works, vol. xii. p. 393, 4.

This, no doubt, is correct, according to the views and language of one class of constitutional writers: but the authorities are quite as numerous, and perhaps (to say the least) quite of as much value, which speak of the king as the *head*, and of three other distinct estates in parliament, (*viz.* lords spiritual, lords temporal, and commons), as constituting the *body* of the realm.

Thus Lord Coke, *Institutes*, vol. iv. cap. 1. "The court of parliament consisteth of the king's majesty, sitting there as in his royal politic capacity, and of the *three* estates of the realm: one of which," he adds, "represents all the commons of the whole realm." Secondly, we may take the title of the form of prayer in the liturgy, "to be used yearly upon the fifth day of November; for the happy deliverance of King James I and the three estates of England." Thirdly, the conjoint authority in one, of the lord keeper Pickering, and the lord treasurer Burghley (A.D. 1593). "Therefore," says the latter, addressing the house of peers, "as was delivered by the lord keeper, her majesty hath summarily imparted the same to this assembly, referring the consideration thereof to the whole *three* estates, whereof *two* are in *this* place."—Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 866. These may suffice as a specimen. It would be easy to cite a great many more. I will not however omit to mention that the whole question has been admirably discussed on all its grounds of authority and reason by bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Ecclesiastical Cases*, vol. ii. pp. 373—410.

by him to his majesty, and after from his majesty to the parliament, and for that purpose to the lord keeper, the lord Littleton⁴, who was the speaker of the house of peers; all these professed not to have perused it at all, but the said lord keeper, willing enough to take this advantage of ingratiating himself with the house of commons and the faction, to which he knew himself sufficiently obnoxious, finding what use might be made of it by prejudicate minds, reads the same openly in the house of the lords: and when he found some of the faction apprehensive enough of misconstruction, aggravates the matter as highly offensive, and of dangerous consequence; and thereupon not without much heat and vehemence, and with an ill preface, it is sent down to the house of commons; where it was entertained hainously, Glynne with a full mouth crying it up for no less than an high treason; and some comparing, yea preferring it to the powder plot.

We poor souls (who little thought that we had done any thing that might deserve a chiding) are now called to our knees at the bar and charged severally with high treason, being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the perfect innocence of our own intentions, which were only to bring us to our due places in parliament with safety and speed without the least purpose of any man's offence. But now traitors we are in all the haste, and must be dealt with accordingly. For on January⁵ 30, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower; only two of our number⁶ had the favour of the Black Rod by reason of their age; which though desired by a noble lord on my behalf, would not be yielded, wherein I acknowledge, and bless the gracious providence of God; for had I been gratified, I had been undone both in body and purse; the rooms being strait, and the expence beyond the reach of my estate. The news of this our crime and impri-

⁴ *Lord Littleton.*] Sir Edward Lyttleton, descended from Thomas Lyttleton, the *youngest* son of Sir Thomas Lyttleton, the celebrated judge, and author of the "Tenures." He was created Lord Lyttleton of Mounslow, February 18, 1640. His title became extinct at his death in 1645. The present lord Lyttleton (or Lyttelton) is descended from sir William Lyttleton, the *eldest* son of the judge.

⁵ *January*] An error, probably of a transcriber, for *December*: it will have been seen that the committal took place on *December* 30, and that bishop Hall's letter from the Tower is dated *January* 24.

⁶ *Two of our number.*] Morton, of *Durham*, and Wright, of *Coventry and Lichfield*.

sonment soon flew over the city, and was entertained by our well-willers with ringing of bells and bonfires ; who now gave us up (not without great triumph) for lost men, railing on our perfidiousness, and adjudging us to what foul deaths they pleased. And what scurrile and malicious pamphlets were scattered abroad throughout the kingdom, and in foreign parts, blazoning our infamy and exaggerating our treasonable practices ! what insultations of our adversaries was here !

[A LETTER⁷ SENT FROM THE TOWER TO A PRIVATE FRIEND ;
AND BY HIM THOUGHT FIT TO BE PUBLISHED.

“ To my much respected good friend, Mr. H. S.

“ Worthy Sir,

“ You think it strange, that I should salute you from hence ; how can you choose, when I do yet still wonder to see myself here ? My intentions, and this place are such strangers that I cannot enough marvel how they met. But, howsoever, I do in all humility kiss the rod wherewith I smart, as well knowing whose hand it is that wields it. To that infinite justice who can be innocent ? but to my king and country never heart was or can be more clear ; and I shall beshrew my hand if it shall have (against my thoughts) justly offended either ; and if either say so, I reply not ; as having learned not to contest with those that can command legions.

“ In the mean time it is a kind, but cold compliment, that you pity me ; an affection well placed where a man deserves to be miserable ; for me I am not conscious of such merit. You tell me in what fair terms I stood not long since with the world ; how large room I had in the hearts of the best men : but can you tell me how I lost it ? Truly I have in the presence of God narrowly searched my own bosom ; I have unpartially ransacked this fag-end of my life, and curiously examined every step of my ways, and I cannot by the most exact scrutiny of my saddest thoughts, find what it is that I have done to forfeit that good estimation wherewith you say I was once blessed.

“ I can secretly arraign and condemn myself of infinite trans-

⁷ *A letter.*] This letter is now inserted according to its date. In Mr. Pratt's edition of Bishop Hall it is prefixed to the *Hard Measure*.

gressions before the tribunal of heaven. Who that dwells in a house of clay can be pure in his sight, who charged his angels with folly? O! God, when I look upon the reckonings betwixt thee and my soul, and find my shameful arrears, I can be most vile in my own sight, because I have deserved to be so in thine; yet even then, in thy most pure eyes, give me leave the whiles, not to abdicate my sincerity. Thou knowest my heart desires to be right with thee, whatever my failings may have been; and I know what value thou puttest upon those sincere desires, notwithstanding all the intermixtures of our miserable infirmities. These I can penitently bewail to thee; but in the mean time, what have I done to men? Let them not spare to shame me with the late sinful declinations of my age; and fetch blushes (if they can) from a wrinkled face.

“Let mine enemies (for such I perceive I have, and those are the surest monitors) say what I have offended. For their better irritation, my conscience bids me boldly to take up the challenge of good Samuel, ‘*Behold here I am, witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed: Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it to you.*’

“Can they say, that I bore up the reins of government too hard, and exercised my jurisdiction in a rigorous and tyrannical way, insolently lording it over my charge?—Malice itself, perhaps, would, but dare not speak it; or if it should, the attestation of so numerous and grave a clergy would choak such impudence. Let them witness, whether they were not still entertained, with an equal return of reverence, as if they had been all bishops with me, or I only a presbyter with them; according to the old rule of Egbert archbishop of York, *Infra domum, episcopus collegam se presbyterorum esse cognoscat*. Let them say whether aught here looked like despotical; or sounded rather of imperious command, than of brotherly complying; whether I have not rather from some beholders undergone the censure of a too humble remissness, as, perhaps, stooping too low beneath the eminence of episcopal dignity; whether I have not suffered as much in some opinions, for the winning mildness of my administration, as some others for a rough severity?

“Can they say (for this aspersion is likewise common) that I barred the free course of religious exercises, by the suppression of

painful and peaceable preachers?—If shame will suffer any man to object it, let me challenge him to instance but in one name. Nay the contrary is so famously known in the western parts, that every mouth will herein justify me. What free admission and encouragement, have I always given to all the sons of peace, that came with God's message in their mouths? What mis-suggestions have I waved? What blows have I borne off in the behalf of some of them, from some gain-sayers? How have I often and publicly professed, that as well might we complain of too many stars in the sky, as too many orthodox preachers in the church?

“Can they complain, that I fretted the necks of my clergy, with the uneasy yoke of new and illegal impositions?—Let them whom I have thus hurt blazon my unjust severity, and write their wrongs in marble; but if, disliking all novel devices, I have held close to those ancient rules which limited the audience of our godly predecessors; if I have grated upon no man's conscience by the pressure (no not by the tender) of the late oath*, or any unprescribed ceremony; if I have freely in the committee, appointed by the honourable house of peers, declared my open dislike in all innovations, both in doctrine and rites;—why doth my innocence suffer?

“Can they challenge me as a close and backstair friend to Popery or Arminianism, who have in so many pulpits, and so many presses, cried down both.—Surely the very paper that I have spent in the refutation of both these, is enough to stop more mouths than can be guilty of this calumny.

“Can they check me with a lazy silence in my place, with infrequency of preaching?—Let all the populous auditories where I have lived witness, whether having furnished all the churches near me with able preachers, I took not all opportunities of supplying such courses as I could get in my cathedral, and when my tongue was silent, let the world say whether my hand were idle.

“Lastly, since no man can offer to upbraid me with too much pomp, which is wont to be the common eye-sore of our envied profession; can any man pretend to a ground of taxing me (as I perceive one of late hath most unjustly done) of too much worldliness?—

“Surely of all the vices forbidden in the decalogue, there is no

* *The late oath.*] *The etcetera oath.* See note above, p. 302.

one which my heart upon due examination can less fasten upon me than this. He that made it, knows, that he hath put into it a true disregard (save only for necessary use) of the world, and all that it can boast of, whether for profit, pleasure, or glory. No, no; I know the world too well to doat upon it. Whilst I am in it, how can I but use it? but I never care, never yield to enjoy it. It were too great a shame for a philosopher, a Christian, a divine, a bishop, to have his thoughts groveling here upon earth; for mine, they scorn the employment, and look upon all these sublunary distractions (as upon this man's false censure) with no other eyes than contempt.

"And now, sir, since I cannot (how secretly faulty soever) guess at my own public exorbitances, I beseech you, where you hear my name traduced, learn of my accusers (whose lyncean eyes would seem to see farther into me than my own) what singular offence I have committed.

"If, perhaps, my calling be my crime; it is no other than the most holy fathers of the church in the primitive and succeeding ages, ever since the apostles, (many of them also blessed martyrs) have been guilty of: it is no other than all the holy doctors of the church in all generations ever since have celebrated, as most reverend, sacred, inviolable: it is no other than all the whole Christian world, excepting one small handful of our neighbours (whose condition denied them⁹ the opportunity of this government) is known to enjoy without contradiction.—How safe is it erring in such company!

"If my offence be in my pen, which hath (as it could) undertaken the defence¹ of that apostolical institution (though with all modesty and fair respects to the churches differing from us) I cannot deprecate a truth: and such I know this to be: which is since so cleared by better hands², that I well hope the better informed world cannot but sit down convinced; neither doubt I but that as metals receive the more lustre with often rubbing, this truth, the more agitation it undergoes, shall appear every day more glorious. Only, may the good Spirit of the Almighty speedily

⁹ *Condition denied them.*] See Hooker's *Preface*, chap. ii. § 4, or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 369.

¹ *Undertaken the defence.*] viz. in his *Episcopacy by divine right, asserted; the Humble Remonstrance; Defence of the Humble Remonstrance; Answer to Smectymnus*, &c. *Works*, vol. ix. 8vo.

² *By better hands.*] Dr. Hammond, archbishop Ussher, &c.

dispel all those dusky prejudices from the minds of men, which may hinder them from discerning so clear a light !

“ Shortly then, knowing nothing by myself, whereby I have deserved to alienate any good heart from me, I shall resolve to rest securely upon the acquitting testimony of a good conscience, and the secret approbation of my gracious God ; who shall one day cause mine innocence to break forth as the morning light, and shall give me beauty for bonds ; and for a light and momentary affliction, an eternal weight of glory.—To shut up all, and to surcease your trouble ; I write not this, as one that would pump for favour and reputation from the disaffected multitude (for I charge you, that what passes privately betwixt us, may not fall under common eyes) but only with this desire and intention, to give you true grounds, where you shall hear my name mentioned with a causeless offence, to yield me a just and charitable vindication. Go you on still to do the office of a true friend, yea, the duty of a just man ; in speaking in the cause of the dumb, in righting the innocent, in rectifying the misguided ; and lastly, the service of a faithful and Christian patriot, in helping the times with the best of your prayers ; which is the daily task of your much devoted and thankful friend,

“ JOS. NORVIC.”

From the Tower,
Jan. 24, 1641³.]

Being caged⁴ sure enough in the Tower, the faction had now fair opportunities to work their own designs. They therefore taking the advantage of our restraint, renew the bill of theirs, (which had been twice before rejected since the beginning of this session) for taking away the votes of bishops⁵ in parliament,

³ 1641.] That is, 1641-2.

⁴ *Being caged.*] On January 17, 1641-2, the twelve bishops had sent in their answer to the charges against them.

⁵ *The votes of bishops.*] “ How oft was the business of the bishops’ enjoying their ancient places and undoubted privileges in the house of peers carried for them by far the major part of the lords ! Yet, after five repulses, contrary to all order and custom, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried when most of the peers were forced to absent themselves.”—*Icon Basilikè*, chap. ix. *Upon the listing and raising armies against the king.*

and in a very thin house easily passed it: which once condescended unto, I know not by what strong importunity⁶, his majesty's assent⁷ was drawn from him thereunto. We now, instead of looking after our wonted honour must bend our thoughts upon the guarding of our lives, which were with no small eagerness, pursued by the violent agents of the faction. Their sharpest wits and greatest lawyers were employed to advance our impeachment to the height; but the more they looked into the business, the less crime could they find to fasten upon us: insomuch as one of their oracles, being demanded his judgment concerning the fact, professed to them, they might with as good reason accuse us of adultery. Yet still there are we fast, only upon petition to the lords obtaining this favour, that we might have counsel assigned us; which after much reluctance, many menaces from the commons, against any man of all the commoners of England that should dare to be seen to plead in this case against the representative body of the commons, was granted us. The lords assigned us five very worthy lawyers, which were nominated to them by us. What trouble and charge it was to procure those eminent and much employed counsellors to come to the Tower to us, and to observe the strict laws of the place, for the time of their ingress, regress, and stay, it is not hard to judge. After we had lien some weeks there, however, the house of commons, upon the first tender of our impeachment had desired we might be brought to a speedy trial, yet now finding belike how little ground they had for so high an accusation, they began to slack their pace, and suffered us rather to languish under the fear of so dreadful arraignment. In so much as now we are fain to petition the lords that we might be brought to our trial. The day was set; several summons were sent unto us: the lieutenant had his warrant to bring us to the bar; our impeachment was severally read; we pleaded not guilty, *modo et forma*, and desired speedy proceedings, which were accordingly promised, but not too hastily performed. After long expectation, another day was appointed for the prosecution of this high charge. The lieutenant brought us again to the bar; but with what shoutings and exclamations

⁶ *Strong importunity.*] This proceeded from the ill-advised judgment of some of the king's most confidential friends, and from the queen.—See Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, b. iv.

⁷ *Assent.*] The king gave his assent to the bill on February 14, 1641-2.

and furious expressions of the enraged multitudes, it is not easy to apprehend. Being thither brought and severally charged upon our knees, and having given our negative answers to every particular, two bishops, London and Winchester⁸, were called in as witnesses against us, as in that point, whether they apprehended any such case of fears in the tumults assembled, as that we were in any danger of our lives in coming to the parliament; who seemed to incline to a favourable report of the perils threatened, though one of them was convinced out of his own mouth, from the relations himself had made at the archbishop of York's lodging. After this Wild and Glyn made fearful declamations at the bar against us, aggravating all the circumstances of our pretended treason to the highest pitch. Our counsel were all ready at the bar to plead for us in answer of their clamorous and envious suggestions; but it was answered, that it was now too late, we should have another day, which day to this day never came⁹.

The circumstances of that day's hearing were more grievous to us than the substance; for we were all thronged so miserably in that strait room before the bar, by reason that the whole house of commons would be there to see the prizes of their champions played, that we stood the whole afternoon in no small torture; sweating and struggling with a merciless multitude, till being dismissed we were exposed to a new and greater danger. For now in the dark we must to the Tower, by barge as we came, and must shoot the bridge¹ with no small peril. That God, under whose merciful protection we are, returned us to our safe custody.

There now we lay some weeks longer, expecting the summons for our counsel's answer; but instead thereof our merciful adversaries, well finding how sure they would be foiled in that unjust charge of treason, now under pretences of remitting the height of rigour, waive their former impeachment of treason against us, and fall upon an accusation of high misdemeanors in that our protes-

⁸ *London and Winchester.*] William Juxon, and Walter Curll.

⁹ *Never came.*] The time began on February 19, 1641-2. See "Proceedings against the twelve bishops upon an accusation of high treason," vol. iv. *State Trials*, p. 63—82.

¹ *Shoot the bridge.*] i. e., pass under London-bridge, with the ebbing tide, when the fall of water was great. See *Life of Wolsey*, in vol. i. p. 492.

tation, and will have us prosecuted as guilty of a *premunire* : although as we conceive the law hath ever been in the parliamentary proceedings, that if a man were impeached, as of treason being the highest crime, the accusant must hold him to the proof of the charge, and may not fall to any meaner impeachment upon failing of the higher. But in this case of ours it fell out otherwise ; for although the lords had openly promised us, that nothing should be done against us, till we and our counsel were heard in our defence, yet the next news we heard was, the house of commons had drawn up a bill against us, wherein they declared us to be delinquents of a very high nature, and had thereupon desired to have it enacted that all our spiritual means should be taken away : only there should be a yearly allowance to every bishop for his maintenance, according to a proportion by them set down ; wherein they were pleased that my share should come to 400*l.* per annum. This bill was sent up to the lords and by them also passed, and there hath ever since lain.

This being done, after some weeks more, finding the Tower besides the restraint, chargeable, we petitioned the lords that we might be admitted to bail ; and have liberty to return to our homes. The earl of Essex moved, the lords assented, took our bail, sent to the lieutenant of the Tower for our discharge. How glad were we to fly out of our cage ! No sooner was I got to my lodging, than I thought to take a little fresh air, in St. James's park ; and in my return to my lodging in the Dean's yard, passing through Westminster-hall, was saluted by divers of my parliament acquaintance, and welcomed to my liberty. Whereupon some that looked upon me with an evil eye ran into the house, and complained that the bishops were let loose ; which it seems was not well taken by the house of commons, who presently sent a kind of expostulation to the lords, that they had dismissed so heinous offenders without their knowledge and consent. Scarce had I rested me in my lodging when there comes a messenger to me with the sad news of sending me and the rest of my brethren the bishops back to the Tower again ; from whence we came, thither we must go ; and thither I went with an heavy (but I thank God not impatient) heart. After we had continued there some six weeks longer, and earnestly petitioned to return to our several charges, we were upon 5000*l.* bond dismissed, with a clause of revocation at a short warning,

if occasion should require. Thus having spent the time betwixt new-year's eve and Whitsuntide in those safe walls, where we by turns preached every Lord's day to a large auditory of citizens, we disposed of ourselves to the places of our several abode.

For myself, addressing myself to Norwich, whither it was his majesty's pleasure to remove me, I was at the first received with more respect, than in such times I could have expected. There I preached the day after my arrival to a numerous and attentive people; neither was sparing of my pains in this kind ever since, till the times growing every day more impatient of a bishop, threatened my silencing. There, though with some secret murmurs of disaffected persons, I enjoyed peace till the ordinance of sequestration came forth, which was in the latter end of March following. Then, when I was in hope of receiving the profits of the foregoing half year, for the maintenance of my family, were all my rents stopped and diverted, and in the April following came the sequestrators, viz. Mr. Sotherton, Mr. Tooly, Mr. Rawley, Mr. Greenwood, &c. to the palace, and told me that by virtue of an ordinance of parliament they must seize upon the palace, and all the estate I had, both real and personal; and accordingly sent certain men appointed by them (whereof one had been burned in the hand for the mark of his truth,) to apprise all the goods that were in the house, which they accordingly executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures out of their curious inventory. Yea they would have apprized our very wearing clothes, had not alderman Tooly and sheriff Rawley (to whom I sent to require their judgment concerning the ordinance in this point) declared their opinion to the contrary.

These goods, both library and household stuff of all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to public sale. Much inquiry there was when the goods should be brought to the market; but in the mean time Mrs. Goodwin, a religious good gentlewoman, whom yet we had never known or seen, being moved with compassion, very kindly offered to lay down to the sequestrators that whole sum which the goods were valued at; and was pleased to leave them in our hands for our use, till we might be able to repurchase them; which she did accordingly, and had the goods formally delivered to her by Mr. Smith, and Mr. Greenwood, two sequestrators. As for the books, several stationers looked on them,

but were not forward to buy them; at last Mr. Cook, a worthy divine of this diocese, gave bond to the sequestrators, to pay to them the whole sum whereat they were set, which was afterwards satisfied out of that poor pittance that was allowed me for my maintenance. As for my evidences they required them from me. I denied them, as not holding myself bound to deliver them. They nailed, and sealed up the door, and took such as they found with me.

But before this, the first noise that I heard of my trouble was, that one morning, before my servants were up, there came to my gates one Wright, a London trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance, threatening if they were not admitted, to break open the gates; whom I found at my first sight struggling with one of my servants for a pistol, which he had in his hand. I demanded his business at that unseasonable time; he told me, he came to search for arms and ammunition, of which I must be disarmed. I told him I had only two muskets in the house, and no other military provision. He not resting upon my word searched round about the house, looked into the chests and trunks, examined the vessels in the cellar; finding no other war-like furniture, he asked me what horses I had, for his commission was to take them also. I told him how poorly I was stored, and that my age would not allow me to travel on foot. In conclusion he took one horse for the present, and such account of another, that he did highly expostulate with me afterwards, that I had otherwise disposed of him.

Now not only my rents present, but the arrearages of the former years, which I had in favour forborne to some tenants, being treacherously confessed to the sequestrators, were by them called for, and taken from me; neither was there any course at all taken for my maintenance. I therefore addressed myself to the committee sitting here at Norwich, and desired them to give order for some means, out of that large patrimony of the church, to be allowed me. They all thought it very just, and there being present sir Thomas Woodhouse², and sir John Potts³, parliament men, it was moved and held fit by them and the rest, that the

² *Sir Thomas Woodhouse.*] Of Kemberley, M.P. for Thetford. He was the second baronet of the name. The present lord Wodehouse is his lineal descendant.

³ *Sir John Potts.*] Of Mannington, M.P. for Norfolk. He was the first baronet of his family.

proportion which the votes of the parliament had pitched upon, viz. 400*l.* per annum, should be allowed to me. My lord of Manchester, who was then conceived to have great power in matter of these sequestrations, was moved herewith. He apprehended it very just and reasonable, and wrote to the committee here to set out so many of the manors belonging to this bishopric as should amount to the said sum of 400*l.* annually; which was answerably done under the hands of the whole table. And now I well hoped, I should yet have a good competency of maintenance out of that plentiful estate which I might have had: but those hopes were no sooner conceived than dashed; for before I could gather up one quarter's rent, there comes down an order from the committee for sequestrations above, under the hand of serjeant Wild⁴ the chairman, procured by Mr. Miles Corbet⁵, to inhibit any such allowance; and telling our committee here, that neither they, nor any other had power to allow me any thing at all: but if my wife found herself to need a maintenance, upon her suit to the committee of lords and commons, it might be granted that she should have a fifth part according to the ordinance, allowed for the sustentation of herself, and her family. Hereupon she sends a petition up to that committee, which after a long delay was admitted to be read, and an order granted for the fifth part. But still the rents and revenues both of my spiritual and temporal lands were taken up by the sequestrators both in Norfolk, and Suffolk, and Essex, and we kept off from either allowance or account. At last upon much pressing, Beadle the solicitor, and Rust the collector, brought in an account to the committee, such as it was; but so confused and perplexed, and so utterly imperfect, that we could never come to know what a fifth part meant: but they were content that I should eat my books by setting off the sum engaged for them out of the fifth part. Mean time the synodals both in Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the spiritual profits of the diocese were also kept back, only ordinations and institutions continued a while. But after the covenant⁶ was appointed to be taken, and was generally swallowed of both clergy and laity, my power of ordination was with some strange violence restrained. For when I was going on in my wonted course (which no law or

⁴ *Serjeant Wild.*] John Wild, or Wylde, M.P. for Worcestershire.

⁵ *Miles Corbet.*] M.P. for Yarmouth.

⁶ *After the covenant.*] See lord Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, b. vii. Fuller, *Church History*, book x. p. 201—7.

ordinance had inhibited) certain forward volunteers in the city, banding together, stir up the mayor and aldermen and sheriffs to call me to an account for an open violation of their Covenant. To this purpose divers of them came to my gates at a very unseasonable time, and knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the bishop! Messages were sent to them to know their business. Nothing would satisfy them but the bishop's presence; at last I came down to them, and demanded what the matter was; they would have the gate opened, and then they would tell me; I answered that I would know them better first: if they had any thing to say to me I was ready to hear them. They told me they had a writing to me from Mr. Mayor, and some other of their magistrates. The paper contained both a challenge of me for breaking the Covenant, in ordaining ministers; and withal required me to give in the names of those which were ordained by me both then and formerly since the Covenant. My answer was that Mr. Mayor was much abused by those who had misinformed him, and drawn that paper from him; that I would the next day give a full answer to the writing. They moved that my answer might be by my personal appearance at the Guildhall. I asked them when they ever heard of a bishop of Norwich appearing before a mayor. I knew mine own place, and would take that way of answer which I thought fit; and so dismissed them, who had given out that day, that had they known before of mine ordaining, they would have pulled me and those whom I ordained out of the chapel by the ears.

Whiles I received nothing, yet something was required of me. They were not ashamed after they had taken away, and sold all my goods and personal estate, to come to me for assessments, and monthly payments for that estate which they had taken, and took distresses from me upon my most just denial, and vehemently required me to find the wonted arms of my predecessors, when they had left me nothing. Many insolences and affronts were in all this time put upon us. One while a whole rabble of volunteers come to my gates late, when they were locked up, and called for the porter to give them entrance, which being not yielded, they threatened to make by force, and had not the said gates been very strong they had done it. Others of them clambered over the walls, and would come into mine house; their errand (they said) was to search for delinquents. What they would have done I know not, had not we by a secret way

sent to raise the officers for our rescue. Another while the sheriff Toftes, and alderman Linsey, attended with many zealous followers, came into my chapel to look for superstitious pictures, and relics of idolatry, and sent for me, to let me know they found those windows full of images, which were very offensive, and must be demolished! I told them they were the pictures of some antient and worthy bishops, as St. Ambrose, Austin, &c. It was answered me, that they were so many popes; and one younger man amongst the rest (Townsend as I perceived afterwards) would take upon him to defend that every diocesan bishop was pope. I answered him with some scorn, and obtained leave that I might with the least loss and defacing of the windows, give order for taking off that offence, which I did by causing the heads of those pictures to be taken off, since I knew the bodies could not offend.

There was not that care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering upon my palace. It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Linsey, Toftes the sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seats, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves! what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason; what tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes, and what a hideous triumph on the market day before all the country, when in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross⁷, which had been newly sawn down from

⁷ *Leaden cross.*] In the church-warden's accounts of the parish of Lambeth, fol. 288, A.D. 1642, is the following entry:

"Paid for taking downe the crosse off the steeple . . . 0 1 6"

And in fol. 293, is a further payment of 2s. In a subsequent year we find how the cross was disposed of; fol. 296, A.D. 1644:

"Rec. for the crosse that was upon the steeple, and other
oulde iron 1 3 6"

The following extracts are also given from the same book, as further illustrative of the proceedings of those times: fol. 293, A.D. 1643:

"Paide to John Pickerskill for taking downe the railes that
were about the communion table 0 1 0"

[Fol.

over the green-yard pulpit, and the service books and singing books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market place: a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the church! Near the public cross, all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much ostentation of a zealous joy in discharging ordnance to the cost of some who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news upon this guild-day to have the cathedral now open on all sides to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the mayor's return, drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turned alehouse.

Still yet I remained in my palace though with but a poor retinue and means; but the house was held too good for me: many messages were sent by Mr. Corbet to remove me thence. The first pretence was, that the committee, who now was at charge for an house to sit in, might make their daily session there, being a place both more public, roomy, and chargeless. The committee after many consultations resolved it convenient to remove thither, though many overtures and offers were made to the contrary. Mr. Corbet was impatient of my stay there, and procures and sends peremptory messages for my present dislodging. We desired to have some time allowed for providing some other mansion, if we must needs be cast out of this, which my wife was so willing to hold, that she offered, (if the charge of the present committee house were the things stood upon) she would be content to defray the sum of the rent of that house of her fifth part; but that might not be yielded: out we must, and that in three weeks warning, by midsummer-day then approaching, so as we might have lain in the street for ought I know, had not the providence of God so ordered it that a neighbour in the close, one Mr. Gostlin, a widower, was content to void his house for us.

Fol. 296, A.D. 1644:

“Paid to the carpenters for worke in taking downe the
skreenes betweene the church and the chancel 0 13 0”

“Paid to Ed. Marshall for two dayes worke in levelling the
chancell 0 4 0”

Fol. 300, A.D. 1645:

“Paid for a basen to baptize in, and for the frame . . . 0 5 0”

This hath been my measure ; wherefore, I know not ; Lord, thou knowest, who only canst remedy, and end, and forgive or avenge this horrible oppression.

JOS. NORVIC.

Scripti, *May* 29, 1647.

SHORTLY after⁸, this excellent bishop retired to a little estate, which he rented at Higham near Norwich ; where, notwithstanding the narrowness of his circumstances, he distributed a weekly charity to a certain number of poor widows. In this retirement he ended his life, September 8, 1656, aged 82 years ; and was buried *in the church-yard* of that parish, without any memorial ; observing in his will, “ I do not hold God’s house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints.”

He is universally allowed to have been a man of incomparable piety, meekness, and modesty, having a thorough knowledge of the world, and of great wit and learning.

A writer^c observes of him that “ he may be said to have died with the pen in his hand. He was commonly called our English Seneca, for his pure, plain and full stile. Not ill at *controversies*, more happy at *comments*, very good in his *characters*, better in his *sermons*, best of all in his *meditations*.”

⁸ *Shortly after.*] This conclusion is transcribed from the notes to an edition of this *life*, &c. prefixed to an edition of bishop Hall’s *Contemplations*, published A. D. 1759, by the Rev. Wm. Dodd.

^c England’s Worthies, p. 441.

DR. HENRY HAMMOND.

In these things we also have been but too like the sons of Israel ; for when we sinned as greatly, we also have groaned under as great and sad a calamity. For we have not only felt the evils of an intestine war, but God hath smitten us in our spirit, and laid the scene of his judgments especially in religion.— But I delight not to observe the correspondencies of such sad accidents : they do but help to vex the offending part, and relieve the afflicted but with a fantastic and groundless comfort. I will therefore deny leave to my own affections to ease themselves by complaining of others. I shall only crave leave, that I may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and œconomy of her priests and levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion, that went not out by day nor by night. These were the pleasures of our peace : and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights, which we then enjoyed as antepasts of heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys. *And it may be so again, when* it shall please God, who hath the hearts of all princes in his hand, and turneth them as the rivers of waters ; *and when* men will consider the invaluable loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that is appendant to the destroying of such forms of discipline and devotion, in which God was purely worshipped, and the church was edified, and the people instructed to great degrees of piety, knowledge, and devotion.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following account of Dr. Henry Hammond is a republication of *The Life of the most learned, reverend and pious Dr. H. Hammond, written by John Fell, D.D. Dean of Christ Church in Oxford; the second edition; London, 1662;* of which the first edition came out in the year preceding.

DR. HENRY HAMMOND.

DOCTOR HENRY HAMMOND, whose life is now attempted to be written, was born upon the eighteenth of August in the year 1605, at Chertsey in Surrey, a place formerly of remark for Julius Cæsar's supposed passing his army there over the Thames, in his enterprise upon this island; as also for the entertainment of devotion in its earliest reception by our Saxon ancestors; and of later years, for the charity of having given burial to the equally pious and unfortunate prince king Henry VI.

He was the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond physician to prince Henry; and from that great favourer of meriting servants and their relations, had the honour at the font to receive his Christian name.

Nor had he an hereditary interest in learning only from his father; by his mother's side he was allied both unto it and the profession of theology, being descended¹ from Dr. Alexander Nowel, the reverend dean of St. Paul's, that great and happy instrument of the reformation, and eminent light of the English church.

Being yet in his long coats, (which heretofore were usually worn beyond the years of infancy²,) he was sent to Eton school; where his pregnancy, having been advantaged by the more than

¹ *Being descended.*] But see Churton's *Life of Nowell*, pp. 362, 3.

² *The years of infancy.*] "*When about seven years old*" (it is related of Williams, afterward archbishop of York, the antagonist and rival of archbishop Laud, that) "He took a leap, *being then in long coats*, from the walls of Conway town to the sea shore, looking that the wind, which was then very strong, would fill his coats like a sail, and bear him up, as it did with his play fellows: but he found it otherwise——." Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 8. This was about the year 1590.

paternal care and industry of his father (who was an exact critic in the learned languages, especially the Greek), became the observation of those that knew him: for in that tenderness of age he was not only a proficient in Greek and Latin, but had also some knowledge in the elements of Hebrew: in the latter of which tongues, it being then rarely heard of even out of grammar schools, he grew the tutor of those who began to write themselves men, but thought it no shame to learn of one whose knowledge seemed rather infused than acquired; or in whom the learned languages might be thought to be the mother tongue. His skill in the Greek was particularly advantaged by the conversation and kindness of Mr. Allen, one of the fellows of the college, excellently seen in that language, and a great assistance of sir Henry Savile in his magnificent edition of St. Chrysostom.

His sweetness of carriage is very particularly remembered by his contemporaries, who observed that he was never engaged (upon any occasion) into fights or quarrels; as also that at times allowed for play, he would steal from his fellows³ into places

³ *Steal from his fellows*] The place, and the engagements of this school-boy remind us of the narrative given by the pious and amiable Dr. Henry More of his own early years. "Being bred up, to the almost fourteenth year of my age, under parents, and a master, that were great Calvinists, but withal, very pious and good ones; at that time, by the order of my parents, persuaded to it by my uncle, I immediately went to *Eton* school; not to learn any new precepts or institutes of religion, but for the perfecting of the Greek and Latin tongue. But neither there, not yet any where else, could I ever swallow down that hard doctrine concerning Fate. On the contrary, I remember that upon those words of Epictetus, ἄγε με ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σὺ ἡ πεπρωμένη, *Lead me, O Jupiter, and thou Fate*, I did, with my eldest brother, who then, as it happened, had accompanied my uncle thither, very stoutly and earnestly for my years, dispute against this fate or Calvinistical predestination, as it is usually called: and that my uncle, when he came to know it, chid me severely; adding menaces withal of correction, and a rod for my immature forwardness in philosophizing concerning such matters. Moreover, that I had such a deep aversion in my temper to this opinion, and so firm and unshaken a persuasion of the divine justice and goodness; that, on a certain day, in a ground belonging to Eton College, where the boys used to play and exercise themselves, musing concerning these things with myself, and recalling to my mind the doctrine of Calvin, I did thus seriously and deliberately conclude within myself, namely, *If I am one of those that are predestinated unto hell, where all things are full of nothing but cursing and blasphemy, yet will I behave myself there patiently and submissively towards God: and if there be any one thing more than another, that is acceptable to him, that will I set myself to do, with a sincere heart, and to the utmost of my power. . . .* which medita-

of privacy, there to say his prayers : omens of his future pacific temper and eminent devotion.

Which softness of temper his schoolmaster Mr. Bush, who upon his father's account had a tender kindness for him, looked upon with some jealousy ; for he building upon the general observation, that gravity and passiveness in children is not from discretion but phlegm, suspected that his scholar's faculties would desert his industry, and end only in a laborious well-read non-proficiency : but the event gave full and speedy defeat to those well-meant misgivings ; for he so improved, that at thirteen years old he was thought, and (what is much more rare) was indeed ripe for the university, and accordingly sent to Magdalen college in Oxford, where not long after he was chosen demy ; and though he stood low upon the roll, by a very unusual concurrence of providential events, happened to be sped : and though, having then lost his father, he became destitute of the advantage which potent recommendation might have given, yet his merit voting for him, as soon as capable he was chosen fellow.

Being to proceed master of arts, he was made reader of the natural philosophy lecture in the college, and also was employed in making the funeral oration on the highly meriting president Dr. Langton.

tion of mine is as firmly fixed in my memory, and the very place where I stood, as if the thing had been transacted but a day or two ago.

"And as to what concerns the existence of God, though in that ground mentioned, walking, as my manner was, slowly, and with my head on one side, and kicking now and then the stones with my feet, I was wont sometimes, with a sort of musical and melancholick manner, to repeat, or rather humm to myself those verses of Claudian :

' Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem,
Curarent Superi terras ; an nullus inesset
Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu :'

' Oft hath my anxious mind divided stood,
Whether the gods did mind this lower world ;
Or whether no such Ruler, wise and good,
We had ; and all things here by chance were hurled ;'

yet that exceeding hale and intire sense of God, which nature herself had planted deeply in me, very easily silenced all such slight and poetical dubitations as these. Yea, even in my just childhood, an inward sense of the divine presence was so strong upon my mind, that I did then believe, there could no deed, word or thought be hidden from him."—*Life of the learned and pious Dr. Henry More, by Richard Ward, A.M.* London, 1710. 8vo. p. 5.

Having taken his degree, he presently bought a system of divinity, with a design to apply himself straightway to that study: but upon second thoughts he returned for a time to human learning, and afterwards when he resumed his purpose for theology, took a quite different course of reading from the other too much usual⁴, beginning that science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossest by the contrived and interested schemes of modern and withal obnoxious authors.

Anno 1629, being twenty-four years of age, the statutes of his house directing, and the canons of the church then regularly permitting it, he entered into holy orders: and upon the same grounds not long after took the degree of bachelor in divinity, giving as happy proof of his proficiency in sacred, as before he had done in secular knowledge.

During the whole time of his abode in the university he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study; by which assiduity besides an exact dispatch of the whole course of philosophy, he

⁴ *Too much usual.*] "To such an absolute authority were the names and writings of some men advanced by their diligent followers, that not to yield obedience to their *ipse dixits*, was a crime unpardonable.

"It is true king James observed the inconvenience, and prescribed a remedy, sending *Instructions to the Universities*, bearing date Jan. 18, anno 1616, wherein it was directed amongst other things, that *young students in divinity should be excited to study such books as were most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England; and to bestow their time in the Fathers and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories, and Controversies; and not to insist too long upon Compendiums and Abbreviators, making them the grounds of their study.* And I conceive that from that time forwards the names and reputations of some leading men of the *Foreign Churches*, which till then carried all before them, did begin to lessen; divines growing daily more willing to free themselves from that servitude and vassalage, to which the authority of those names had enslaved their judgments.—About those times it was, that I began my studies in divinity; and thought no course so proper and expedient for me, as the way commended by king James For though I had a good respect both to the memory of Luther, and the name of Calvin; as those whose writings had awakened all these parts of Europe out of the ignorance and superstition under which they suffered; yet I always took them to be men: men as obnoxious unto error, as subject unto human frailty, and as indulgent too to their own opinions, as any others whatsoever." Heylin's *Sum of Christian Theology*, in the address to the reader. 1673. folio. Compare also above, *Life of Bishop Hall*, p. 297, note.

read over in a manner all classic authors that are extant ; and upon the more considerable wrote, as he passed, *scholia* and critical emendations, and drew up indexes for his private use at the beginning and end of each book : all which remain at this time, and testify his indefatigable pains to as many as have perused his library.

In the year 1633, the reverend Dr. Frewen⁵, the then president of his college, now lord arch-bishop of York, gave him the honour to supply one of his courses at the court ; where the right honourable the earl of Leicester⁶ happened to be an auditor. He was so deeply affected with the sermon, and took so just a measure of the merit of the preacher thence, that the rectory of Penshurst⁷ being at that time void, and in his gift, he immediately offered him the presentation : which being accepted, he was inducted on the 22 of August in the same year ; and thenceforth from the scholastic retirements of an university life, applied himself to the more busy entertainments of a rural privacy, and what some have called the being buried in a living : and being to leave the house, he thought not fit to take that advantage of his place, which from sacrilege, or selling of the founder's charity, was by custom grown to be prudence and good husbandry.

In the discharge of his ministerial function, he satisfied not himself in diligent and constant preaching only ; (a performance wherein some of late have fancied all religion to consist) but much more conceived himself obliged to the offering up the solemn daily sacrifice of prayer for his people, administering the sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hospitality, reconciling of differences amongst neighbours, visiting the sick, catechizing the youth.

As to the first of these, his *preaching*, it was not at the ordinary rate of the times⁸, an unpremeditated, undigested effusion

⁵ *Frewen.*] Accepted Frewen, dean of Gloucester, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, August 17, 1643 ; archbishop of York, September 22, 1660 ; died, March 28, 1664.

⁶ *Leicester.*] Robert Sydney, second earl of Leicester.

⁷ *Penshurst.*] In Kent : the well-known seat of the Sydneys.

⁸ *Rate of the times.*] Of Hammond's friend the learned Dr. Edward Pocock, the ornament and pride of his country, especially as an orientalist, we are told by his biographer, that as he avoided in his preaching "The shews and ostentations of learning ; so he would not, by any means, indulge himself in the practice of those arts, which *at that time* were very common, and much admired by ordinary people. Such were distortions of

of shallow and crude conceptions; but a rational and just discourse, that was to teach the priest as well as the lay-hearer. His method was (which likewise he recommended to his friends) after every sermon to resolve upon the ensuing subject; that being done, to pursue the course of study which he was then in hand with, reserving the close of the week for the provision for the next Lord's-day. Whereby not only a constant progress was made in science, but materials unawares were gained unto the immediate future work: for, he said, be the subjects treated of never so distant, somewhat will infallibly fall in conducive unto the present purpose.

The offices of *prayer* he had in his church, not only upon the Sundays and festivals and their eves, as also Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the appointment of the rubric: (which strict duty and administration when it is examined to the bottom will prove the greatest objection against the liturgy; as that which, besides its own trouble and austerity, leaves no leisure for factious and licentious meetings at fairs and markets) but every day⁹ in the week, and twice on Saturdays, and holy-day eves: for his assistance wherein he kept a curate, and allowed him a comfortable salary. And at those devotions he took order that his family should give diligent and exemplary attendance: which was the easilier performed, it being guided by his mother a woman of ancient virtue, and one to whom he paid a more than filial obedience.

As to the *administration of the Sacrament*, he reduced it to an imitation, though a distant one, of primitive frequency, to once a month, and therewith its anciently inseparable appendant, the offertory: wherein his instruction and happily-insinuating exam-

the countenance and strange gestures, a violent and unnatural way of speaking, and *affected words and phrases*, which being out of the ordinary way, were therefore supposed to express somewhat very mysterious, and in a high degree spiritual . . .

"His care not to amuse his hearers, with things which they could not understand, gave some of them occasion to entertain very contemptible thoughts of his learning, and to speak of him accordingly. So that one of his Oxford friends, as he travelled through Childry, enquiring, for his diversion, of some people, who was their minister, and how they liked him, received from them this answer, *Our parson is one Mr. Pocock, a plain, honest man; but Master, said they, he is no Latiner.*" *Twell's Life of Dr. Edward Pocock*, prefixed to Pocock's *Theological Works*, p. 22.

⁹ *But every day.*] Compare above, *Life of Herbert*, vol. iv. p. 38.

ple so far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the poor. Nay, (if the report of a sober person, born and bred up in that parish, be to be believed) in short time a stock was raised to be always ready for the apprenticing of young children, whose parents' condition made the provision for them an equal charity to both the child and parent. And after this there yet remained a surplusage for the assistance of the neighbour parishes.

For the *relief of the poor*, besides the forementioned expedient, wherein others were sharers with him, unto his private charity, the dedicating the tenth of all receipts, and the alms daily given at the door, he constantly set apart over and above every week a certain rate in money: and however rarely his own rent-days occurred, the indigent had two and fifty quarter-days returning in his year. Yet farther, another act of charity he had, the selling corn to his poor neighbours at a rate below the market-price: which though, as he said, he had reason to do, gaining thereby the charge of portage, was a great benefit to them, who besides the abatement of price, and possibly forbearance, saved thereby a day's work.

He that was thus liberal to the necessitous poor, was no less *hospitable* to those of better quality: and as at other times he frequently invited his neighbours to his table, so more especially on Sundays; which seldom past at any time without bringing some of them his guests: but here beyond the weekly treatments, the Christmas festival had a peculiar allowance to support it. He knew well how much the application at the table enforced the doctrines of the pulpit, and how subservient the endearing of his person was to the recommending his instructions; how far upon these motives our Saviour thought fit to eat with publicans and sinners; and how effectual the loaves were to the procuring of disciples.

In accordance to which his generous freedom in alms and hospitality, he farther obliged his parishioners in the setting of their tithes and dues belonging to him; for though he very well understood how prone men are to give complaints in payment, and how little obligation there is on him that lets a bargain to consider the casual loss, who is sure never to share in a like surplusage of gain; yet herein he frequently departed from his right insomuch that having set the tithe of a large meadow, and upon agreement received part of the money at the beginning of the

year ; it happening that the profits were afterwards spoiled and carried away by a flood, he, when the tenant came to make his last payment, not only refused it, but returned the former sum, saying to the poor man, "God forbid I should take the tenth where you have not the nine parts."

As by public admonition he most diligently instilled that great and fundamental doctrine of peace and love, so did he likewise in his *private address and conversation*, being never at peace in himself, till he had procured it amongst his neighbours ; wherein God so blest him, that he not only attained his purpose of uniting distant parties unto each other, but, contrary to the usual fate of reconcilers, gained them to himself : there having been no person of his function any where better beloved than he when present, or lamented more when absent, by his flock. Of which tender and very filial affection, instead of more we may take two instances : the one, that he being driven away, and his books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them ¹ in his behalf, and preserved them for him till the end of the war ; the other, that during his abode at Penshurst he never had any vexatious law dispute about his dues, but had his tithes fully paid, and not of the most refuse parts, but generally the very best.

Though he judged the time of *sickness* an improper season for the great work of repentance ; yet he esteemed it a most useful preparative, the voice of God himself exhorting to it : and therefore not only when desired made his visits to all such as stood in need of those his charities, but prevented their requests by early and frequent coming to them. And this he was so careful of, that after his remove from Penshurst, being at Oxford, and hearing of the sickness of one of his parishioners, he from thence sent to him those instructions which he judged useful in that exigent, and which he could not give at nearer distance.

For the *institution of youth* in the rudiments of piety, his custom was during the warmer season of the year, to spend an hour before evening-prayer in *catechising*, whereat the parents and older sort were wont to be present, and from whence (as he with comfort was used to say) they reaped more benefit than from his sermons. Where it may not be superfluous to observe that he introduced no new form of catechism ², but adhered to

¹ *Bought them.*] Compare *Life of Bishop Hall*, above, p. 320.

² *No new form of catechism.*] The later years of queen Elizabeth, and the reign of king James, and, though in a less degree, that of king Charles, pro-

that of the church ; rendering it fully intelligible to the meanest capacities by his explanations. It may be useful withal to advert,

duced a vast multitude of catechisms, written by independent and unauthorized individuals, which, for the most part, were composed upon very narrow, and Calvinistical principles. In reference to some of these Dr. Thomas Jackson says, "In the mean time, I shall every day bless my Lord God, as for all others, so in particular for the great blessing bestowed upon me, that I was in a convenient age, in a happy time and place, presented by my sureties in baptism, to ratify the vow which they made for me, and to receive the benediction of the bishop of the diocese : being first instructed in the Church's Catechism, by the curate of the parish, from whose lips (though but a mere grammar scholar, and one that knew better how to read an Homily, or to understand Hemingius, or the Latin Postills, than to make a sermon, in English) I learned more good lessons, than I did from many popular sermons : and to this day remember more, than men of this time of greater years shall find in *many late applauded Catechisms*." And a little afterwards : "Albeit the reverend fathers of our church, and their suffragans, should use all possible care and diligence for performing of all that is on their parts required, yet without some *better conformity of Catechisms, and reformation of such as write them*, or preach doctrines conformable to them, there is small hope, that in such plenty of preachers, as now there are, this work of the Lord should prosper half so well, as it did in those times and in those dioceses, wherein there were scarce ten able preachers, besides the prebendaries of the cathedral church, under whose tuition in a manner the rest of the clergy were The writers then in most esteem were Melancthon, Bullinger, Hemingius (especially in Postills, and other *opuscula* of his,) or other writers, who were most conformable to the book of Homilies, which were weekly read upon severe penalty." Jackson's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 273. In like manner Wren, bishop of Ely, in his *Answer to the Articles of Impeachment*, exhibited against him [see p. 307, *ante*] in the year 1641, by the house of commons, for some alleged crimes and misdemeanours, saith, "That he did direct that the said catechizing should be according to the catechism of the church of England only, which catechism is by the law of the land in the rubrics of the service-book proposed as the rule of examination for the bishop to go by, and is the best form that ever was compiled for laying the foundation and grounds of religion in the hearts and minds of unlearned Christians. He considered also, *that the great variety of catechisms which every man did in former time thrust out at his pleasure*, did distract and corrupt the minds of the people, more than any thing else, sowing in them the seeds both of error and faction. And he conceived it an unreasonable thing, that in the church any catechizing should be publicly practised, but according to the catechism which the church of England in her liturgy alloweth. The due observation whereof was so far from *suppressing knowledge, or introducing ignorance*, that the defendant is humbly confident it produced the quite contrary effects. For some godly and laborious ministers (by name, as he remembereth, one Mr. Crackenthoyne [Crackenthorpe?], then parson of *Burton Magna* in Suffolk, and another of his diocese neighbour, with him, men otherwise unknown to this

that if in those times catechetical institution were very seasonable it will *now* be much more ; when principles have been exchanged for dreams of words and notions² ; if not for a worse season of profane contempt of Christian truth. But to return ; besides all this, that there might be no imaginable assistance wanting, he took care for the providing an able schoolmaster in the parish, which he continued during the whole time of his abode.

And as he thus laboured in the spiritual building up of souls, he was not negligent of the material fabric committed to his trust : but repaired with a very great expence (the annual charge of 100*l*.) his parsonage-house ; till from an incommodious ruin he had rendered it a fair and pleasant dwelling, with the adherent conveniences of gardens and orchards.

While he was thus busy on his charge, though he so prodigally laid out himself upon the interests of his flock, as he might seem to have nothing left for other purposes ; and his humility recommended above all things privacy and retirement to him : yet when the uses of the public called him forth, he readily obeyed the summons, and frequently preached both at St. Paul's Cross, and the visitations of his brethren the clergy, (a specimen whereof appears in print,) as also at the cathedral church of Chichester, where by the unsought-for favour of the reverend father in God, Brian⁴, then lord bishop of that see, since of Winchester, he had an interest, and had the dignity of arch-deacon : which at the beginning of the late troubles falling to him⁵, he managed with great zeal and prudence ; not only by all the charms of Christian

defendant) came to visit him, and told him, that they blessed God for the good, which upon half a year's experience they had found therein, professing that their people had sensibly profited more by this catechizing within that short space, for the true apprehending and understanding the grounds of religion, than they had done by their great and constant labours in preaching to them for some years before." Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 85.

² *Words and notions.*] "17 Sept. (1655.) On Sunday afternoon, I frequently stay'd at home to catechise and instruct my familie, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity, all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons and discourses of speculative and notional things." Evelyn's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 287. 1818.

⁴ *Brian.*] Brian Duppa, dean of Christ Church ; bishop of Chichester, June 12, 1638 ; bishop of Salisbury, 1641 ; bishop of Winchester, Sept. 10, 1660 ; died March 26, 1662.

⁵ *Falling to him.*] In the year 1643. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 66.

rhetoric persuading to obedience and union, but by the force of demonstration charging it as most indispensable duty, and (what was then not so readily believed) the greatest temporal interest of the inferior clergy : wherein the eminent importance of the truths he would inforce so far prevailed over his otherwise insuperable modesty, that in a full assembly of the clergy, as he afterwards confessed, he broke off from what he had premeditated, and out of the abundance of his heart spoke to his auditory ; and by the blessing of God, to which he attributed it, found a very signal reception.

In the year 1639 he proceeded doctor in divinity ; his seniority in the university and employment in the church and (what perchance was a more importunate motive) the desire of eleven of his friends and contemporaries in the same house, whom not to accompany might be interpreted an affected pride and singularity, at least an unkindness, jointly persuading him to it.

His performance in the act, where he answered the doctors, was to the equal satisfaction and wonder of his hearers ; a country-life usually contracting at the least an unreadiness to the dexterous management of those exercises, which was an effect undiscernible in him.

About this time he became a member of the convocation called with the short parliament in 1640 ; as after this he was named to be of the assembly of divines ; his invincible loyalty to his prince and obedience to his mother the church not being so valid arguments against his nomination, as the repute of his learning and virtue were on the other part, to have some title to him.

And now that conformity became a crime, and tumults improving into hostility and war, such a crime as had chastisements severe enough ; though the committee of the country summoned him before them, and used those their best arguments of persuasion, threatenings and reproaches, he still went on in his regular practice, and continued it till the middle of July 1643. At which time there being in his neighbourhood about Tunbridge an attempt in behalf of the king, and his doctrine and example having had that good influence, as it was supposed, to have made many more ready to the discharge of their duty ; it being defeated, the good doctor (the malice of one who designed to succeed in his living being withal assistant) was forced to secure himself by retirement ; which he did, withdrawing himself to his old tutor Dr. Buckner ; to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in

the morning, in such an habit as that exigence made necessary for him ; and whither not many days before his old friend and fellow-pupil Dr. Oliver came upon the same errand. Which accident, and the necessity to leave his flock, as the doctor afterwards frequently acknowledged, was that which did most affect him of any that he felt in his whole life : amidst which, though he was no valuer of trifles, or any thing that looked like such, he had so extraordinary a dream, that he could not then despise, nor ever afterwards forget it.

It was thus. He thought himself and a multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and cheerful day, when on a sudden there seemed a separation to be made, and he with the far less number to be placed at a distance from the rest ; and then the clouds gathering, a most tempestuous storm arose, with thundering and lightnings, with spouts of impetuous rain, and violent gusts of wind, and whatever else might add unto a scene of horror ; particularly balls of fire that shot themselves among the ranks of those that stood in the lesser party ; when a gentle whisper seemed to interrupt those other louder noises, saying, " Be still, and ye shall receive no harm." Amidst these terrors the doctor falling to his prayers, soon after the tempest ceased, and that known cathedral anthem began, *Come, Lord Jesus, come away* ; with which he awoke. The correspondent event of all which he found verified signally in the preservation both of himself and his friends, in doing of their duties ; the which with much content he was used to mention. Beside, being himself taken to the quires of angels at the close of that land hurricane of ours, whereof that dismal apparition was only a faint emblem, he gave thereby too literal a completion to his dream, and the unhappy credit of bordering upon prophecy.

In this retirement the two doctors remained about three weeks, till an alarm was brought that a strict enquiry was made for doctor Hammond, and 100*l.* promised as a reward for him that should produce him. Which suggestion though they easily apprehended to have a possibility of being false, yet they concluded a necessary ground for their remove.

Upon this they resolve to be gone ; and Dr. Oliver having an interest in Winchester, which was then in the king's quarters, they chose that as the next place of their retreat. But being on the way thither, Dr. Oliver, who had sent his servant before to make provision for them, was met and saluted with the news that

doctor Frewen, president of Magdalen college, was made bishop of Litchfield, and that the college had pitched upon him as successor. This unlooked-for accident (as justly it might) put doctor Oliver to new counsels ; and since Providence had found out so seasonable a relief, inclined him not to desert it, but fly rather to his preferments and advantage, than merely to his refuge, and so to divert to Oxford. To this Dr. Hammond made much difficulty to assent, thinking that too public a place, and, what he more considered, too far from his living, whither (his desires strongly inclining him) he had hopes (when the present fury was allayed) to return again ; and to that purpose had written to such friends of his as were in power, to use their interest for the procuring his security. But his letters meeting a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deserting him on the other hand, charming him to it, he was at last persuaded ; and encompassing Hampshire, with some difficulty came to Oxford ; where procuring an apartment in his old college, he sought that peace in his retirement and study which was no where else to be met withal ; taking no other diversion than what the giving encouragement and instruction to ingenious young students yielded him, (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted) and the satisfaction which he received from the conversation of learned men, who, besides the usual store, in great number at that time for their security resorted thither.

Among the many eminent persons with whom he here conversed, he had particular intimacy with Dr. Potter, provost of Queen's college, to whom, among other fruits of his studies, he communicated his Practical Catechism, which for his private use he had drawn up. The provost, much taken with the design, and no less with the performance, importuned him to make it public ; alleging, in that lawless age the great use of supplanting the empty form of godliness which so prevailed, by substituting of its real power and sober duties ; of silencing prophaneness, which then usurped the names of wit and gallantry, by enforcing the more eligible acts of the Christian's reasonable service ; which was not any other way so happily to be done as by beginning at the foundation by sound, and yet not trivial, catechetic institution.

It was not hard to convince Dr. Hammond that it were well if some such thing were done ; but that his writing would do this

in any measure, or that he should suffer his name to become public, it was impossible to persuade him. The utmost he could be brought to allow of was, that his treatise was not likely to do harm, but had possibilities of doing (it might be) some good, and that it would not become him to deny that service to the world; especially if his modesty might be secured from pressure by the concealing of him to be the author. And this doctor Potter, that he might leave no subterfuge, undertook, and withal the whole care of, and besides the whole charge of the edition. Upon these terms, only with this difference, that doctor Hammond would not suffer the provost to be at the entire charge, but went an equal share with him, the *Practical Catechism* saw the light, and likewise the author remained in his desired obscurity.

But in the mean time the book finding the reception which it merited⁶, the good doctor was by the same arguments constrained to give way to the publishing of several other tracts which he had written upon heads that were then most perverted by popular error, as of *Conscience*, of *Scandal*, of *Will-worship*, of *Resisting the lawful Magistrate*, and of the *Change of Church Government*; his name all this while concealed, and so preserved, till curiosity improving its guesses into confident asseverations, he was rumoured for the author, and as such published to the world by the London and Cambridge stationers, who without his knowledge reprinted those and other of his works.

In the interim a treaty being laboured by his majesty, to compose (if it were possible) the unhappy differences in church and state, and in order thereunto the duke of Richmond and earl of Southampton being sent to London, doctor Hammond went along

⁶ *Which it merited.*] "King Charles I. in his last instructions to his children, recommended this among other eminent books, as a most safe and sound guide in religion: and his choice has been fully approved by his subjects. We see that while other institutions of Christian religion are in vogue for a time, and afterwards become antiquated and neglected, this rather grows than decays in its reputation, being composed with such solid learning, judgment, and piety, as will always endear it to serious persons of every rank and condition."—Life of Dr. Hammond, prefixed to the *Practical Catechism*. "I also remember," (says Whiston, in the *Memoirs of his own Life*, vol. i. p. 10) "what my father told me; that after the restoration, almost all profession of seriousness in religion would have been laughed out of countenance, under pretence of the hypocrisy of the former times, had not two very excellent and serious books, written by eminent royalists, put some stop to it: I mean *The whole Duty of Man*; and Dr. Hammond's *Practical Catechism*."

as chaplain to them, where with great zeal and prudence he laboured to undeceive those seduced persons whom he had opportunity to converse with: and when the treaty was solemnly appointed at Uxbridge⁷, several divines being sent thither in behalf of the different parties, he, among other excellent men that adhered to the king, was made choice of to assist in that employment. And there (not to mention the debates between the commissioners, which were long since published by an honourable hand) doctor Steward and master Henderson were at first only admitted to dispute; though at the second meeting the other divines were called in: which thing was a surprize, and designed for such, to those of the king's part, who came as chaplains and private attendants on the lords, but was before projected and prepared for by those of the presbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of doctor Hammond to have master Vines for his antagonist, who, instead of tendering a scholastic disputation, read from a paper a long divinity lecture, wherein were interwoven several little cavils and exceptions, which were meant for arguments. Doctor Hammond perceiving this, drew forth his pen and ink, and as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then immediately returned in order an answer to the several suggestions, which were about forty in number: which he did with that readiness and sufficiency as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he asserted; which, amidst the disadvantage of *extempore* against premeditation, dispelled with ease and perfect clearness all the sophisms that had been brought against him.

It is not the present work to give an account of that whole dispute, or character the merits of those worthy persons who were engaged in it, either in that or the succeeding meetings; especially since it was resolved by both parties that the transactions of neither side should be made public. But notwithstanding this, since divers persons addicted to the defence of a side, without any further consideration of truth or common honesty, have in this particular wounded the doctor's reputation, I shall take leave to say, that had the victories in the field, which were managed by the sword, been like this of the chamber and the tongue, a very easy act of oblivion must have atoned for them; since what never was, without much industry might be secured from being remembered. The impudent falsity raised upon the

⁷ At Uxbridge.] See Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, book viii.

doctor was this, that Mr. Vines utterly silenced him ; insomuch that he was fain to use this unheard-of stratagem to avoid his adversary's demonstration, to swear by God and the holy angels, that though at present a solution did not occur to him, he could answer it. Concerning this we have the doctor's own account in a letter of his, bearing date Jan. 22, ann. 1655, directed to a friend who had advertised him of this report.

"I have formerly been told within these few years that there went about a story much to my disparagement, concerning the dispute at Uxbridge (for there it was, not at Holdenby) with Mr. Vines ; but what it was I could never hear before : now I do, I can, I think, truly affirm, that no one part of it hath any degree of truth, save only that Mr. Vines did dispute against, and I defend, episcopacy. For as to the argument mentioned, I did never then, nor at any time of my life, (that I can remember) ever hear it urged by any. And for my pretended answer, I am both sure that I never called God and his holy angels to witness any thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary oath that I know of, (and sure there was then none imposed on me) and that I was not at that meeting conscious to myself of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or pressed with any considerable difficulty, or forced by any consideration to wave the answer of any thing objected. A story of that whole affair I am yet able to tell you, but I cannot think it necessary. Only this I may add, that after it I went to Mr. Marshall in my own and brethren's name, to demand three things : 1. Whether any argument proposed by them remained unanswered, to which we might yield farther answer ? 2. Whether they intended to make any report of the past disputation ; offering, if they would, to join with them in it, and to perfect a conference by mutual consent, after the manner of that between Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hart⁸ ? both which being rejected, the 3d was, to promise each other that nothing should be afterwards published by either without the consent or knowledge of the other party. And that last he promised for himself and his brethren, and so we parted."

But while these things were in doing, a canonry in Christ church in Oxford became vacant, which the king immediately bestowed⁹ on doctor Hammond, though then absent ; whom like-

⁸ *And Mr. Hart.*] See above, *Life of Hooker*, vol. iii. p. 466, note.

⁹ *Immediately bestowed.*] This was in the year 1644. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 234.

wise the university chose their public orator : which preferments, though collated so freely, and in a time of exigence, he was with much difficulty wrought upon by his friends to accept, as minding nothing so much as a return to his old charge at Penshurst. But the impossibility of a sudden opportunity of going thither being evident unto him, he at last accepted ; and was soon after made chaplain in ordinary to his majesty.

But these new employments no way diverted him from his former tasks ; for, according to his wonted method, he continued to address remedies to the increasing mischiefs of the times, and published the tracts of *Superstition, Idolatry, Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness, Death-bed Repentance, View of the Directory* ; as also in answer to a Romanist, who, taking advantage of the public ruin, hoped to erect thereon trophies to the Capitol, his *Vindication of the Lord Falkland*, who was not long before fallen in another kind of war.

But now the king's affairs declining every where, and Oxford being forced upon articles to surrender to the enemy, where after the expiration of six months all things were to be left to the lust and fury of a servile, and therefore insolent, conqueror ; though he foresaw a second and more fatal siege approaching, a leaguer of encamped inevitable mischiefs, yet he remitted nothing of his wonted industry, writing his tracts of *Fraternal Correction*, and *Power of the Keys*, and *Apologies by Letter* against the pulpit calumnies of Mr. Cheynel, and the exceptions taken at his *Practical Catechism*.

In the mean time his sacred majesty, sold by his Scottish into the hands of his English subjects, and brought a prisoner to Holdenby, where, stripped of all his royal attendants, and denied that common charity which is afforded the worst of malefactors, the assistance of divines¹, though he with importunity desired it, he being taken from the parliament commissioners into the possession of the army, at last obtained that kindness from them²,

¹ *The assistance of divines.*] Compare *Icon Basilikè*, chap. xxiv. *Upon their denying his majesty the attendance of his chaplains.*

² *That kindness from them.*] See Baxter's *Life and Times*, part i. p. 60. "While the king was at Hampton Court the mutable hypocrites first pretended an extraordinary care of his honour, liberty, safety, and conscience. They blamed the *austerity of the parliament*, who had denied him the attendance of his own chaplains, and of his friends in whom he took most pleasure. They gave liberty for his friends and chaplains to come to him : they pre-

(who were to be cruel at another rate) which was withheld by the two houses, and was permitted the service of some few of his chaplains, whom he by name had sent for, and among them of doctor Hammond.

Accordingly the good doctor attended on his master in the several removes of Woburn, Caversham, and Hampton Court, as also thence into the Isle of Wight, where he continued till Christmas 1647; at which time his majesty's attendants were again put from him, and he amongst the rest.

Sequestered from this his melancholic but most desired employment, he returned again to Oxford; where being chosen sub-dean, an office to which belongs much of the scholastic government of the college, and soon after proved to be the whole, (the dean³, for the guilt of asserting the rights of his majesty and the university in his station of vice-chancellor, being made a prisoner,) he undertook the entire management of all affairs, and discharged it with great sufficiency and admirable diligence, leaving his beloved studies to interest himself not only in moderating at divinity disputations, which was then an immediate part of his task, but in presiding at the more youthful exercises of sophistry, themes, and declamations; redeeming still at night these vacancies of the day, scarce ever going to bed till after midnight, sometimes not till three in the morning, and yet certainly rising to prayers at five.

Nor did his inspection content itself in looking to the general performances of duty, but descended to an accurate survey of

tended that they would save him from the incivilities of the parliament and Presbyterians. Whether this were while they tried what terms they could make with him for themselves, or while they acted any other part: it is certain that the king's old adherents began to extol the army, and to speak against the Presbyterians more distastefully than before. When the parliament offered the king propositions for concord, (which Vane's faction made as high and unreasonable as they could, that they might come to nothing) the army forsooth offer him proposals of their own, which the king liked better: but which of them to treat with he did not know. *At last, on the sudden* the judgment of the army changed, and they began to cry for justice against the king; and with vile hypocrisy, to publish their repentance, and to cry God mercy for their kindness to the king, and confess *that they were under a temptation*: but in all this, Cromwell and Ireton, and the rest of the council of war appeared not: the instruments of all this work must be the common soldiers."

³ *The dean.*] Dr. Samuel Fell, father of bishop Fell, the author of this *Life of Dr. Hammond*. See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 102.

every one's both practice and ability ; so that this large society of scholars appeared his private family, he scarce leaving any single person without some mark or other of both his charity and care, relieving the necessitous in their several wants of money and of books, shaming the vicious to sobriety, encouraging the ingenious to diligence, and finding stratagems to ensnare the idle to a love of study. But above all he endeavoured to prepare his charge for the reception of the impending persecution, that they might adorn their profession, and not at the same time suffer for a cause of righteousness, and as evil-doers.

To this end he both admitted and solemnly invited all sober persons to his familiarity and converse ; and besides that, received them to his weekly private office of fasting and humiliation.

But now the long-expected ruin breaking in with its full weight and torrent, the visitors ⁴ chafed with their former disappointments and delays, coming with hunters' stomachs, and design to boot, for to seize first and then devour the prey, by a new method of judicature being to kill and then take possession, the excellent doctor became involved in the general calamity. And whereas the then usual law of expulsion was immediately to banish into the wide world by beat of drum enjoining to quit the town within 24 hours, upon pain of being taken and used as spies, and not to allow the unhappy exiles time for the dispose either of their private affairs, or stating the accounts of their respective colleges or pupils ; the reverend doctor Sheldon ⁵, now lord bishop of London, and dean of his majesty's chapel royal, and doctor Hammond, were submitted to a contrary fate, and by an order from a committee of parliament were restrained and voted to be prisoners in that place, from which all else were so severely driven. But such was the authority and command of exemplary virtue, that the person designed to succeed in the canonry of Christ church, though he had accepted of the place at London, and done his exercise for it at Oxford, acting as public orator in flattering there the then-pretending chancellor, yet he had not courage to pursue

⁴ *The visitors.*] For a full account of the Oxford Visitation, see Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i. p. 122—44. Wood's *Hist. and Antiquities*, &c. vol. ii. p. 501—618. 4to. edit. Ayliffe's *Antient and present state of the University of Oxford*, vol. i. p. 213—39.

⁵ *Sheldon.*] Gilbert Sheldon, prebendary of Gloucester ; bishop of London, October 23, 1660 ; archbishop of Canterbury July 14, 1663 ; died November 9, 1677.

his undertaking, but voluntarily relinquished that infamous robbery, and adhered to a less scandalous one in the country. And then the officer who was commanded to take doctor Sheldon and him into custody upon their designed removal, colonel Evelin, then governor of Wallingford-castle, (though a man of as opposite principles to church and churchmen as any of the adverse party) wholly declined the employment, solemnly protesting, that if they came to him they should be entertained as friends, and not as prisoners.

But these remorsees proved but of little effect ; the prebend of Christ Church being suddenly supplied by a second choice, and Oxford itself being continued the place of their confinement : where accordingly the good doctor remained, though he were demanded by his majesty to attend him in the Isle of Wight at the treaty there, which then was again reinforced. The pretence upon which both he and the reverend doctor Sheldon were refused was, that they were prisoners ; and probably the gaining that was the cause why they were so. But notwithstanding the denial of a personal attendance, the excellent prince required that assistance which might consist with absence, and at this time sent for a copy of that sermon which almost a year before he had heard preached in that place. The which sermon his majesty, and thereby the public, received with the accession of several others delivered upon various occasions.

Doctor Hammond having continued about ten weeks in his restraint in Oxford, where he began to actuate his design of writing *Annotations* on the New Testament, (nor was it disproportionate that those sacred volumes, a great part of which was written in bonds, should be first commented upon by the very parallel suffering, and that the work itself should be so dedicated, and the expositor fitted for his task by being made like the author) by the interposition of his brother-in-law, sir John Temple, he had licence granted to be removed to a more acceptable confinement, to Clapham in Bedfordshire, the house in which his worthy friend sir Philip Warwick lived. Where soon after his arrival, that horrid mockery of justice, the rape and violence of all that is sacred, made more abominable by pretending to right and piety, the trial of the king, drew on ; and he being in no other capacity to interpose than by writing, drew up an *Address* to the general and council of officers, and transmitted it to them. And when that unexampled VILLAINY found this excuse, that it was such

as could be pleaded for, and men in cool blood would dare to own and justify, he affixed his Reply to the suggestions of Ascham and Goodwin. And now, although he indulged to his just and almost infinite griefs, which were transported to the utmost bounds of sober passion, the affectionate personal respect he bore unto that glorious victim being added to the detestation due unto the guilt itself, of which no man was more sensible than he, who had strange antipathies to all sin, he gave not up himself to an unactive dull amazement, but with the redoubled use of fasting, tears, and solemn prayer, he resumed his wonted studies; and besides his fitting the *Annotations* for the press, and his little tract of the *Reasonableness of Christian Religion*, he now composed his Latin one against Blondel in the behalf of episcopacy. As to the first of which, (his *Annotations*,) the manner of its birth and growth was thus:

Having written in Latin two large volumes in quarto of the way of interpreting the New Testament, with reference to the customs of the Jews and of the first heretics in the Christian church, and of the heathens, especially in the Grecian games, and above all the importance of the Hellenistical dialect, into which he had made the exactest search (by which means in a manner he happened to take in all the difficulties of that sacred book :) he began to consider that it might be more useful to the English reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language and set every observation in its natural order, according to the guidance of the text. And having some years before collated several Greek copies of the New Testament, observed the variation of our English from the original, and made an entire translation of the whole for his private use; being thus prepared, he cast his work into that form in which it now appears. The reasons of it need not to be here inserted, being set down by his own pen in his preface to his *Annotations*.

The tractate against Blondel grew to its last form and constitution by not unlike degrees, having a very different occasion from the last performance. The immediate antecedent cause is owned, and long ago presented to the world in that writing; the more remote original is as follows. The late most learned primate of Armagh having received from David Blondel a letter of exception against his edition of Ignatius, he communicated it to doctor Hammond, desiring his sense of several passages therein contained, relating to the Valentinian heresy, episcopal and chor-

episcopal power, and some emergent difficulties concerning them, from the canons of several Eastern councils. To all this the doctor wrote a peculiar answer, promising a fuller account if it would be useful. Upon the receipt whereof the archbishop being highly satisfied, returned his thanks, and laid hold of the promise; which being accordingly discharged, became the provision (and gave materials) to a great part of the dissertations. The primate's letter ran in these words:

"I have read with great delight and content your accurate Answer to the Objections made against the credit of Ignatius's Epistles, for which I do most heartily thank you, and am moved thereby farther to intreat you to publish to the world in Latin what you have already written in English against this objector, and that other, who for your pains hath rudely requitted you with the base appellation of *Nebulo* for the assertion of episcopacy: to the end it may no longer be credited abroad that these two have so beaten down this calling, that the defence thereof is now deserted by all men, as by Lud. Capellus is intimated in his thesis of church government, at Sedan lately published; which I leave unto your serious consideration, and all your godly labours to the blessing of our good God, in whom I evermore rest,

"Your very loving friend
and brother,

"*Reygate in Surrey,*
July 21, 1649."

"JA. ARMACHANUS."

Now in this request the archbishop was so concerned, that he reinforced it by another letter of Aug. 30, and congratulated the performance by a third of Jan. 14. Both which, though very worthy to see the public light, are yet forborne, as several of the like kind from the reverend fathers and bishops of this, and our sister churches, as also from the most eminent for piety and learning of our own and the neighbouring nations: which course is taken not only in accordance to the desires and sentiments of the excellent doctor, who hated every thing that looked like ostentation; but likewise to avoid the very displeasing choice, either to take the trouble of recounting all the doctor's correspondencies, or bear the envy of omitting some.

But to return to the present task and that of the good doctor, which now was to perfect his Commentaries on the New Testa-

ment, and finish the Dissertations : amidst which cares he met with another of a more importunate nature, the loss of his dear mother, which had this unhappy accession, that in her sickness he could not be permitted, by reason of his being concerned in the proclamation that banished those that adhered to the king twenty miles from London, to visit her ; nor while she paid her latest debt to nature, to pay his earlier one of filial homage and attendance.

A few months after, the rigour of that restraint with the declining of the year (a season judged less commodious for enterprise) being taken off, he removed into Worcestershire, to Westwood, the house of the eminently loyal sir John Pakington ; where being settled and proceeding in the edition of those his labours which he had begun at Clapham, his majesty coming to Worcester, by his neighbourhood to that place, the good doctor, as he had the satisfaction personally to attend his sovereign, and the honour to receive a letter from his own hand of great importance, for the satisfaction of his loyal subjects concerning his adherence to the established religion of the church of England, wherein his royal father lived a saint and died a martyr ; so likewise had he on the other part the most immediate agonies for his defeat ; to which was added the calamity which fell upon the family where he dwelt, from the persecution and danger of the generous master of it. But it pleased God to give an issue out of both those difficulties, especially in the miraculous deliverance⁶ of his sacred majesty : a dispensation of so signal an importance, that he allowed it a solemn recognition in his constant offices during his whole life, receiving that unusual interposition of Providence as a pledge from heaven of an arrier of mercies ; to use his own words, "That God who had thus powerfully rescued him from Egypt, would not suffer him to perish in the wilderness ; but though his passage be through the Red Sea, he would at last bring him into Canaan ; that he should come out of his tribulations as gold out of the fire, purified, but not consumed."

But notwithstanding these reflexions, bottomed upon piety and reliance upon heaven, the present state of things had a quite different prospect in common eyes ; and the generality of men thinking their religion as troublesome a burthen as their loyalty,

⁶ *Miraculous deliverance.*] See *True Narrative and Relation of his most Sacred Majesty's Escape from Worcester, on the 3d Sept. 1651, till his Arrival at Paris.* *Harleian Miscellany, &c.*

with the same prudence by which they changed their mild and gracious sovereign for a bloody TYRANT, began to seek a pompous and imperious church abroad, instead of a pious and afflicted one at home. To which event the Roman missionaries' gave their liberal contribution, affording their preposterous charity to make them proselytes who had no mind to be confessors or martyrs.

⁷ *Roman missionaries.*] It seems a fact beyond dispute, that the evils of these unhappy times were inflamed and aggravated by the machinations of many Romish incendiaries; and that especially under the disguise of fanatics and agitators. In *Foxes and Firebrands, or a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Separation*, the following anecdote is related, in which Dr. Hammond bore a part.

"Mr. John Croke, sometime bookseller in St. Paul's church-yard, at the *Ship*, in London, and since stationer and printer to his most serene majesty in Dublin, told this story following unto Sir James Ware, knight, now deceased.

"Anno 1656, the reverend divine Dr. Henry Hammond, being one day in the next shop to this said John Croke's, and there reading the works of St. Ambrose, a red-coat casually came in, and looked over this divine's shoulder, and there read the Latin as perfect as himself, which caused the doctor to admire that a red-coat should attain to that learning. Then speaking unto him, he demanded how he came to that science? The red-coat replied, 'By the Holy Spirit.' The doctor hereupon replied, 'I will try thee further:' and so called for a Greek author, which this red-coat not only read, but construed. The doctor to try him further called for the Hebrew Bible; and so for several other books, in which this red-coat was very expert. At last the doctor, recollecting with himself, called for a Welsh Bible, and said, 'If thou beest inspired, read me this book, and construe it.' But the red-coat being at last caught, replied, 'I have given thee satisfaction enough: I will not satisfy thee further; for thou wilt not believe, though an angel came from heaven.' The doctor smelling out the deceit, caused the apprentice to go for a constable; who being brought to the shop, the doctor told the constable he had something to say against this red-coat; and bade him bring him before Oliver Cromwell, then called the lord protector. The red-coat being brought to White Hall, and examined, he, after a rustic manner, *thoued* and *theed* Oliver: but being suspected, it was demanded, where he quartered. It being found out, at the Devil Tavern, the doctor intreated his chamber might be searched: where they found an old chest filled partly with his wearing apparel, as also with several papers, and seditious popish books; amongst which there being a pair of boots, and papers stuck in one of them, they found a parchment *bull of licence* to this impostor, granted under several names, *to assume what function or calling he pleased*. These being brought before Oliver; for what reasons it is unknown, yet the red-coat escaped; bringing several proofs of what great service he had done: and the greatest affliction which was laid on him, was banishment: and what proceeded further we know not." *Foxes, &c.*, part ii. p. 101, edit. 1682. See also, in vol. iii. of this work, *Life of Jewel*, p. 366.

Hereupon the doctor thought it highly seasonable to write his tract of *Schism*, and oppose it to that most popular topic whereby they amused and charmed their fond disciples. And whereas the love of novelty prevailed in several other instances, as in controlling the use and authority of the Scripture, defending incestuous marriages, polygamy, divorce, the anabaptizing of infants, the schismatical ordination of ministers by mere presbyters, and the disuse of the festivals of the church ; he applied his antidotes to each : by which means he made himself the common mark of opposition to all parties. For (besides the assaults from a whole class of antagonists which the Dissertations had engaged against him, and to which he was preparing his defence,) upon the Romanists' part he was charged by the Catholic Gentleman and his armour-bearer S. W. ; on the presbyterian account by Mr. Gawdry and Mr. Jeanes ; and in the behalf of the independents and anabaptists by master Owen and master Tombs : not to mention several others that sought themselves a name by being his gainsayers, but failed of their purpose by bringing only spite and passion into the quarrel, and so were to be answered only by pity and silence.

Nor did he only stand and keep at bay this multiplied contest, but (as if this had not been task enough) besides the intercurrent offices of life, his reception of visits, answering of letters, his constant preaching and catechising, he found leisure to write his tract of *Fundamentals*, his *Parænesis*, his *Review of the Annotations* ; and amidst all, to be in debt to his importunate antagonists for nothing but their railing, leaving that the only thing unanswered. Nay more than so, brought several of them even under their own hands to recognize their sense of their undue procedure used by them unto him : which their acknowledgments yet remain, and are producible upon occasion.

And would to God he had met no other opposition ; for in entrance on these conflicts that strength of body which before had faithfully attended his indefatigable mind began to fail him, and those four torments of disease, which single have been judged a competent trial of human sufferance, the stone, the gout, the cholic, and the cramp, (the last of which was to him as tyrannous as any of the former) became in a manner the constant exercise of his Christian fortitude and patience ; affording him from this time to the end of his life very rare and short intervals of vigorous health.

But among all his labours, although polemic discourses were otherwise most uneasy, as engaging to converse with men in passion, a thing he naturally abhorred, his *Parænesis*, a persuasive and practical tract (which now he wrote, and which upon that account was exceeding agreeable to his desires) cost him most throes and pangs of birth, as having been penned first in tears, and then in ink. For however with great serenity he entertained all other accidents, having habituated himself to his beloved doctrine of submitting not to the will of God alone, but to his wisdom, both which he was used to say were perfectly one thing in that blest agent (and accordingly in the most dismal appearance of event made this his constant motto, *נֶם זֶו לטובה* *Even this for good*) ; yet in this instance the tenderness of his soul seemed to have melted his resolution : the occasion of that treatise being the interdict^s of Jan. 1655, which disabled the

^s *The interdict.*] That declaration, so far as it concerned the clergy, was in these words.

“His highness, by the advice of his council, doth also publish, declare, and order, that as no person, or persons aforesaid, do, from and after the first day of January, 1655, keep in their houses or families, as chaplains, or school-masters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster : nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against, &c. And that no person, who for delinquency or scandal, hath been sequestered or ejected, shall, from and after the first day of January aforesaid, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family : nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord’s supper, or marry any persons, or use the book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, upon pain that every person so offending, in any of the premises shall be proceeded against as by the said orders is provided and directed.” But the extreme cruelty of this declaration seems to have prevented its being long and generally enforced. See Walker’s *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i. p. 194. In reference to this interdict the following anecdote is told in Parr’s *Life of Archbishop Ussher*, p. 75. “According to the desires of many of the episcopal clergy, he went, and used his utmost endeavours with Cromwell, for the taking off this restraint, which was at last promised (though with some difficulty), that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government. But when the lord primate went to him a second time, to get this promise ratified, and put into writing, he found him under his chirurgeon’s hands, who was dressing a great boil which he had on his breast. So Cromwell prayed the lord primate to sit down a little ; and that, when he was dressed, he would speak with him. Whilst this was a doing, Cromwell said to the lord primate, *If this core* (pointing to the boil) *were once out I should quickly be well.* To which the good bishop replied, *I doubt the core lies deeper. There is a core*

loyal suffering clergy from doing any ministerial act; which he resented with the highest passion; not only upon the general account of God's more immediate displeasure to the nation legible therein, but (what he had much less reason to do) in reference to his own particular; he looking on this dispensation of Providence as God's pronouncing him unworthy to do him service, "the reproaching" (to use his own words) "his former unprofitableness, by casting him out as straw to the dunghill." Nor should any consideration that terminated on himself have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous injunction, had not charity to the family where he was, made him content to admit of an expedient that secured all real duties, whilst he for some short time forbore that attendance on the altar which was the very joy of his life.

And now, though his physicians had earnestly forbidden his accustomed fastings, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice, yet he resumed his rigours, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted no exception, which should not be outlived, but that it became men to be martyrs too, and deprecate even in death.

While he thus earnestly implored the aids of heaven, and exhorted unto present duty, he omitted not a third expedient, by securing a succession to the church, thereby to preserve its future being. And this he did not only in reference to the superior order of episcopacy, which it has pleased God now to secure by another more gracious method of his favour, and even miraculous goodness; but also in the inferior attendance on the altar: the latter of which as it was an enterprise suiting well with his heroic mind, so was it no way answering his narrow fortunes. The thing in his design was this. Whereas the ancient stock of clergymen were by this edict in a manner rendered useless, and the church was at best like the Roman state in its first beginning, *res unius ætatis populus virorum*, a nation of ancient persons hastening to

at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well. Ah! replied he, seeming unconcerned, *so there is indeed*, and sighed. But when the lord primate began to speak with him concerning the business he came about, he answered him to this effect; that he had since better considered it, having advised with his council about it, and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his government; and so he took his leave of him, though with good words and outward civility."

their graves, who must in a few years be wasted ; he projected by pensions unto hopeful persons in either university, to maintain a seminary of youth, instituted in piety and learning, upon the sober principles and old establishment of the Anglican Church. In which work, though the assistances he presumed on failed in a great measure, yet somewhat not inconsiderable⁹ in this kind by himself and friends he did achieve, and kept on foot until his death. In his instructions to them whom he employed in this affair, he gave in charge “carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts ;” adding this as a certain maxim, “that exemplary virtue must restore the church.”

And whereas that black defeat at Worcester, raising the insolent tyrant here unto that greatness which almost outwent the impudence of his hopes, made him to be feared by foreign nations almost as much as hated by his own, the loyal sufferers abroad became subjected to the worst effect of banishment, and were even there expelled and driven from their flights : so paralleling in their exigencies the most immediate objects of that monster’s fury. The excellent doctor, to whose diffusive virtue the limits of the nation were too straight a circle, thought this a season to exert his charity : accordingly, though this greatest

⁹ *Not inconsiderable.*] One of the persons upon whom a portion of this bounty was most deservedly bestowed was Isaac Barrow, afterwards the great precursor of Sir Isaac Newton, and the pride of the English pulpit ; and another was the Rev. Clement Ellis, a divine whose writings in practical theology, for their eminent and fervent piety, for soundness of doctrine, and for a vigorous, unaffected, and manly style, have been very rarely surpassed ; and deserve to be much more extensively known, than it is apprehended they now are, or ever have been.

“He received several donations towards his subsistence at Oxford from unknown hands ; with anonymous letters to certify, that those sums were in consideration of his father’s sufferings, and to encourage his progress in his studies. Several such presents and letters he had, both before and after his being in holy orders, without his knowing from whence they came : but after the restoration of the church and royal family, he had some reason to believe that they came from Dr. (Jeremy) Taylor and Dr. Hammond, being part of those collections of money, put into their hands by charitable and well-disposed persons, for the support and encouragement of suffering loyalty.” *Veneer’s Account of the Life and Writings of Clement Ellis, M.A.* prefixed to the work entitled, *The Scripture Catechist ; or the whole Religion of a Christian*, 1738, 8vo. See also the *Life of Dr. Isaac Barrow*, prefixed to his Theological Works.

duty were solemnly declared treason, he then continued to send over several sums for their relief.

Which practice of his, by the surprise of the person entrusted, being discovered to the tyrant, he was alarmed with the expectation of that usage which was then a certain consequent of such meritorious acts. But this adventure brought nothing of amazement or disturbance to the doctor, his most importunate reflection being only this, that he seemed to have gained an opportunity of saying something very home to that fierce monster concerning his foul deeds, and to discourse the appropriate ways remaining to alleviate at least, if not to expiate for them; which he purposed within himself to press to the highest advantage: and indeed this was the only issue of that so threatening accident, God's restraining power interposing here, and exemplifying upon him what in others he was wont to observe, "that they who least considered hazard in the doing of their duties fared still best."

And this success as it was indeed, and accordingly he frequently acknowledged it for, an eminent act of the Divine Providence; so we may likewise take it as a signal testimony of the commanding worth the doctor had, which extorted a reverence to his person from that worst of men, and rendered him a sanctuary, perhaps the only one this architect of mischief stood in awe of, and even his sacrilege preserved inviolate.

Nor did this danger being over, as with others in all likelihood it would have done, persuade to caution for the future; but with the wonted diligence that formerly he used, he immediately proceeded, and cheerfully went on in the pursuit of his heroic charity.

Amidst these diversions grew up the labours of this hero, the issue of his brain, being not only midwived into the world like natural births with torment and disease, but written, like Cæsar's Commentaries, in dangers and in war. And now besides the replies which the importunities of master Owen, master Jeanes, and master Tombs drew from him, W. S. continuing his loud clamours and impudent triumph at his own folly, the good doctor suffered himself to be engaged on that long answer, which proved the last of that kind he made, excepting that single sheet put out a few months before his death, as a specimen to what desperate shifts the patrons of the Roman cause were driven: for though some of his friends advised him to remit that divinity buffoon to be answered in his own way by a slighter pen, he by no means

would admit of the proposal, resolving it unfit that another should do in his behalf what was indecent for himself to do ; and though there was no respect to be had of W. S. yet was the sacred cause to be managed with reverence and awful regard. While this was in hand the second *Review of the Annotations* came to light, as also the *Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, and soon after the pacific *Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees*, ventilated between him and his dear friend the reverend and most learned Dr. Sanderson, now lord bishop of Lincoln, occasioned by some letters which had passed on that subject between the said doctor and the reverend Dr. Pierce. To this immediately succeeded the Latin tract of *Confirmation*, in answer to the exceptions of Mr. Daille, which was then prepared for the press, though detained much longer upon prudential or rather charitable considerations, a respect to which was strictly had in all the doctor's writings ; it being his care not only to publish sober and convincing, but withal seasonable, useful truths.

He was likewise enterprizing a farther *Commentary on the Old Testament*, and began on the Book of Proverbs, and finished a third part of it : but the completion of this and all other the great intendments of the equally learned, pious, and indefatigable author, received here a full period : it pleasing the Divine Providence to take to himself this high example of all moral and Christian excellencies in a season when the church and nation would least have been deprived of his aids towards the cementing of those breaches which then began to offer at a closure.

It is easily to be presumed the reader will not be disobligened, if we a while divert from this remaining sadder part of the undertaken narrative, and entertain him with a survey of the personal accomplishments of the excellent doctor. The particulars whereof would not readily have fallen into the thread of history, or at least had been disjointed there, and under disadvantage ; but will be made to stand in a much fairer light, when represented to the view by way of character and picture.

And therefore to this prospect we cheerfully invite all eyes in whose esteem virtue itself is lovely.

SECTION THE SECOND.

THE frame of his body was such as suited with the noble use to which it was designed, the entertaining a most pure and active

soul, but equally to the advantages of strength and comeliness. His stature was of just height and all proportionate dimensions, avoiding the extremes of gross and meagre, advantaged by a graceful carriage, at once most grave, and yet as much obliging. His face carried dignity and attractives in it, scarce ever clouded with a frown, or so much as darkened by reservedness. His eye was quick and sprightly, his complexion clear and florid, so that (especially in his youth) he had the esteem of a very beauteous person; which was lessened only by the colour of his hair: though if the sentence of other ages and climates be of value, that reasonably might be vouched as an accession to it.

To this outward structure was joined that strength of constitution, patient of severest toil and hardship; insomuch that for the most part of his life, in the fiercest extremity of cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, than at the greatest distance that he could, to look upon it. As to diseases (till immoderate study had wrought a change) he was in a manner only liable to fevers, which a too constant temperance did in a great measure prevent, and still assisted to relieve and cure.

Next to his frame of body, if we survey his inward faculties, we shall find them just unto the promises of his outward shape. His sight was quick to an unusual degree; insomuch that if by chance he saw a knot of men, a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in discourse, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntary cast up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear was accurate and tuned to his harmonious soul, so that having never learned to sing by book or study, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a harpsicon or theorbo, and frequently did so in his more vigorous years after the toil and labour of the day, and before the remaining studies of the night. His elocution was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his audience: and when with preaching at his country charge he had in some degree lost the due manage of his voice, his late sacred majesty, by taking notice of the change, became his master of music, and reduced him to his ancient decent modulation; a kindness which the doctor very gratefully acknowledged to his dying day, and reported not only as an instance of the meek and tender condescensions of that gracious prince, but improved to persuade others by so great an example to that most friendly office of telling persons of their faults, without which very commonly (as here it

happened) men must be so far from amending their errors, that it is morally impossible they should ever know them.

As to his more inferior faculties, we must allow the first place to his *invention*, his richest, altogether unexhausted treasure, whose flowings were with that full torrent, that for several years after his choice of subject, which generally he had in prospect beforehand, a little meditation on the Saturday night made up his sermon: but in the last twelve of his life, finding the recollection of his thoughts disturb his sleep, he remitted the particular care of the composition and method of his future discourse to the Sunday morning, wherein an hour's consideration fitted him to the office of the day. With the like swiftness he dispatched his writings, usually composing faster than his amanuensis, though a very dexterous person, could transcribe after him. His *Considerations of present Necessity concerning Episcopacy* were drawn up¹ after ten of clock at night in a friend's chamber, who professes, that sitting by all the while, he remembers not that he took off pen from paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the bishop of Salisbury, he sent it to the press: to which work he could have no premeditation or second thoughts, he being that very night after supper employed by the before-mentioned lord bishop of Salisbury, now of Winchester², on that task. So likewise he began his tract of *Scandal* at eleven at night, and finished it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but most customary; five sheets having amidst his other diversions been sundry times his one day's work; adding to it so much of the night as he frequently borrowed from sleep and supper. And indeed such were his diversions, so many and so importunate, that notwithstanding this incredible ease of writing, it is hardly imaginable how he could compass the tithe of what he did. For he that shall consider his laborious way, immersed in almost infinite quotations, to which the turning over books and consulting several editions were absolutely needful; his obligation to read not only classic authors, but the more recent abortions of the press, wherein he proved frequently concerned; his perusal of the writings of his friends and strangers intended to be public;

¹ *Were drawn up.*] They consisted of fourteen pages in quarto of close and small printing.

² *Winchester.*] Brian Duppa.

his review of his own works, and correcting them with his own hand sheet by sheet as they came forth, which he did to all his latter tracts; his reception of visits, whether of civility, or for resolution of conscience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time; his agency for men of quality, providing them schoolmasters for their children, and chaplains in their houses, in which affair he had set up a kind of office of address; his general correspondencies by letter, whereof some cost him ten, others twenty, thirty, forty, nay sixty sheets of paper, and ever took up two days of the week entirely to themselves; the time exhausted by his sicknesses, which in the later years of his life gave him but short and seldom truce, and always made it necessary for him not to stir from his chair or so much as read a letter for two hours after every meal, failance wherein being certainly revenged by a fit of the gout; his not only constant preaching and instructing the family where he was, and his visiting the sick both there and in the neighbourhood; but amidst all, his sure returns of prayer, so frequent and so constant as certainly to challenge to themselves a great portion of the day: he, I say, that shall compute and sum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly set down without any straining of the truth or flourish of expression, must be to seek what point of vacant time remained yet undisposed; I do not say to write books, but even to breathe and rest a little in.

After a serious reflection on the premises, and full debate thereon, the account given by that excellent person who had the happiness of being the nearest and most constant witness of the before recited severals, seems the best and chiefly satisfactory that possibly can be made; that he gained time for his writing books by the time he spent in prayer, whilst (a more than ordinary assistance attending his devotions) his closet proved his library, and he studied most upon his knees.

As to his *memory*, it was serviceable, but not officious; faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words: which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one sermon by heart than to pen twenty.

His way of *speech* and faculty of communicating notions was sufficiently happy, having only this best kind of defect, exuberance and surplusage of plenty, the tide and torrent of his matter being not easily confined by periods; whereby his style, though round

and comprehensive, was incumbered sometimes by parentheses, and became difficult to vulgar understandings : but by the use of writing, and his desire to accommodate himself to all capacities, he in his latter years had mastered that defect, which was so slight, that notwithstanding it, he deserved from the most accurate judge and greatest master of English rhetoric which this age hath given, his late sacred majesty, this character and testimony, "That he was the most natural orator he ever heard."

His *judgment*, as in itself the highest faculty, so was it the most eminent among his natural endowments : for though the finding out of the similitudes of different things, wherein the fancy is conversant, is usually a bar to the discerning the disparities of similar appearances, which is the business of discretion, and that store of notions which is laid up in memory assists rather confusion than choice, upon which grounds the greatest clerks are frequently not the wisest men ; he had, to his sufficient memory and incomparable invention, a clear and discerning judgment ; and that not only in scholastical affairs and points of learning, which the arguings, and besides them the designment of his writings manifest beyond dispute, but in the concerns of public nature both of church and state, wherein his guess was usually as near to prophecy as any man's ; as also in the little mysteries of private manage, by which upon occasion he has unravelled the studied cheats of great artificers in that liberal science, wherein particularly he vindicated a person of honour for whom he was entrusted, and assisted frequently his friends in their domestic intercurrent difficulties.

As to acquired habits and abilities in *learning*, his writings having given the world sufficient account of them, there remains only to observe, that the range and compass of his knowledge filled the whole circle of the arts, and reached those severals, which single do exact an entire man unto themselves, and full age. To be accurate in the grammar and idioms of the tongues, and then as a rhetorician to make all their graces serve his eloquence ; to have traversed ancient, and yet be no stranger in modern writers ; to be studied in philosophy, and familiarly versed in all the politer classic authors ; to be learned in school-divinity, and a master in church antiquity, perfect and ready in the sense of fathers, councils, ecclesiastical historians and liturgies : to have devoured so much and yet digested it, is a rarity in nature and in diligence which has but few examples.

But after all we must take leave to say, and do it upon sober recollection, that the doctor's learning was the least thing in him : the *scholar* was here less eminent than the *christian*. His speculative knowledge, that gave light to the most dark and difficult proposals, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his practick. In the catalogue of his virtues, his *chastity* and *temperance* may claim the earliest place, as being the sacristis to the rest, and in him were therefore only not the greatest of his excellencies, because every thing else was so.

And first, his *chaste* thoughts, words and carriage so disciplined his lower faculties, as not only restrained through all the heats of youth, made more than usually importunate by the full vigour of a high and sanguine constitution, (which his escape he gratefully referred unto the only mercy of almighty God,) but gave a detestation of all those verbal follies, that have not only the allowance of being harmless mirth, but the repute of wit and gaiety of humour ; so that the scurrilous jest could sooner obtain his tears in penance for it, than the approbation of a smile ; and all approaches to this sin he looked upon not only with an utter disallowance in his will, but a kind of natural abhorrence and antipathy in his lower outward faculties.

In his first remove to Penshurst he was persuaded by his friends that the matrimonial state was needful to the bearing off those household cares and other intercurrent troubles which his condition then brought with it ; and on this ground he gave some ear to their advices : which he did then more readily, for that there was a person represented to him, of whose virtue, as well as other more-usually-desired accomplishments, he had been long before well satisfied. But being hindered several times by little unexpected accidents, he finally laid down all his pretensions, upon a ground of perfect self-denial ; being informed that one of a fairer fortune and higher quality than his was, or else was like to be, and consequently one who in common account would prove the better match, had kindness for her. Having thus resolved, the charity of his mother, who undertook the manage of his family, became a seasonable assistant and expedient in this single state ; till after several years her age making those cares too great a burthen for her shoulders, he again was induced to resume his thoughts of marriage. But the national disturbances (that afterwards brake out in war and ruin) appearing then in ferment, he was again diverted by recollecting the apostle's advice, (1 Cor.

vii. 26.) enforced upon his thoughts by the reading of St. Jerom's epistle to Agereuchia, where after glorious elogies of marriage, the father concluded in an earnest dehoration from it, upon a representation of a like face of things ; the Goths then breaking into Italy, as they before had done into the other near parts of the Roman empire, and filling all with slaughter, cruelty, and ruin. Upon which prospect the good doctor casting a serious eye, and with prophetic sorrows and misgivings fearing a parallel in this our nation, the second time deposited his conjugal intendments, and thencefore courted and espoused (what he preserved inviolate) unto his death, the more eminent perfection of spotless virgin chastity.

His *appetite* was good, but the restraint of it was very eminent and extraordinary ; for his diet was of the plainest meats, and commonly not only his dishes, but the parts of them were such as most others would refuse. Sauces he scarce ever tasted of, but often expressed it his wonder how rational creatures should eat for any thing but health, since he that did eat or drink that which might cause a fit of the stone or gout, though a year after, therein unmanned himself, and acted as a beast. So that his self-denials were quite contrary to the usual ones ; for considering the time lost in eating, and the vacancy succeeding it, his meals were the greatest pressure, and his fasting-day the most sensual part of his week.

In the time of his full and more vigorous health he seldom did eat or drink more than once in twenty-four hours, and some fruit towards night ; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember-week three days, he eat but once in thirty-six. Nor did he ever with so much regret submit unto any prescript, as when his physicians, after his great fever that he had in Oxford, required him to eat suppers. Which severity of injunction he soon shook off, and returned to his beloved abstinence, until renewed infirmities brought him back unto the penance of more indulgence to himself.

As he had the greatest indifference to what he eat, so had he the greatest observation too, especially when it came to be made point of diet and prescription ; for in this case he was most exact, never tasting of any prohibited meats, though some of them had before the advantage of being customary towards their seeming necessary. And herein his palate was so tractable and subdued to the dictates of an higher choice, that he really thought no

meat pleasant, but in proportion to its wholesomeness: even his beloved apples he would oft say he would totally abandon, as soon as they should appear to be no more than barely innocent, and not of use. And if by chance or inadvertency he had at any time tasted of an interdicted dish, as soon as he perceived it, he discovered a dislike both with himself and what he had been surprized with.

The carving at the table he always made his province, which he said he did as a diversion to keep him from eating over-much: but certainly that practice had another more immediate cause, a natural distributiveness of humour, and a desire to be employed in the relief of every kind of want of every person. The report, and much more the sight, of a luxurious feeder would turn his stomach, so that he was in more danger to be sick with others' surfeits than his own; charity seeming a part of his complexion, while he performed a natural spontaneous penance for his neighbour's vice, as well as a deliberate one in sorrowing for it.

His temperance in sleep resembled that of his meats, midnight being the usual time of his going to rest, and four or five, and very rarely six, the hour of his rising. There was scarce any thing he resented so much in his infirmities and multiplied diseases as their having abridged him of his night-studies, professing thereby he lost not only his greatest pleasure, but highest advantage in reference to business. And in his later time of weakness, when to take benefit of a gentle breathing sweat, which usually came in the morning, he had been engaged by his physician to continue in bed till it was over; and upon complaint of costiveness he was on the other side directed to rise somewhat early in the morning; this latter injunction he looked upon as a mere rescue and deliverance, often mentioning it with thanks, as if it had been an eminent favour done him.

His disposal of himself in the other parts of *time* was to perpetual *industry and diligence*: he not only avoided, but bore a perfect hate, and seemed to have a forcible antipathy to idleness, and scarcely recommended any thing in his advices with that concern and vigour, as to be furnished always with somewhat to do. This he proposed as the best expedient both for innocence and pleasure; assuring that no burthen is more heavy or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lye on one's hand; the idle man's brain being not only (as he worded it) the Devil's shop,

but his kingdom too, a model of and an appendage unto hell, a place given up to torment and to mischief. Besides those portions of time which the necessities of nature and of civil life extorted from him, there was not a minute of the day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not so much to recreate himself, as to obey the prescripts of his physician, he never failed to take a book with him, and read all the while: and in his chamber also he had one lay constantly open, out of which his servant read to him while he was dressing and undressing; by which one piece of husbandry in short space he dispatched several considerable volumes.

His way was still to cast into paper all his observations, and direct them to his present purposes; wherein he had an incredible dexterity, scarce ever reading any thing which he did not make subservient in one kind or other. He was used to say, "he could not abide to talk with himself," and therefore was so diligently provided of that which he called "better company." In his sicknesses, if they were not so violent to make the recollection of thoughts impossible, he never intermitted study, but rather re-inforced it then as the most appropriate revulsive and diversion of pain. The gout by its most frequent and importunate returns exceeded his other maladies; in which although the first most furious assaults were sure to beat him from his study, and for a time confine him to his bed, yet as soon as he had recovered his chair, he resumed his pen too, and plyed it as hard as though he had ailed nothing.

Next to downright idleness he disliked slow and dilatory undertakings, thinking it a great folly to spend that time in gazing upon business which should have served for the doing of it. In his own practice he never considered longer than till he could discern whether the thing proposed was fit or not: when that was seen, he immediately set to work. When he had perfected one business, he could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was presently consulting what next to set about.

But when we reckon up and audit the expences of the doctor's time, we cannot pass his constant tribute of it paid by him to heaven in the offices of *prayer*; which took up so liberal proportions of each day unto itself for the ten last years of his life, and probably the preceding. Besides occasional and supernumerary addresses, his certain perpetual returns exceeded David's seven times a day. As soon as he was ready (which was usually early)

he prayed in his chamber with his servant, in a peculiar form composed for that purpose. After this he retired to his own more secret devotions in his closet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a solemn intercession in reference to the national calamities: to this after a little distance succeeded the morning office of the church, which he particularly desired to perform in his own person, and would by no means accept the ease of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on Sundays he enlarged, and so religiously observed, that if any necessary business or charity had diverted him at the usual time, he repaired his soul at the cost of his body, and, notwithstanding the injunctions of his physicians, which in other cases he was careful to obey, spent the supper-time therein. About five of the clock the solemn private prayers for the nation, and the evening service of the church returned. At bedtime his private prayers closed the day: and after all, even the night was not without its office, the LI. Psalm being his designed midnight entertainment ³.

In his prayers as his attention was fixed and steady, so was it inflamed with passionate fervors, insomuch that very frequently his transport threw him prostrate on the earth; his tears also would interrupt his words: the latter happening not only upon the pungent exigencies of present or impending judgments, but in the common service of the church: which, notwithstanding his concealments, being taken notice of by a person of good sufficiency, once a member of his house in Oxford, that became of late years a proselyte to the new extemporary way, he, among his other topics whereby he thought to disparage set forms, used in discourse to urge the heartless coldness of them, and to adorn his triumph, would make it his solemn wonder how a person of so good parts as Dr. Hammond was certainly master of, could find motive for his tears ⁴ in the confession in the beginning of the

³ *Midnight entertainment.*] Compare above vol. iii. p. 6. n. *Life of Bishop Ridley.*

⁴ *Motive for his tears.*] “In the antient forms of the church, and therefore in ours, which are mostly antient, there is a strength, an energy, a savour, an unction, I know not what to call it, not to be found in the composition of modern prayers, not even those (begging the pardon of the composers) which are premeditated, and drawn up with deliberation; and much less of others that are unpremeditated and extemporary. For instance, the *Te Deum* of St. Ambrose, which we, you know, have received into our liturgy. For my own part, I am not yet, after more than the thousandth time of using it, tired

liturgy. So much does passion and misguided zeal transport the most sensible, that this man, otherwise sagacious enough, never considered how ill an instance he had made ; which shewed it was the coldness of the votary, and not the prayer, that was in fault, whenever fervour was deficient at the public office of the church.

The charity and extent of his prayers was as exuberant as the zeal and fervour : he thought it very unreasonable that our intercessions should not be as universal as our Saviour's redemption was : and would complain of that thrift and narrowness of mind to which we are so prone, confining our care either to ourselves and relatives, or at most to those little angles of the world that most immediately concerned us, and which on due account bear very low proportion to the whole. There was no emergent distress however remote, but it enlarged his Litany ; every year's harvest and new birth of mischiefs, which for several ones past constantly fell on the orthodox and loyal party in the nation, removed itself from the sanguinary edicts of the tyrant, to be transcribed and expiated by his pathetical office of devotion. In which calendar and rubric the thirtieth of January was sure to have a very solemn place, and a peculiar service prepared for it.

Nor did he only take to heart general national concernments, but even the more private exigencies of the sick and weak had a

with it : and now, when I rehearse it in the church, am otherwise elevated and affected with the noble simplicity thereof, than, I am fully persuaded, I ever should be with the most trim, polite, or spirited orations of your popular and admired ministers, and much less with the flatter and coarser ones of many others. I may also instance in divers other parts of our daily service, and in the whole of the communion office ; which some of yourselves have allowed to be admirable, and I will venture to say none can use, though he had used it before ever so often, with any formality or deadness of spirit, unless he has a heart so frozen, and utterly estranged from all devotion, as to be incapable of being wrought up to it by any means whatever." *Letter concerning the popular Pleas of Dissenters*, by John White, B.D. p. 45. London, 1745, 8vo.

"Till this time" (says one, who was afterwards deservedly famous for his extemporary effusions, both in prayer and in preaching, the eminent Richard Baxter, speaking of his younger years) "I was satisfied in the matter of conformity. Whilst I was young I had never been acquainted with any that were against it, or that questioned it. I had joined with the Common Prayer *with as hearty fervency* as afterwards I did with other prayers. *As long as I had no prejudice against it*, I had no stop in my devotions from any of its imperfections." *Baxter's Life and Times*, part i. p. 13.

staple interest in his prayers. Among all which none had so liberal a part as they that merited them least, yet wanted them most ; his and (what was usually the same thing) the church's and God's enemies. He never thought he had assured his forgiveness of injuries unless he returned good for them ; and though other opportunities of this best kind of retaliation might fail him, that of his intercessions never did.

Three persons there were who above all men by unworthy malice and impotent virulence had highly disobliged him : but he in recompence of their guilt had a peculiar daily prayer purposely in their behalf : and though in the openness of his conversation with his most intimate acquaintance he confessed thus much, yet he never named the persons, though probably that was the only thing which he concealed ; it being his method to withhold nothing especially of confidence or privacy, from one he owned as friend.

And having mentioned the name of *friend*, however incidentally, we must not leave it without homage ; *friendship* being the next sacred thing unto religion in the apprehensions of our excellent doctor, a virtue of which he was a passionate lover, and with which he ever seemed to have contracted friendship. The union of minds thereby produced he judged the utmost point of human happiness, the very best production that nature has in store, or grows from earth. So that with compassion he reflected on their ignorance who were strangers to it, saying that “ such must needs lead a pitiful insipid herb-John-like life.”

Upon this ground he used with all industrious art to recommend and propagate friendship unto others ; and where he saw several persons that he judged capable of being made acquainted to mutual advantage, he would contrive that league ; and where himself had kindness unto any so allied, he would still enjoin them to be kinder to each other than to him ; besides, he still laboured to make all his friends endeared to each of them : resolving it to be an error bottomed on the common narrowness of soul which represented amity like sensual love, to admit no rivals, confined unto two persons.

When he ever happened to see or be in company with such as had an intimate and hearty kindness for each other, he would be much transported in the contemplation of it, and where it was seasonable, would openly acknowledge that his satisfaction.

In the list and number of his friends there chanced to be three

persons, who having in their youth contracted a strict intimacy, had undertaken the same profession : and accordingly had the same common studies and designments, and with these the opportunity through the late troubles to live in view of each other : whom for that reason he was used with an obliging envy to pronounce " the most happy men the nation had."

Accordingly he professed that for his particular " he had no such way of enjoying any thing as by reflection from the person whom he loved ; so that his friend's being happy was the readiest way to make him so." Therefore when one eminently near to him in that relation was careless of health, his most pressing argument was his complaint of unkindness to him. And this way of measuring felicities was so natural to him, that it would occur even in the most trivial instances : when there has been any thing at the table peculiarly wholesome in relation to his infirmities, if his friend, who was in a like weak condition, forbore to eat of it in civility to him, he would with vehemence of grief resent it as his singular unhappiness after so many professions not to be believed, " that he had a thousand times rather that his friend should have that which was conducive to health, than to have it himself ;" and then assumed, " that if this were believed, it were impossible any one should attempt to express kindness by robbing him of his greatest pleasure."

The principal thing he contracted for in friendship was a free use of *mutual admonition* ; which he confined not to the grosser guilts which enemies and common fame were likely to observe and mind men of, but extended it unto prudential failings, indecencies, and even suspicious and barely doubtful actions : nay beyond that, unto those virtuous ones which might have been improved and rendered better. He was used to say, " it was a poor design of friendship to keep the person he admitted to his breast only from being scandalous, as if the physician should endeavour only to secure his patient from the plague." And what he thus articulated for, he punctually himself performed, and exacted back again to be returned unto himself.

And if for any while he observed that no remembrance had been offered to him, he grew afraid and almost jealous of the omission, suspecting that the courtier had supplanted the friend, and therefore earnestly enforced the obligation of being faithful in this point : and when with much ado somewhat of advertisement was picked up, he received it always as huge kindness ; and

though the whole ground of it happened to be mistake, yet he still returned most affectionate thanks.

His good-will when placed on any was so fixed and rooted, that even supervening vice, to which he had the greatest detestation imaginable, could not easily remove it, the abhorreny of their guilts leaving not only a charity but tenderness to their persons; and, as he has profest, his concernment rather increased than lessened by this means, compassion being in that instance added unto love. There were but two things which (he would say) were apt to give check to his affections, pride and falseness: where he saw these predominant, he thought he could never be a friend to any purpose, because he could never hope to do any good; yet even there he would intend his prayers, so much the more by how much the less he could do besides. But where he saw a malleable honest temper, a Jacob's plain simplicity, nothing could there discourage him; and however inadvertency or passion, or haply some worse ingredient, might frustrate his design, he would attend the *mollia tempora*, as he called them, those gentle and more treatable opportunities which might at last be offered. He so much abhorred artifice and cunning, that he had prejudice to all concealments and pretensions. He used to say he hated a *non-causa*, and he had a strange sagacity in discovering it. When any with much circumlocution and contrivance had endeavoured to shadow their main drift and purpose, he would immediately look through all those mists, and where it was in any degree seasonable, would make it appear he did so: his charity of fraternal correction having only this caution or restraint, the hearer's interest, of which he judged, that when advice did not do good, it was hardly separable from doing harm; and on this ground sometimes he did desist. But wheresoever he gave an admonition, he prefaced it always with such demonstrations of tenderness and good-will, as could not fail to convince of the affectionate kindness with which it was sent, though it could not of the convenience or necessity to embrace it. And this he gave as a general rule, and enforced by his example, never to reprove in anger or the least appearance of it. If the passion were real, that then was evidently a fault, and the guilty person most unfit to be a judge: if it were resemblance only, yet even that would be so like to guilt, as probably to divert the offender from the consideration of his failance to fasten on his monitor, and make

him think he was chid not because he was in fault, but because the other was angry.

Indeed the person who would not be some way moved with his advices must be strangely insensate and ill-natured. Though his exhortations had as much evidence and weight as words could give them, he had over and above a great advantage in his manner of speaking: his little phrase, "Don't be simple," had more power to charm a passion than long harangues from others; and very many who loved not piety in itself, nor to be troubled with the news of it, would be well pleased to be invited and advised by him, and venerated the same matter in his language which they have derided in another's.

He would say, "he delighted to be loved, not revered;" thinking that where there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; somewhat of restraint and distance attending on the one, which was not well consistent with the perfect freedom requisite to the other. But as he was thus no friend to ceremonious respect, he was an open enemy to flattery, especially from a friend, from whom he started to meet the slightest appearance of that servile kindness. Having upon occasion communicated a purpose against which there happened to lie some objections, they being by a friend of his represented to him, he immediately was convinced, and assumed other counsels. But in process of discourse it happened something fell in that brought to mind a passage of a late sermon of the doctor's, which that person having been affected with, innocently mentioned such apprehensions of it, and so passed on to talk of other matters. The next day the doctor having recollected that probably the approbation given to the passage of the sermon might be an after-design to allay the plain-dealing which preceded it, expostulated his surmise, protesting "that nothing in the world could more avert his love and deeply disoblige him, than such unfaithfulness." But being assured that there was no such art or contrivance meant, he gladly found, and readily yielded himself to have been mistaken. —In other cases he was no way inclinable to entertain doubts of his friends' kindness: but if any irregularity chanced to intervene, and cause misapprehensions, he gave them not leave to root and fasten by concealment, but immediately produced his ground of jealousy; and exacted the like measure back again, if his own proceedings fell at any time under a doubtful or unkind appear-

ance. This he thought a justice essential to friendship, without which it could not possibly subsist: for we think not fit to condemn the most notorious malefactor before he hath had license to propose his plea; and sure it is more strangely barbarous to treat a friend, or rather friendship itself, with less regard.

To the performances of friendship he hated all mercenary returns, whereof he was so jealous, as hardly to leave place for gratitude. "Love," he said, "was built upon the union and similitude of minds, and not the bribes of gifts and benefits." So generous was he herein, that he has oft profest, he "admitted retributions of good turns, yet not so much on any score, as that his friend might have the pleasure of being kind."

There was a person of quality, a great and long sufferer in the late times of trial, to whom the doctor had frequently sent supplies, and continued so to do, till there happened at last a change in the condition of the correspondent, such a one as, if it did not supersede the need of farther assistance, yet gave promise of an approaching affluence; whereupon the doctor feared the adding a new obligation in this conjuncture of affairs might seem a piece of design rather than kindness or charity: and though this suggestion was not of force to divert his purpose, it proved sufficient to suspend it, till by inquiry he found his designed present would be a relief, and then he thought it an impertinence to consider what it could be called besides.

But doing good to relatives or being kind unto acquaintance were low expressions of this virtue we exhibit. Misery and want, where-ere he met with them, sufficiently endeared the object. His alms were as exuberant as his love; and in calamities to the exigence he never was a stranger, whatever he might be to the man that suffered.

And here the first preparative was to leave himself no motive to resist or slight the opportunities of giving; which he compassed by being a steward to himself as well as unto God, and parting still with the propriety of a set portion of his estate, that when at any time he relieved the wants of any, he might become no whit the poorer by his gift, have only the content of giving, and the ease of being rid of keeping another's money. The rate and sum of what he thus devoted was the tenth of all his income; wherein he was so strictly punctual, that commonly the first thing he did was to compute and separate the poor man's share. To this he added every week five shillings, which had been his lowest

proportion in the heat of the war in Oxford, when he lived upon his Penshurst stock, and had no visible means or almost possibility of supply. Over and above this he completed the devotions of his weekly fast by joining alms thereto, and adding twenty shillings to the poor man's heap.

These were his debts to charity, the established fixed revenue of the indigent ; in the dispensation of which he was so religiously careful, that if at any time he happened to be in doubt whether he had set apart his charitable proportions, he always past sentence against himself, resolving it much better to run the hazard of having paid the same debt twice, than to incur the possibility of not having done it once. But beyond these he had his free-will offerings, and those proportioned more by the occasion of giving, than the surplusage he had to give. His poor man's bag had so many mouths, and those so often opened, that it frequently became quite empty ; but its being so never diverted him from relieving any that appeared in need ; for in such seasons he chose to give in more liberal proportions than at others.

In the time of the war at Oxford, to pass by other lesser reliefs, and many great ones, which his industrious concealment has preserved from all notice of the most diligent enquiry, though he were then at a very low ebb, he furnished an indigent friend with sixty pound, which never was repaid him : as also upon another score he parted with twenty pound, and another considerable sum besides that : and to one in distress about the same time and on the same occasion an hundred pound.

Instead of hiding his face from the poor, it was his practice still to seek for theirs. Those persons whom he trusted with (his greatest secret and greatest business) his charity, seldom had recourse to him, but he would make enquiry for new pensioners : and though he had in several parts of the nation those whom he employed to find out indigent persons, and dispose his largess to them, and though the tyranny that then prevailed made every day store of such ; his covetous bounty still grasped for more. Besides his ordinary provision for the neighbouring poor, and those that came to look him out in his retirement, (which were not few ; for that the liberal man dwells always in the road) his catalogue had an especial place for sequestered divines, their wives and orphans ; for young students in the universities, and also those divines that were abroad in banishment : where over and above his frequent occasional reliefs to

the last of these, the exiled clergy, besides what he procured from others, he sent constantly over year by year a very considerable sum, such a one as men of far greater revenues do not use upon any occasion to put into the *corban*, and give away, much less as a troublesome excrescence every year prune off, and cast from their estates.

Now if we enquire into the stock and fountain that was to feed all these disbursements, it was at his flight from Penshurst barely three hundred pounds; which, at the sale of a lease left him for his portion from his father, and the assistance of his prebend in Christ-church, after all his lavish charities during those years, was near upon a thousand. The taking of use though he judged lawful, yet never approved by practice, but lent still *gratis* both to friends and strangers. The only other way he had of income was the buying of leases for years, and the printing of his books; from the latter of which when there is defaulted the many whole editions he had nothing for, the charge he was at in the sending of his copies before he printed them unto his friends for their animadversions and advices, his sending them sheet by sheet when printed, and surveying the revises, and the great numbers he gave away to his acquaintance, it will appear that the remainder was but a slight matter. As for private contributions or assistance of that kind, he had never any: for though there were many who would gladly have made those oblations, yet he industriously prevented them by publicly avowing that he needed not. In which refusal he was so peremptory, that when being in Oxford made prisoner at the sign of the Bear, thence to be sent immediately to Wallingford castle, a gentleman, perfectly a stranger to him, and coming by chance to the inn, and hearing of his condition, having fifty pieces by him, would needs have presented them to him; though the doctor had before him the barbarous usage of his brethren, clapped on ship-board under hatches, the like to which he might probably enough meet with; and though this extraordinary occurrence seemed to carry with it somewhat of providential designment; yet he wholly refused the offer; as afterwards he did a far greater sum from a person of honour that courted him with it. Only one twenty pound he was surprised by, and thought fit to accept, which after some dispute with himself he did upon these two grounds: first, that he might not gratify the pride, from whence he was used to say men's reluctancies to receive benefits

proceeded; and secondly, that he might not give the gentleman the discomfiture of seeing he had made an unseasonable offer.

But with all this disproportioned expence unto revenue (a thing which after a very deliberate and strict enquiry remains riddle still, and an event next door to miracle) the doctor daily improved in his estate, and grew in spight of all his liberality rich, being worth at the time of his death about 1500*l.*, which yet we are not to marvel should be strange to us, since it was so to the doctor himself, who often professed to wonder at it, and thereupon would apply this axiom, "that half is more than the whole," his mean revenue by being scattered in the worst of times growing upon him, when others that had great ones, by griping made them less, and grew stark beggars.

As the doctor was thus *charitable*, so was he *genteel and liberal*; his openness of hand in secular occasions was proportionable to that in sacred. When any one had sent him a slight present of apples or the like, his reward would usually much exceed the value; and he would be so well pleased to have such an occasion of giving to a servant, saying, "Alas, poor soul, I warrant he is glad of this little matter," that this seemed a part of the sender's courtesy. Thus if there happened any other occasion of giving, or of gratifying, or advancing public works, (for instance the great Bible^s, upon which he was out 50*l.*; and reimbursed himself only by selling two copies,) he would be sure to do it at a free and highly ingenuous rate. So that he was sparing only to himself, and that upon no other principle, but thereby to be liberal to those he loved better than himself, the necessitous and poor. A pregnant instance whereof may be, that the doctor upon occasion calculating his expences on himself, found them to be not above five pound in the year.

Besides this, he had a further impediment to riches, an easiness which alone has wasted other men's estates; he commonly making those he dealt with their own arbitrators, and if they seriously professed they could go no higher, he descended to their terms, saying commonly, that "this trash was not worth much ado." And beyond this he was so careless after bargains, that he never received script of paper of any to whom he lent, nor bond of any for performance of covenants, till very lately from two persons, when he found it necessary to use that method with them. He

^s *The great Bible.*] Bishop Walton's Polyglot.

was used to say, "that if he thought men knaves he would not deal with them; and if indeed they were so, it was not all his circumspection that could prevent a cheat: on the other side, if they were honest, they needed no such caution." And possibly, if we consider the whole matter, there was not such imprudence in the manage as at first appears: for bonds would have signified little to him, who in the best times would scarce have put them in suit; but would certainly have starved before he would have made an application to those judicatories which of late prevailed, and usurped the protection as well as the possession of men's rights, and were injurious not only in their oppressions but reliefs.

In those black days, being charged with the debt of about fifty or sixty pounds, formerly by him paid, being offered a release if he would take his oath of payment, he thought the condition too unequal, and was resolved to double his payment rather than perform it: but a farther enquiry having cleared the account, he incurred not that penalty.

To a friend of his who, by the falseness of a correspondent whom he trusted, was reduced to some extremity, and enquired what course *he* took to escape such usage, the doctor wrote as follows:

"To your doubt concerning myself, I thank God I am able to answer you, that I never suffered in my life for want of hand or seal, but think I have fared much better than they that have always been careful to secure themselves by these cautions. I remember I was wont to reproach an honest fellow-prebend of mine, that whensoever a siege was near, always sent away what he most valued to some other garrison or friend, and seldom ever met with any again, the solicitude was still their ruin: whereas I venturing myself and my cabinet in the same bottom, never lost any thing of this kind. And the like I have practised in this other instance. Whom I trusted to be my friend, all I had was in his power, and by God's blessing I was never deceived in my trust."

And here amidst all these unlikelihoods and seeming impossibilities, riches thrust themselves upon him, and would take no refusal; it pleasing God, since he had exemplified the advices of his Practical Catechism to the duties of alms and charitable distributions, in him also to make good and signally exemplify the assurance he there and elsewhere made in the behalf of almighty

God upon such performance,—the giving affluence of temporal wealth. Nor was he the single instance of this truth ; as he had proselytes to the speculative verity, he had partisans also of the effect and real issue of it. About four years since a person of good estate, and without charge of children, coming to visit the doctor, among other discourse happened to speak of the late dean of Worcester, Dr. Potter (whose memory, for his remarkable charity and all other excellencies befitting his profession and dignity in the church, is precious) : this gentleman there related, that formerly enquiring of the dean how it was possible for one that had so great a charge of children, was so hospitable in his entertainment, and profuse in liberality, not only to subsist, but to grow rich, he answered, that several years before he happened to be present at a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, where the preacher recommending the duty of alms and plentiful giving, assured his auditory that that was the certainest way to compass riches. He moved therewith, thenceforward resolved diligently to follow the counsel and expect the issue ; which was such as now created so much wonder.—It fortuned that at that time when this was telling, the doctor's *Δεῦτεροι φρονιίδες* were newly come out, and therewith this sermon of the *Poor man's tithing*. He therefore willing to improve the opportunity, confessed that he himself was that preacher which doctor Potter referred to, and that there was the very sermon : which immediately giving to this visitant, he desired almighty God it might have the like effect on him ; and so after a short civility dismissed him.

As to the *way* and very *manner of his charity*, even that was a part of his donation and largess. One great care of his was to dispose of his reliefs so as to be most seasonable ; to which purpose he had his spies and agents still employed to give him punctual notice of the occurrents in their several stations. His next endeavour was to dispense them so as to be most endearing. To persons that had been of quality he consulted to relieve their modesty as well as needs, taking order they should rather *find* than *receive* alms ; and knowing well they were provided for, should not yet be able to guess by what means they were so. To those who were assisted immediately from his hand, he over and above bestowed the charities of his familiar and hearty kindness : in the expressiveness of which he was not only assisted by his habitual humility, or positive opinion, upon which he was used to say, “that it was a most unreasonable and

unchristian thing to despise any one for his poverty :” but much more by the pleasure and transport which the very act of giving transfused into him : which whosoever noted, stood in need of no other proof of the truth of his usual affirmation, “That it was one of the greatest sensualities in the world to give.” Upon which consideration he often took occasion to magnify the exceeding indulgence of God, that had annexed future rewards to that which was so amply its own recompence.

Another circumstance in the doctor’s liberality not to be passed over, was his choice of what he gave ; his care that it should not be of things vile and refuse, but of the very best he had.—It happened that a servant in the family being troubled with the gout, the doctor gave order that he should have some of the plaister which he used in the like extremity ; but the store of that being almost spent, the person intrusted in this office gave of another sort, which was of somewhat less reputation. Which practice the doctor within a while coming to know, was extremely troubled at it, and complained of that unseasonable kindness unto him, which disregarded the pressing interests and wants of another person, and thereby gave him a disquiet parallel to that which a fit of the gout would have done.

But besides this of *giving*, the alms of *lending* had an eminent place in the practice as well as judgment of the doctor.—When he saw a man honest and industrious, he would trust him with a sum, and let him pay it again at such times and in such proportions as he found himself able : withal when he did so, he would add his counsel too, examine the person’s condition, and contrive with him how the present sum might be most advantageously disposed ; still closing the discourse with prayer for God’s blessing, and after that dismissing him with infinite affability and kindness. In which performance as he was exuberant to all, so most especially to such as were of an inferior degree ; giving this for a rule to those of his friends that were of estate and quality, to “treat their poor neighbours with such a cheerfulness, that they may be glad to have met with them.” And as upon the grounds of his most genteel and obliging humanity he never suffered any body to wait that came to speak with him, though upon a mere visit, but broke off his beloved studies, upon which his intention was so great, that he extremely grudged to be interrupted by any bodily concernment of his own, and so would often intermit his prescribed walks and suppers in pursuance of it : so with a more

exceeding alacrity he came down when it was told him that a poor body would speak with him. Such of all others he loved not to delay ; and so much he desired that others should do the same, that when a lady of the house, diverted either by the attractives of his discourse, or some other occasion, delayed the clients of her charity in alms, or that other most commendable one in surgery, he in his friendly way would chide her out of the room.

As poverty thus recommended to the doctor's care and kindness, in an especial manner it did so when piety was added to it : upon which score a mean person in the neighbourhood, one Houseman, a weaver by trade, but by weakness disabled much to follow that or any other employment, was extremely his favourite. Him he used with a most affectionate freedom, gave him several of his books, and examined his progress in them ; invited him, nay importuned him, still to come to him for whatever he needed, and at his death left him ten pounds as a legacy. A little before which fatal time, he and the lady P.⁶ being walking, Houseman happened to come by, to whom after the doctor had talked a while in his usual friendly manner, he let him pass ; yet soon after called him with these words, " Houseman, if it should please God that I should be taken from this place, let me make a bargain between my lady and you, that you be sure to come to her with the same freedom you would to me for any thing you want : " and so with a most tender kindness gave his benediction. Then turning to the lady, he said, " Will you not think it strange I should be more affected for parting from Houseman than from you ? " His treating the poor man when he came to visit him in his sickness was parallel hereto in all respects.

Such another acquaintance he had at Penshurst, one Sexton, whom he likewise remembered in his will, and to whom he was used to send his more practical books, and to write extreme kind letters, particularly enquiring of the condition of himself and children ; and when he heard he had a boy fit to put out to school, allowed him a pension to that purpose : and also with

⁶ *The Lady P.*] Dorothy, fifth and youngest daughter of Thomas, first lord Coventry, lord keeper of the great seal, wife of sir John Pakington, bart., of Westwood (see p. 403) to whom lord Coventry had been guardian. This excellent lady is believed by many writers to have been the author of *The Whole Duty of Man*. She died on the 13th May, 1679.

great contentment received from him his hearty, though scarce legible, returns.

Nor will this treatment from the doctor seem any thing strange to them that shall consider how low a rate he put upon those usual distinctives, birth or riches; and withal how high a value on the souls of men: for them he had so unmanageable a passion, that it often broke out into words of this effect, which had with them still in the delivery an extraordinary vehemence, "O what a glorious thing, how rich a prize for the expense of a man's whole life were it to be the instrument of rescuing any one soul!" Accordingly in the pursuit of this design he not only wasted himself in perpetual toil of study, but most diligently attended the offices of his calling, reading daily the prayers of the church, preaching constantly every Sunday, and that many times when he was in so ill a condition of health, that all besides himself thought it impossible, at least very unfit, for him to do it. His subjects were such as had greatest influence on practice, which he pressed with most affectionate tenderness, making tears part of his oratory. And if he observed his documents to have failed of the desired effect, it was matter of great sadness to him: where instead of accusing the parties concerned, he charged himself that his performances were incompetent to the designed end, and would solicitously enquire what he might do to speak more plainly or more movingly; whether his extemporary wording might not be a defect, and the like? Besides this, he liberally dispensed all other spiritual aids.

From the time that the children of the family became capable of it till his death, he made it a part of his daily business to instruct them, allotting the interval betwixt prayers and dinner to that work, observing diligently the little deviations of their manners, and applying remedies unto them. In like sort, that he might ensnare the servants also to their benefit, on Sundays in the afternoon he catechised the children in his chamber, giving liberty nay invitation, to as many as would to come and hear, hoping they happily might admit the truths obliquely levelled, which bashfulness persuaded not to enquire for, lest they thereby should own the fault of former inadvertence. Besides he publicly declared himself ready and desirous to assist any person single; and to that purpose having particularly invited such to come at their leisurable hours, when any did so, he used all arts of encouragement and obliging condescension; insomuch that having

once got the scullion in his chamber upon that errand, he would not give him the uneasiness of standing, but made him sit down by his side: though in other cases, amidst his infinite humility, he knew well how to assert the dignity of his place and function from the approaches of contempt. Upon this ground of ardent love to souls, a very disconsolate and almost desponding person happening some years since to come to him, there to unload the burthen of his mind, he kept him privately in his chamber for several days with a paternal kindness, answering every scruple which that unhappy temper of mind too readily suggested, and with unwearied patience attending for those little arguments which in him were much more easily silenced than satisfied. This practice continued, till he at last discovered his impressions had in good proportion advanced to the desired effect, which proceeded carefully in this method, that duty still preceded promise, and strict endeavour only founded comfort.

On the same motive of this highest charity, when some years since a young man, (who by the encouragement of an uncle, formerly the head of an house in Oxford, had been bred up to learning, but by his ejection at the visitation was diverted from that course to a country-life, and being so, to engage him therein was also married and had children;) amidst his toilsome avocations continued to employ his vacant hours in study, and happening on some of the doctor's writings, was so affected with them, as to leave his wife and family and employment, to seek out the doctor himself, whom being accordingly addressed unto, the excellent doctor met this unknown romantic undertaker with his accustomed kindness, and most readily received this votary and proselyte to learning into his care and pupilage for several years, affording him all kind of assistance both in studies and temporal support, till he at last arrived at good proficiency in knowledge, and is at present a very useful person in the church.

Nor could this zeal to the eternal interest of souls be superseded by any sight of danger however imminent. The last year, one in the neighbourhood mortally sick of the small-pox desiring the doctor to come to him, as soon as he heard of it, though the disease did then prove more than usually fatal, and the doctor's age and complexion threatened it particularly so to him; and though one might discern in his countenance vigorous apprehensions of the danger, he presently suppressed his fears, staying only so long as to be satisfied whether the party was so sensible

that a visit might possibly be of use, and being informed thereof, cheerfully went; telling the person that happened to be present, whose dreads in his behalf were not so easily deposited, that "he should be as much in God's hands in the sick man's chamber as in his own:" and not contented with going once, appointed the next day to have returned again; which he had done, had not the patient's death absolved him of his promise.

So likewise when at another time a gentleman of no very laudable life had in his sickness desired to speak with the doctor, which message through the negligence of the person employed was not delivered till he that sent it was in the last agonies of death; the doctor was very much affected at it, passionately complaining of "the brutishness of those that had so little sense of a soul in that sad state:" and pouring out his most fervent prayers in his behalf, requested farther "that by this example others, and in particular the companions of that unhappy person's vice, might learn how improper a season the time of sickness, and how unfit a place the death-bed is for that one great important work of penitence, which was intended by Almighty God the one commensurate work of the whole life."

But though to advance the spiritual concerns of all that could in any kind become receptive of the good he meant them was his unlimited designment and endeavour, yet to nourish and advance the early virtue of young persons was his more chosen study. When he saw such a one, he would contrive and seek out ways to insinuate and endear himself, lay hold of every opportunity to represent the beauty, pleasure and advantage of a pious life; and on the other side to express the toil, the danger and the mischief of brutal sensuality. Withal he would be still performing courtesies, thereby to oblige of very gratitude to him, obedience and duty unto God.

Where to pass by the many instances that he gave of this his charity, it will not be amiss to insist on one as a specimen of the rest, which was thus.—It happened during the doctor's abode in Oxford in the war, that a young man of excellent faculties and very promising hopes in that place, by his love to music was engaged in the company of such who had that one good quality alone to recommend their other ill ones. The doctor finding this, though otherwise a stranger to the person, gave him in exchange his own; and taking him as it were into his own bosom, directed him to books, and read them with him, particularly a great part

of Homer, at a night dispatching usually a book, and if it proved holiday, then two; where his comical expression was, when one Iliad was done, to say, "Come, because it is holiday, let us be jovial and take the other Iliad," reflecting on the mode of the former debauches, whose word it was, "It is holiday, let us take the other pint."

And as the doctor laboured in the rescue of single persons, he had an eye therein to multitudes; for wherever he had planted the seeds of piety, he presently cast about to extend and propagate them thereby to others: engaging all his converts not to be ashamed of being reputed innocent, or to be thought to have a kindness for religion; but to own the seducing men to God with as much confidence at least as others use when they are factors for the devil: and instead of lying on the guard and the defensive part, he gave in charge to chuse the other of the assailant. And this method he commended not only as the greatest service unto God and to our neighbour, but as the greatest security to ourselves; it being like the not expecting of a threatened war at home, but carrying it abroad into the enemies' country. And nothing in the Christian's warfare he judged so dangerous as a truce, and the cessation of hostility. Withal, partly and holding intelligence with guilt in the most trivial things, he pronounced as treason to ourselves, as well as unto God: "for while," saith he, "we fight with sin, in the fiercest shock of opposition we shall be safe; for no attempts can hurt us till we treat with the assailants: temptations of all sorts having that good quality of the devil in them, to fly when they are resisted." Besides, whereas young people are used to varnish over their non-performance and forbearance of good actions by a pretence unto humility and bashful modesty, saying, they are ashamed to do this or that, as being not able to do it well, he assured them, "This was arrant pride and nothing else."

Upon these grounds his motto of instruction to young persons was, *Principiis obsta*, and *Hoc age* to withstand the overtures of ill, and be intent and serious in good; to which he joined a third advice, "To be furnished with a friend." Accordingly at a solemn leave-taking of one of his disciples, he thus discoursed: "I have heard say of a man who upon his death-bed being to take his farewell of his son, and considering what course of life to recommend that might secure his innocence, at last enjoined him to spend his time in making of verses, and in dressing a

garden; the old man thinking no temptation could creep into either of these employments. But I instead of these expedients will recommend these other, the doing all the good you can to every person, and the having of a friend; whereby your life shall not only be rendered innocent, but withal extremely happy."

Now after all these excellencies, it would be reason to expect that the doctor, conscious of his merit, should have looked, if not on others with contempt, yet on himself with some complacency and fair regard; but it was far otherwise. There was no enemy of his, however drunk with passion, that had so mean an esteem either of him or of his parts as he had both of the one and other. As at his first appearing in public he was clearly overreached and cheated in the owning of his books; so when he found it duty to go on in that his toilsome trade of writing, he was wont seriously to profess himself astonished at their reception into the world, especially, as he withal was pleased to add, since others failed herein, whose performances were infinitely beyond any thing which he was able to do.

From this opinion of his mediocrity at best, and the resolution of not making any thing in religion public before it had undergone all tests, in point not only of truth but prudence, proceeded his constant practice of subjecting all his writings to the censure and correction of his friends, engaging them at that time to lay aside all their kindness, or rather to evidence their love by being rigidly censorious. There is scarce any book he wrote that had not first travelled on this errand of being severely dealt with, to several parts of the nation before it saw the light; nay so scrupulous was the doctor herein, that he has frequently, upon suggestion of something to be changed, returned his papers the second time unto his censor, to see if the alteration was exactly to his mind, and generally was never so well pleased as when his packets returned with large accessions of objections and advertisements. And in this point he was so strangely adviseable, that he would advert unto the judgement of the meanest person, usually saying, that there was no one that was honest to him by whom he could not profit; withal, that he was to expect readers of several sorts, and if one illiterate man was stumbled, it was likely others of his form would be so too, whose interest, when he writ to all, was not to be passed over. Besides, those less-discerning observers, if they should do nothing else, he said could serve to draw teeth; that is, admonish if ought were said with passion

or sharpness, a thing the doctor was infinitely jealous of in his writings. Many years since he having sent one of his tracts unto an eminent person in this church, to whom he bore a very high and merited regard, to be looked over by him, he sending it back without any amendment, but with a profuse compliment of liking every thing; the good doctor was much affected with the disappointment, only comforted himself herein, that he had reaped this benefit, to have learned never to send his papers to that hand again; which resolution to his dying day he kept.

Nor was this caution before the publishing of his books sufficient, but was continued after it, the doctor importuning still his friends to send him their objections, if in any point they were not satisfied; which he with great indifference considered in his reviews and subsequent editions; however took more kindly the most impertinent exception, than those advertisements of a different kind which brought encomiums and lavish praises, which he heard with as great distaste as others do the most virulent reproaches.

A farther proof of this low esteem the doctor had of himself (if such were possible) would be *meekness* to those that slighted him and disparaged his abilities; this being the surest indication that our humility is in earnest, when we are content to hear ill language not only from ourselves but from our enemies: which with how much indifference this inimitable person did, it is neither easy fully to describe, nor to persuade to just belief. The short is, as he was never angry with his pertinacious dissenters for not being of his mind in points of speculation; no more was he in the least with his scornful opposites for their being of it in their little value of his person. And though he had as well as other men, seeds of incitation in his natural temper, and more than others temptation to it in his daily and almost intolerable injuries; yet such was the habitual mastery he had gained over himself, that the strictest considerers of his actions, have not in ten years' perpetual conversation, seen his passion betray him to an indecent speech.

Nor was his *sufferance* of other kinds less exemplary than that he evidenced in the reception of calumny and foul reproach: for though "pain were that to which" he was used to say, "he was of all things most a coward," yet being under it he shewed an eminent constancy and perfect resignation.

At the approach of sickness his first consideration was, what

failing had provoked the present chastisement, and to that purpose he made his earnest prayer to God (and enjoined his friends to do the like) to convince him of it; nor only so, but tear and rend away, though by the greatest violence and sharpest discipline, whatever was displeasing in his eyes, and grant not only patience, but fruitfulness under the rod. Then by repeated acts of submission would he deliver himself up into God's hands to do with him as seemed him good; amidst the sharpest pains meekly invoking him, and saying, "God's holy will be done." And even then when on the wrack of torture, would he be observing every circumstance of allay: when it was the gout he would give thanks it was not the stone or cramp; when it was the stone, he then would say it was not so sharp as others felt, accusing his impatience that it appeared so bad to him as it did. And then when some degree of health was given, he exerted all his strength in a return of grateful recognition to the Author of it, which he performed with a vivacious sense and chearful piety, frequently reflecting on the psalmist's phrase, *that it was a joyful thing to be thankful*. Which his transport whoever should attentively observe, would easily apprehend how possible it was for the infinite fruitions of another world to be made up by the perpetual act of grateful recognition, in giving lauds and singing praises unto God.

Upon this score he was a most diligent observer of every blessing he received, and had them still in readiness to confront unto those pressures he at any time lay under. In the intermissions of his importunate maladies he would with full acknowledgement mention the great indulgence, that he who had in his constitution the cause of so much pain still dwelling with him, should yet by God's immediate interposing be rescued from the effect.

To facilitate yet more this his serenity and calm of mind, he laid this rule before him, which proved of great use, "Never to trouble himself with the foresight of future events," being resolved of our Saviour's maxim, that *sufficient to the day is the evil thereof*: and that it were the greatest folly in the world to perplex one's self⁷ with that which perchance will never come to pass; but if it should, then God who sent it will dispose it to the best; most certainly to *his glory*, which should satisfy us in

⁷ *To perplex one's self.*] See bishop Butler's Sermon xiv. On the Love of God; or *Christian Institutes*, vol. i. p. 633, 4.

our respects to him ; and, unless it be our fault, as certainly to *our good*, which, if we be not strangely unreasonable, must satisfy in reverence unto ourselves and private interests. Besides all this, in the very dispensation, God will not fail to give such allays which (like the cool gales under the line) will make the greatest heats of sufferance very supportable. In such occasions he usually subjoined Epictetus's dilemma, "Either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not : if it be, let us apply the remedy, and there will be no motive for complaint ; if it be not, the grief is utterly impertinent, since it can do no good." As also from the same author he annexed this consideration, "That every thing has two handles ; if the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate : " and in every occurrent he would be sure to find some cool handle that he might lay hold of.

And to enforce all this, he made a constant recourse to the experience of God's dealing with him in preceding accidents, which however dreadful at a distance, at a nearer view lost much of their terror. And for others that he saw perplexed about the manage of their difficult affairs, he was wont to ask them, "When they would begin to trust God, or permit him to govern the world ? " Besides, unto himself and friends he was wont solemnly to give this mandate, *Quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis*, in his English, *to rather nothing* ; not only to be content or acquiesce, but be resolved the present state to be the very best that could be wished or fancied.

And thus all private concernments he passed over with a perfect indifference ; the world and its appendages hanging so loose about him that he never took notice when any part dropt off, or sate uneasily. Herein indeed he was concerned and rendered thoughtful, if somewhat intervened that had a possibility of duty appendent to it ; in which case he would be solicitous to discern where the obligation lay : but presently rescued himself from that disquiet by his addresses unto God in prayer and fasting, which was his certain refuge in this as well as other exigents ; and if the thing in question were of moment, he called in the devotions of his friends. Besides this case, he owned to have some kind of little discomposure in the choice of things perfectly indifferent ; for where there was nothing to determine him, the balance by hanging even became tremulous, and by a propensity to either side inclined to neither, making useless offers, but promoting

nothing : which condition of mind he was wont to call *the deliberation of Buridan's ass*¹.

Upon which grounds, of all other things, he most disliked the being left to make a choice ; and hugely applauded the state of subjection to a superior, where an obsequious diligence was the main ingredient of duty : as also he did the state of subjection unto pressure, as a privilege and blessing. And though he prayed as much and withal as heartily as any person for the return of the nation from captivity, he always first premised the being made receptive of such mercy by the intervention of repentance. He would often both publicly and privately assert solemnly, "That prosperous iniquity would not be deliverance, but the most formidable judgment ; that the nation during its pressures was under the discipline of God, given up to Satan by a kind of ecclesiastic censure ; and should the Almighty dismiss us from his hands, and put us into our own, give us up to ourselves, with a *why should you be smitten any more?* this were of all inflictions the most dreadful." Though with admirable equanimity he could run over the black annals of this unhappy nation while its calamities were reckoned up, he could scarce hear the slightest mention of its incorrigible guilt without dissolving into tears ; especially when he happened to advert unto the impudence of that hypocrisy which reconciled godliness and villany, and made it possible for men to be saints and devils both together : whereby religion grew ruinous to itself, and besides the scandal of such enormities committed in the face of the sun, with such pretence to zeal and holiness, our faith became instructed to confute and baffle duty, the creed and the commandments, belief and practice being brought into the lists, and represented as incompatible ; while

⁸ *Buridan's ass.*] Buridan was a Frenchman, an eminent metaphysician, logician, and commentator on Aristotle, who lived in the fourteenth century. His celebrated sophism has become almost proverbial. He supposed an ass, alike hungry and thirsty, situated between a bundle of hay on one side, and a bucket of water on the other, and equally tempted by both. "Now, what will the ass do?" asked Buridan : if answered, "He will remain motionless," he concluded, "then he will die of hunger and thirst." If any opponent replied, "An ass, though stupid, will not be stupid enough to die so :"—"then," concluded Buridan, "he will turn to one side rather than the other, and therefore he exercises free will." This sophism puzzled all the logicians of his time, and became famous in the schools. Some of the early protestants wrongly imagined, from Buridan's argument, that he was a forerunner of the reformed church. The point is much older than Buridan.

the flames intended for the sacred lamps, the establishment of doctrinals and speculative divinity, burnt up the altar and the temple, consumed not only charity, but good nature too, and untaught the common documents of honest heathenism.

And while this public soul in the contemplation of the mischief which our sins both were themselves and in their issues, great in their provocation and fatal in their plagues, indulged unto his pious and generous griefs, yet even then considering judgment not to be more just than useful to the sufferers, he found out means from that unlikely topic to speak comforts to himself and others.

In that last crisis of our gasping hopes, the defeat of the Cheshire forces⁹, which promised all the misery consequent to the sway of a senate gorged in blood, and yet still thirsting for more, and of a veteran army composed of desperate fanatics, engaged in equal guilts among themselves, and equal hate against the other, and therewithal against the religion liberty and being of the nation; he thus addresses himself to the desponding sorrows of a friend.

“ Sir,

Sept. 2.

“ I have received your last, and acknowledge the great fitness of it to the present opportunities under which God hath pleased to place us. If we look about us, there was never any louder call to lamentation and bitter mourning; and the sharpest accents of these are visibly due to those continued provocations which appear to have wrought all our woe: yet is there not wanting some gleam of light, if we shall yet by God’s grace be qualified to make use of it. It is the supreme privilege of Christianity to convert the saddest evils into the most medicinal advantages, the valley of Achor into the door of hope, the blackest tempest into the most perfect *εὐδία*: and it is certain you have an excellent opportunity now before you to improve and receive benefit by; and you will not despise that affection which attempts to tell you somewhat of it. It is plainly this; that all kind of prosperity (even that which we most think we can justify the most importunate pursuance of, the flourishing of a church and monarchy) is treacherous and dangerous, and might very probably tend to

⁹ *Defeat of the Cheshire forces.*] Under sir George Booth, by the parliament army under the command of general Lambert. Clarendon’s *Hist. of the Rebellion*, book xvi. vol. iii. p. 527. edit. 1704.

our great ills ; and nothing is so entirely safe and wholesome as to be continued under God's disciplines. Those that are not bettered by such methods, would certainly be intoxicated and destroyed by the pleasanter draughts ; and those that would ever serve God sincerely in affluence, have infinitely greater advantages and opportunities for it in the adverse fortune. Therefore let us now all adore and bless God's wisest choices, and set vigorously to the task that lies before us, improving the present advantages, and supplying in the abundance of the inward beauty what is wanting to the outward lustre of a church ; and we shall not fail to find that the grots and caves lie as open to the celestial influences as the fairest and most beautified temples. We are ordinarily very willing to be rich, and flatter ourselves that our aims are no other than to be enabled by much wealth to do much good ; and some live to see themselves confuted, want hearts when wealth comes in greatest abundance : so those that never come to make the experiment, have yet reason to judge that God saw it fit not to lead them into temptation, lest if they had been proved they should have been found faithless. And the same judgment are we now obliged to pass for ourselves, and by what God appears to have chosen for us, to resolve what he sees to be absolutely best for us ; and it must be our greatest blame and wretchedness, if what hath now befallen us be not effectually better for us, than whatever else even piety could have suggested to us to wish or pray for. And then, I pray, judge candidly whether any thing be in any degree sober or tolerable in any of us, beside the one great necessary wisdom as well as duty of resignation, and making God's choices ours also.

“I have been these three weeks under restraint by the gout and other pains, and am not yet on my legs, yet blessed be God have all causes of thanksgiving, none of repining. And I shall with confidence pray and hope that the great multitudes of persons and families that are now under far sharper exercises, will find as much greater allays and sweetnesses, and the black cloud (as oft it hath done) vanish undiscernably.”

And when this most unlikely prophecy became fulfilled, when that black cloud he spoke of, contrary to all human expectation, broke not in tempest, but the fairest sunshine that ever smiled on this our land, when our despairs and resolute despondencies became unravelled by a miracle of mercy, which after-ages will be as far from giving credit to in its endearing, most improbable

circumstances, as this of ours (pardon the harshness of a true comparison) is from esteeming at its merited rate ; our excellent patriot, and best of men, seeing the dawns of this welcome day, paid down at once his greatest thanks and heartiest deprecations as a tribute to it, passionately fearing, what he had more passionately wished for, suspecting his own hopes, and weeping over his fruitions.

As to his sacred majesty, he looked on his return with pity and compassion, as bringing him to that uneasy, if not insuperable, task of ruling and reforming a licentious people ; to that most irksome sufferance of being worried with the importunities of covetous and ambitious men, the restless care of meeting the designs of mutinous and discontented spirits ; resolving, his most wished return could only be a blessing to his people, but unto him could not be so, but only on the score, by having opportunities through glorious self-denials to do good. And for all other persons, he said, “ that having seriously considered what sort of men would be better for the change, he could not think of any. As for the *church* it was certain, persecution was generally the happiest means of propagating that ; she then grew fastest when pruned most : then of the best complexion and most healthy when fainting through loss of blood. As to the *laity*, in all their several stations and estates, they had so much perverted the healthful dispensations of judgment, that it was most improbable they should make any tolerable use of mercy. And lastly, in reference to *himself*, he resolved (though sure on weaker grounds) affliction most conducive.” During the current of that tyranny which for so many years we all groaned under, he kept a constant equable serenity and unthoughtfulness in outward accidents : but the approaching change gave him somewhat of pensive recollection, insomuch that discoursing of occurrents, he broke forth into these words, “ I must confess I never saw that time in all my life wherein I could so cheerfully say my *nunc dimittis* as now. Indeed I do dread prosperity, I do really dread it. For the little good I am now able to do, I can do it with deliberation and advice : but if it please God I should live and be called to any higher office in the church, I must then do many things in a hurry, and shall have not time to consult with others, and I sufficiently apprehend the danger of relying on my own judgment.” Which words he spake with the greatest concernment of earnest melting passion as is imaginable. Accordingly it pleased almighty

God so to deal with him ; and having granted to his servant the satisfaction of a full return and gracious answer to his prayer in the then every-day expected reception of his sacred majesty, not to deny his other great request of not sharing any temporary advantage from it : but as his merits were far beyond those transitory ensnaring retributions, to remove him from them to those solid and unmixed rewards, which could be nothing else than such, and would be such for ever.

But this sad part of our relation requiring to itself a fresh unwearied sorrow, and the saint-like manner of this excellent person's passage from the world being as exemplary and conducing to the uses of survivors as the notice of his life ; we shall allow it a distinct apartment, and once again break off the thread of our discourse, to resume it in its proper unentangled clue.

SECTION THE THIRD.

AT the opening of the year 1660, when every thing visibly tended to the reduction of his sacred majesty, and all persons in their several stations began to make way and prepare for it, the good doctor was by the fathers of the church desired to repair to London, there to assist in the great work of the composition of breaches in the church : which summons as he resolved unfit either to dispute or disobey, so could he not without much violence to his inclinations submit unto. But finding it his duty, he diverted all the uneasiness of antipathy and aversion into a deliberate preparation of himself for this new theatre of affairs on which he was to enter. Where his first care was to fortify his mind against the usual temptations of business, place, and power. And to this purpose, besides his earnest prayers to God for his assistance, and disposal of him entirely to his glory, and a diligent survey of all his inclinations, and therein those which were his more open and less defensible parts, he farther called in and solemnly adjured that friend of his with whom he had then the nearest opportunity of commerce, to study and examine the last ten years of his life, and with the justice due to a Christian friendship to observe the failances of all kinds, and shew them to him : which being accordingly attempted, the product, after a diligent inquest, only proving the representation of such defects, which might have past for virtue in another person ; his next

prospect was abroad, what several ways he might do good unto the public: and knowing that the diocese of Worcester was by the favour of his majesty designed his charge, he thought of several opportunities of charity unto that place, and among others particularly cast in his mind for the repair of the cathedral church, and laid the foundation of a considerable advance unto that work. Which early care is here mentioned as an instance of his inflamed desire of doing good, and singular zeal to the house of God, and the restoring of a decent worship in a like decent place: for otherwise it was far from his custom to look forward into future events, but still to attend and follow after Providence, and let every day bear its own evil. And now, considering that the nation was under its great crisis and most hopeful method of its cure, which yet if palliate and imperfect, would only make way to more fatal sickness, he fell to his devotions on that behalf, and made those two excellent prayers¹, which were

¹ *Two excellent prayers.*] See Works, vol. i. p. 727. The following is submitted as a specimen, from the former of them.

“O blessed Lord, who in thine infinite mercy didst vouchsafe to plant a glorious church among us, and now in thy just judgment hast permitted our sins and follies to root it up, Be pleased at last to resume thoughts of peace towards us, that we may do the like to one another. Lord, look down from heaven, the habitation of thy holiness, and behold the ruins of a desolated church, and compassionate to see her in the dust. Behold her, O Lord, not only broken, but crumbled, divided into so many sects and factions, that she no longer represents the Ark of the God of Israel, where the covenant and the manna were conserved, but the Ark of Noah, filled with all various sorts of unclean beasts: and to complete our misery and guilt, the spirit of division hath insinuated itself as well into our affections as our judgments: that badge of discipleship which thou recommendedst to us is cast off, and all the contrary wrath and bitterness, anger and clamour, called in to maintain and widen our breaches. O Lord, how long shall we thus violate and defame that Gospel of peace that we profess! How long shall we thus madly defeat ourselves, and lose that Christianity which we pretend to strive for! O thou which makest men to be of one mind in an house, be pleased so to unite us, that we may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. And now that in civil affairs there seems some aptness to a composure, O let not our spiritual differences be more unreconcilable. Lord, let not the roughest winds blow out of the sanctuary: let not those which should be thy ambassadors for peace still sound a trumpet for war: but do thou reveal thyself to all our Elijahs in that still small voice which may teach them to echo thee in the like meek treatings with others. Lord, let no unseasonable stiffness of those that are in the right, no perverse obstinacy of those that are in the wrong, hinder the closing of our wounds; but let the one instruct in meekness, and be thou pleased to give the other repentance

published immediately after his death, as they had been made immediately before his sickness, and were almost the very last thing he wrote.

Being in this state of mind, fully prepared for that new course of life, which had nothing to recommend it to his taste but its unpleasantness, (the best allective unto him) he expected hourly the peremptory mandate which was to call him forth of his beloved retirements.

But in the instant a more importunate, though infinitely more welcome, summons engaged him on his last journey : for on the 4th of April he was seized with a sharp fit of the stone, with those symptoms that are usual in such cases ; which yet upon the voidance of a stone ceased for that time. However on the 8th of the same month it returned again with greater violence : and though after two days the pain decreased, the suppression of urine yet continued, with frequent vomitings, and a distention of the whole body, and likewise shortness of breath, upon any little motion. When, as if he had by some instinct a certain knowledge of the issue of his sickness, he almost at its first approach conceived himself in hazard : and whereas at other times, when he saw his friends about him fearful, he was used to reply cheerfully, "that he was not dying yet ;" now in the whole current of his disease he never said any thing to avert suspicion, but addressed himself unto its cure, telling his friends with whom he was, "that he would leave them in God's hands, who could supply abundantly all the assistance they could either expect or desire from him, and who would so provide, that they should not find his removal any loss." And when he observed one of them with some earnestness pray for his health and continuance, he with tender passion replied, "I observe your zeal spends itself all in that one petition for my recovery ; in the interim you have no care of me in my greatest interest, which is, that I may be perfectly fitted for my change when God shall call me : I pray let

to the acknowledgement of the truth. To this end, do thou, O Lord, mollify all exasperated minds, take off all animosities and prejudices, contempt and heart burnings, and by uniting their hearts prepare for the reconciling their opinions. And that nothing may intercept the clear sight of thy truth, Lord, let all private and secular designs be totally deposited, that gain may no longer be the measure of our godliness, but the one great and common concernment of truth and peace may be unanimously and vigorously pursued," &c.

some of your fervour be employed that way." And being prest to make it his own request to God to be continued longer in the world, to the service of the church, he immediately began a solemn prayer, which contained first a very humble and melting acknowledgment of sin, and a most earnest intercession for mercy and forgiveness through the merits of his Saviour: next resigning himself entirely into his Maker's hands, he begged that if the divine wisdom intended him for death, he might have a due preparation for it; but if his life might be in any degree useful to the church, even to one single soul, he then besought almighty God to continue him, and by his grace enable him to employ that life he so vouchsafed, industriously and successfully. After this he did with great affection intercede for this church and nation, and with particular vigour and enforcement prayed for sincere performance of Christian duty now so much decayed, to the equal supplanting and scandal of that holy calling; that those who professed that faith might live according to the rules of it, and to the form of godliness superadd the power. This with some repetitions and more tears he pursued, and at last closed all in a prayer for the several concerns of the family where he was. With this he frequently blessed God for so far indulging to his infirmity, as to make his disease so painless to him; withal to send it to him before he took his journey, whereas it might have taken him in the way or at his inn, with far greater disadvantages.

Nor did he in this exigence desist from the exercise of his accustomed candour and sweetness, whereby he was used to entertain the addresses of the greatest strangers. For two scholars coming at this time to see him, when, they having sent up their names, it appeared they were such as he had no acquaintance with, though they that were about the doctor, considering his illness, proposed that a civil excuse might be made, and the visitants be so dismissed: he resisted the advice with the greatest earnestness, saying, "I will by no means have them sent away, for I know not how much they may be concerned in the errand they come about;" and gave order they should be brought up: and when upon trial it appeared that a compliment was the whole affair, yet the good doctor seemed much satisfied that he had not disappointed that unseasonable kindness.

Likewise his own necessities, however pressing, diverted not his concernments for those of others. It so happened that a

neighbour lady languishing under a long weakness, he took care that the church-office for the sick should be daily said in her behalf : and though at the beginning of the doctor's illness the chaplain made no other variation, than to change the singular into the plural, yet when his danger increased, he then thought fit to pray peculiarly for him : which the good doctor would by no means admit, but said, " O no, poor soul, let not me be the cause of excluding her ;" and accordingly had those prayers continued in the more comprehensive latitude. And indeed those offices which had a public character upon them he peculiarly valued. For as to the forms of devotion appropriate to his extremity he took care they should not exclude the public ones, but still gave these a constant place : and when in his sharp agonies his friends betook themselves to their extemporaneous ejaculations, he composed those irregularities by saying, " Let us call on God in the voice of his church."

And in seasons of this kind whereas the making of a will is generally an uneasy task, as being at once a double parting with the world ; to him it was in all respects agreeable and welcome. For having bequeathed several legacies to his relatives and friends, and left the remainder of his estate to the disposal of his intimate and approved friend Doctor Henchman ², now lord bishop of Salisbury, as if recovered from the worst part of his disease, the necessity of reflecting upon secular affairs, he became strangely cheerful, and overlooked the encroaching importunate tyranny of sickness.

On the 20th of April, being Good-Friday, he solemnly received the sacrament ; and again on the 22d of April, which then was Easter-day. At which time when the number of communicants was too great to have place in his bed-chamber, and the whole office was over-long for him to go through with, it was ordered that the service being performed in the usual apartment, a competent number should afterwards come up and communicate with him : which though he allowed as most fitting, yet he did so with grief and trouble, breaking out into this passionate complaint, " Alas ! must I be excommunicated !" To be absent from any part of public worship he thus deeply resented : so far was he from their opinion (and they would be thought godly too) who in

² *Doctor Henchman.*] Humphrey Henchman, bishop of Salisbury, October 4, 1660 ; of London, September 15, 1663. He died in October, 1675.

their most healthful leisureable days make this not their penance, but election and choice.

Amidst his weakness and indisposition of all parts, in the act of celebration his devotion not only was not faint or sick, but most intent and vigorous: yet was it equalled by his infinite humility, which discovered itself as in his deportment, so particularly in that his pathetical ejaculation, which brake forth at the hearing of those words of the apostle, *Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners*; unto which he rejoined, in an accent that neither intended a compliment to God nor men, to either of which he was not under a temptation, "Of whom I am the chief."

The exuberance of this humility appeared in all other occasions of instance: particularly about this time a letter being sent unto him, in which, among many expressions of great value, there was added an intimation. "That there was now hope the days were come when his desert should be considered, and himself employed in the government as well as the instruction of the church;" at this he was hugely discomposed, and expressed a grief and anguish beyond that his sickness in any period, however sharp, had extorted from him.

But now through the long suppression of urine the blood grown thin and serous, withal made eager and tumultuous by the mixture of heterogenous parts, the excellent doctor fell into a violent bleeding at the nose; at which the by-standers being in astonishment, he cheerfully admonished them "to lay aside impatience in his behalf, and to wait God's leisure, whose seasons were still the best:" withal he thankfully acknowledged God's mercy in the dispensation, alleging, "that to bleed to death was one of the most desirable passages out of this world."

And truly he very justly made this observation; for it pleased the Divine Providence strangely to balance the symptoms of the doctor's disease to his advantage: for the sharp pains of the stone were allayed by that heaviness of sense which the recoilment of serous moisture into the habit of the body and insertions of the nerves occasioned; and when that oppression endangered a lethargic or apoplectic torpour, he was retained from that by the flux of blood. Which several accidents interchangeably succeeded one the other, insomuch that in this whole time of sickness he neither had long violence of torment, nor diminution of his intellectual faculties. And here this violent hæmorrhage of which we now speak being of itself even miraculously stopped,

when all applications were ineffectual, a drowsiness succeeding, which happened at the time of prayers, though he perfectly attended, and returned to every response amidst his importunate infirmity, he very sadly resented it, saying, "Alas ! this is all the return I shall make to this mercy, to sleep at prayers."

When he was in pain he often prayed for patience, and while he did so, evidenced that his prayer was heard ; for he exercised not only that, but thankfulness too, in his greatest extremity crying out, "Blessed be God, blessed be God."

Nor did he, according to the usual method, inflict his sickness upon those about him, by peevishness disquieting his attendants ; but was pleased with every thing that was done, and liked every thing that was brought, condescending to all proposals, and obeying with all readiness every advice of his physicians. Nor was it any wonder he should so return unto the endeavours of his friends, who had tender kindness for his enemies, even the most inveterate and bloody. When the defeat of Lambert and his party, the last effort of gasping treason in this nation before its blest return unto obedience, was told him, his only triumph was that of his charity, saying with tears in his eyes, "Poor souls ! I beseech God forgive them." So habitual was pity and compassion to his soul, that all representations concentrated there. Virtue had still his prayers, because he loved it ; and vice enjoyed them too, because it wanted them.

In his own greatest desolations he administered reliefs to those about him, mixing advices with his prayers, and twisting the tenderness of a friend to that of the Christian. He then dispensed his best of legacies, his blessings ; most passionately exhorting the young growing hopes of the family, whose first innocence and bashful shame of doing ill he above all things laboured to have preserved, "to be just to the advantage of their education, and maintain inviolate their first baptismal vows : " then he more generally commended unto all the great advantage of mutual friendly admonitions. On which occasion when the good lady asked him what more special thing he would recommend unto her for her whole life, he briefly replied, "uniform obedience : " whereby (if we may take a comment from himself at other times) he meant not only a sincere reception of duty as such, because commanded, and not because it is this or that, pleasant or honourable, or perchance cheap or easy duty ; but withal the very condition of obeying, the lot of not being to choose for one's self, the

being determined in all proposals by human or divine command, and where those were left at large, by the guidance of God's providence, or the assistance of a friend.

But amidst these most Christian divertisements, these happiest anodynes of sickness, the 25th of April fatally drew on, wherein his flux of blood breaking forth again with greater violence than it had done before, was not to be stopped by outward applications, nor the revulsives of any kind, not of its own, the opening of a vein, first in the arm, and after in the foot; till at last the fountain being exhausted, the torrent ceased its course, and indeed that vital one which its regular motion kept on foot: for the good doctor leaving off to bleed about three of the clock in the afternoon, became very weak and dis-spirited, and cold in the extreme parts, had strength only continued to persevere in his devotions, which he did unto the last moment of his life, a few minutes before his death breathing out those words which best became his Christian life, "Lord, make haste."

And so upon that very day on which the parliament convened, which laid the foundation of our release and liberty, and brought at once this nation's return from its captivity, and its gracious sovereign prince, this great champion of religion and pattern of all virtue, as if reserved for masteries and combats of exigence and hazard, for persecution and sufferings, was taken hence, and by his loss repress the overflowing and extravagance of those joys that waited the reception of his sacred majesty.

It will be below the greatness of the person as well as of this loss, to celebrate his death in womanish complaints, or indeed by any verbal applications; his worth is not to be described by any words besides his own, nor can any thing beseem his memory but what is sacred and eternal as those writings are. May his just fame from them and from his virtue be precious to succeeding times, grow up and flourish still: and when characters engraven in brass shall disappear, as if they had been writ in water; when eulogies committed to the trust of marble shall be illegible as whispered accents; when pyramids dissolved in dust shall want themselves a monument to evidence that they were once so much as ruin; let that remain a known and classic history describing him in his full portraiture among the best of subjects, of friends, of scholars, and of men.

The dead body being opened (which here is mentioned, for that the reader cannot want the curiosity to desire to know every

thing that concerned this great person) the principal and vital parts appeared sound; only the right kidney, or rather its remainder, which exceeded not the bigness of an egg, was hard and knotty, and in its cavity besides several little ones, was a large stone of the figure of an almond, though much bigger, whose lesser end was fallen into the urethra, and as a stopple closed it up; so that it is probable that kidney had for divers years been in a manner useless. The other kidney was swoln beyond the natural proportion, otherwise not much decayed; but within the urethra four fingers' breadth a round white stone was lodged, which was so fastened in the part, that the physician with his probe could not stir it, and was fain at last to cut it out: and so exactly it stopped the passage, that upon the dissection the water before enclosed gushed forth in great abundance: from whence it appeared perfectly impossible for art to have ennobled itself in the preservation of this great person; as it was also manifest that nothing but the consequences of his indefatigable study took him from us, in the perfection and maturity, the 55th year of his life.

On the morrow in the evening, the 26th day of the same month, he was, according to his desire, without ostentation or pomp, though with all becoming decency, buried³ at the neighbour-church of Hampton, with the whole office and usual rites of the church of England, several of the gentry and clergy of the county, and affectionate multitudes of persons of less quality attending on his obsequies, the clergy with ambition offering themselves to bear him on their shoulders; which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burthen in the burial-place of the generous family which with such friendship had entertained him when alive: where now he rests in peace, and full assurance of a glorious resurrection.

Having thus given a faithful, though imperfect, draught of this excellent person, whose virtues are so far from imitation by practice, that they exercise and strain the comprehension of words; and having shewed how much he has merited of this nation in its

³ *Buried.*] We are told by our author, bishop Fell, in his account of the eminent loyalist Dr. Richard Allestree, that in his return from a visit to his relations in Shropshire, designing to visit his worthy friend, Dr. Hammond, at Westwood near Worcester, he met at the gate, the body of that great man carrying to his burial. *Preface to Dr. Allestree's Sermons*, fol. 1684.

most pressing exigents, both by his writings and by his example, and perchance above both these by his unwearied intercession in devotion ; it may possibly be neither useless nor unacceptable to offer a request unto the reader in his behalf, and shew him an expedient whereby he may pay his debt of gratitude, and eminently oblige this holy saint though now with God.

It is this, to add unto his account in the day of retribution by taking benefit by his performances : and as he being dead yet speaks, so let him persuade likewise ;—

That the *covetous* reader would now at his request put off his sordid vice, and take courage to be liberal, assured by his example, that if in the worst of times profuseness could make rich, charity shall never bring to beggary :

That the *proud* opinionated person on the same terms would in civility to him descend from his fond heights, instructed here that lowly meekness shall compass great respects, and instead of hate or flattery be waited on with love and veneration :

That the *debauched* or *idle* would leave upon this score his lewd unwarrantable joys, convinced that strict and rugged virtue made an age of sun-shine, a life of constant smiles, amidst the dreadfulest tempests ; taught the gout, the stone, the cramp, the cholic, to be treatable companions, and made it eligible to live in bad times and die in flourishing :

That the *angry* man, who calls passion at least justice, possibly zeal and duty, would for his sake assume a different temper, believe that arguments may be answered by saying reason, calumnies by saying no, and railings by saying nothing :

The *coward* and *disloyal*, that durst not own in words, much less by service and relief, his prince, that complimented his apostasy and treason by the soft terms of changing an interest, will from hence learn that the surest way to safety is to have but one interest, and that espoused so firmly as never to be changed ; since such a constancy was that which a Cromwell durst not persecute :

That the *employed in business* would from hence dismiss their fears of regular piety, their suspicion that devotion would hinder all dispatch and manage of affairs ; since it appeared, his constant office (like the prayer of Joshua, which made the sun stand still) seemed to have rendered unto him each day as long as two :

That the *ambitious* person, especially the ecclesiastic, would think employment and high place a stewardship, that renders

debtors both to God and man, a residence at once of constant labour and attendance too ; a precipice that equally exposes both to envy and to ruin : and consequently to be that which should become our greatest fear and terror, but at no hand our choice : since it was that which this heroic constancy was not ashamed to own a dread of, and whose appearance did render death itself relief and rescue :

Lastly, that the *narrow self-designing* person, who understands no kindness but advantage ; the *sensual*, that knows no love but lust ; the *intemperate*, that owns no companion but drink ; may all at once from him reform their brutish errors : since he has made it evident, that a friend does fully satisfy these distant and importunate desires, being as the most innocent and certainly ingenuous entertainment, so besides that the highest mirth, the greatest interest, and surest pleasure in the world.

They that had the happiness of a personal acquaintance with this best of men, this saint, who seems in our decays of ancient virtue lent us by special providence even for this end and purpose, that we might not disbelieve the faith of history delivering the excellency of primitive Christians, know with what thirst and eagerness of soul he sought the spiritual advantage of any single man how mean soever, with what enjoyment he beheld the recovery of any such from an ill course and habit. And whatever apprehensions other men may have, they will be easily induced to think, that if blessed spirits have commerce with earth, (as surely we have reason to believe it somewhat more than possible,) they, I say, will resolve it a connatural and highly-agreeable accession unto his fruitions, that when there is joy in the presence of the angels of God for a sinner that repents, he may be an immediate accessory to that blessed triumph, and be concerned beyond the rate of a bare spectator.

Persuasions to piety now-a-days are usually in scorn called preaching : but it is to be hoped that this, how contemptible an office soever it be grown, will be no indecency in this instance ; that it will not be absurd if his history, who deservedly was reckoned among the best of preachers, whose life was the best of sermons, should bear a correspondence to its subject, and professedly close with an application : that it adjures all persons to be what they promised God Almighty they would be in their baptismal vows, what they see the glorious saints and martyrs and confessors, and in particular this holy man has been before them ;

be what is most honourable, most easy and advantageous to be at present; and, in a word, to render themselves such as they desire to be upon their death-beds, before they leave the world, and then would be for ever.

Which blest atchievement as it was the great design of the excellent doctor's both words and writings, his thoughts and actions, is also (besides the payment of a debt to friendship and to virtue) the only aim of this imperfect, but yet affectionate and well-meant, account: and may almighty God by the assistance of his grace give all of these this their most earnestly-desired effect and issue!

By the generous piety of the right reverend father in God Humphrey lord bishop of Sarum, there is now erected to the sacred memory of this great person in the parish-church of Hampton, the place of his interment, a fair monument of white marble bearing this inscription.

HENRICUS HAMMONDUS.

Ad cujus nomen assurgit
 Quicquid est gentis literatæ,
 (Dignum nomen
 Quod auro, non atramento,
 Nec in marmore perituro, sed adamante potius exaretur)
 Musagetes celeberrimus, vir plane summus,
 Theologus omnium consummatissimus,
 Eruditæ pietatis decus simul et exemplar;
 Sacri codicis interpres
 Facile omnium oculatissimus,
 Errorum malleus
 Post homines natos felicissimus,
 Veritatis hyperaspistes
 Supra-quam-dici-potest nervosus;
 In cujus scriptis
 Elucescunt
 Ingenii gravitas et acumen,
 Judicii sublimitas et Ἀκρίβεια,
 Sententiarum Ὀγκος et Δεινότης,
 Docendi methodus utilissima,
 Nusquam dormitans diligentia.

Hammondus (inquam) ὁ πᾶνν,
 In ipsa mortis vicinia positus,
 Immortalitati quasi contiguus,

Exuvias mortis venerandas
 (Præter quas nihil mortale habuit)
 Sub obscuro hoc marmore
 Latere voluit,
 VII. Cal. Maias,
 Ann. Ætat. LV.
 MDCLX.

The marble tablet would receive no more in charge : but ours indulging greater liberty, I shall set down the whole elogie, as it grew upon the affectionate pen of the reverend doctor T. Pierce, who was employed to draw it up.

Sed latere qui voluit, ipsas latebras illustrat ;
 Et pagum alias obscurum
 Invitus cogit inclarescere.
 Nullibi Μνημόσυνον illi potest deesse,
 Qui, nisi ἀξιομνημόνευτον,
 Nihil aut dixit aut fecit unquam.
 Ἄνδρὶ γενναίῳ πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.
 Animi dotibus ita annos anteverterat,
 Ut in ipsa linguæ infantia τριγλωττος,
 Eaque ætate Magister Artium,
 Qua vix alii tyrones, esset.
 Tam sagaci fuit industria,
 Ut horas etiam subsecivas utilius perderet
 Quam pleriq; mortalium serias suas collocarunt.
 Nemo rectius de se meruit,
 Nemo sensit demissius ;
 Nihil eo aut excelsius erat, aut humilius.
 Scriptis suis factisque
 Sibi uni non placuit,
 Qui tam calamo quam vita
 Humano generi complacuerat.
 Ita labores pro Dei sponsa, ipsoq; Deo exantlavit,
 Ut cælum ipsum ipsius humeris incubuisse videretur.
 Παραλλήλιαν omnem supergressus
 Romanenses vicit, profligavit Genevates,
 De utrisque triumpharunt
 ET VERITAS ET HAMMONDUS :
 Utrisque merito triumphaturis,
 Ab Hammondo victis, et Veritate.
 Qualis ille inter amicos censendus erit,
 Qui demereri sibi adversos vel hostes potuit ?
 Omnes hæreses incendiarias
 Atramento suo deleri maluit,
 Quam ipsorum aut sanguine extingui,
 Aut dispendio animæ expiari.

Cœli indigena
Eo divitias præmittebat,
Ut ubi cor jam erat,
Ibi etiam thesaurus esset :
In hoc uno avarus,
Quod prolixè benevolus prodiga manu erogavit,
Æternitatem in fœnore lucraturus.
Quicquid habuit, voluit habere,
Etiam invalidæ valetudinis.
Ita habuit in deliciis non magis facere quam sufferre
Totam Dei voluntatem, ut frui etiam videretur
Vel morbi tædio.
Summam animi γαλήνην testatam fecit
Hilaris frons et exporrecta :
Nusquam alias in filiis hominum
Gratior ex pulchro veniebat corpore virtus.
Omne jam tulerat punctum,
Omnium plausus,
Cum mors, quasi suum adjiciens calculum,
Funesta lithiasi terris abstulit
Cœli avidum,
Maturum cœlo.
Abi, viator,
Pauca sufficiat delibasse :
Reliqua seræ posteritati narranda restant,
Quibus pro merito enarrandis
Una ætas non sufficit.

BISHOP SANDERSON.

These confusions kept increasing, under different forms, each more ridiculous or more horrid than the other, till this miserable nation, now become the scorn and opprobrium of the whole earth, at length grew tired, rather than ashamed, of its repeated follies. In this temper they hastily recalled the heir of the monarchy: and as the cause of all these miseries had been their insisting on unreasonable conditions from the crown, they did like men driven out of one extreme, who never take breath till they have plunged themselves into another, they strove to atone for their unjust demands upon the virtuous father, by the most lavish concessions to his flagitious son: who succeeded to the inheritance with all those advantages of an undefined prerogative, which an ambitious prince could wish for the foundation of an arbitrary system: A sad presage to the friends of liberty, that their generous labours were not yet at an end! Indeed, within less than half a century, the old family projects, taken up again by the two last princes of this line, revived the public quarrel. But it was conducted under happier auspices, not by the assistance of SECTARIES, but by the NATIONAL CHURCH; and concluded in the final establishment of a free constitution.

BISHOP WARBURTON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Life of Bishop Sanderson, written by Isaac Walton in the eighty-fifth year of his age, is here printed intire from the third impression, prefixed to his *Sermons*, and bearing date 1686. It was first published in a somewhat less correct state, in the year 1678, and was then accompanied by some short Tracts, written by Sanderson, and by a Sermon of Richard Hooker's, found in the study of bishop Andrews; circumstances which it is proper to mention, for the purpose of explaining some passages in the following Preface.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE
GEORGE, LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,
PRELATE OF THE GARTER,
AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

IF I should undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your lordship, I should enter upon an employment, that might prove as tedious, as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend Dr. Sanderson. But, though I will not venture to do that; yet, I do remember with pleasure and remonstrate with gratitude, that your lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Hammond; men, whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

My friendship with the first was begun almost forty years past, when I was as far from a thought, as a desire to out-live him; and farther from an intention to write his life: but the wise Disposer of all men's lives and actions hath prolonged the first, and now permitted the last; which is here dedicated to your lordship (and as it ought to be) with all humility, and a desire that it may remain, as a public testimony of my gratitude.

My lord,

Your most affectionate old friend,
And most humble servant,

IZAAC WALTON.

P R E F A C E.

I DARE neither think, nor assure the reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the life of Dr. SANDERSON; but am sure, there is none that are either wilful, or very material. I confess it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity, as to undertake it. For as it may be noted, that our Saviour had a care, that for Mary Magdalen's kindness to him, her name should never be forgotten: so I conceive, the great satisfaction many scholars have already had, and the unborn world is like to have, by his exact, clear and useful learning; and might have by a true narrative of his matchless meekness, his calm fortitude and the innocence of his whole life; doth justly challenge the like from this present age; that posterity may not be ignorant of them: and it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But, in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others (I am far from that) but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it.

This being premised I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say, what I think he (whom I had the happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasions; and if I have been too bold in doing so, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me; yet, I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And, though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions to undertake it, and so many willing informers since, and from them and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint and weary of the burthen with which I have loaden myself, and sometime ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at

last brought it to be what it now is, and is here presented to the reader, and with it this desire ; that he will take notice that Dr. Sanderson did in his will or last sickness advertise that after his death nothing of his might be printed ; because *that might be said to be his which indeed was not* ; and also, for that *he might have changed his opinion since he first writ it*, as it is thought he has since he writ his *Pax Ecclesiæ*. And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in his case of conscience concerning rash vows, *that there may appear very good second reasons, why we may forbear to perform them*. However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do Apocryphal Scripture ; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more ; that as in my queries for writing Dr. SANDERSON'S Life, I met with these little tracts annexed ; so in my former queries for my information to write the life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here is presented as his to the reader. It is affirmed (and I have met with reason to believe it) that there be some artists, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy ; and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn : and if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs, is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson.

And lastly, the trouble being now past, I look back and am glad that I have collected these memoirs of this humble man, which lay scattered, and have contracted them into a narrower compass ; and if I have by the pleasant toil of so doing, either pleased or profited any man, I have attained what I designed when I first undertook it : but I seriously wish, both for the reader's, and Dr. Sanderson's sake, that posterity had known his great learning and virtue by a better pen ; by such a pen, as could have made his life as immortal as his learning and merits ought to be.

I. W.

BISHOP SANDERSON.

DOCTOR ROBERT SANDERSON, the late learned bishop of Lincoln, whose life I intend to write with all truth and equal plainness, was born the nineteenth day of September, in the year¹ of our redemption, 1587. The place of his birth was Rotherham in the county of York, a town of good note, and the more, for that Thomas Rotherham, sometime archbishop of that see, was born in it; a man, whose great wisdom and bounty, and sanctity of life, gave a denomination to it, or hath made it the more memorable; as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And, the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great sanctity, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson of Giltwait-hall in the said parish and county, esq. by Elizabeth one of the daughters of Richard Carr of Buterthwate-hall, in the parish of Ecclesfield in the said county of York, gentleman.

This Robert Sanderson the father, was descended from a numerous, ancient and honourable family of his own name: for the search of which truth, I refer my reader, that inclines to it, to Dr. Thoroton's history of the Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, and other records; not thinking it necessary here to engage him into a search for bare titles, which are noted to have in them nothing of reality: for, titles not acquired, but derived only, do but shew us who of our ancestors have, and how they have

¹ *In the year.*] Baptised the next day. "1587. Sept. 20, Rob'tus Saund'son, fil. Rob'ti Saund'son." Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. iii. p. 630. Bliss's edit.

atchieved that honour which their descendants claim, and may not be worthy to enjoy. For if those titles descend to persons that degenerate into vice, and break off the continued line of learning, or valour, or that virtue that acquired them, they destroy the very foundation upon which that honour was built ; and all the rubbish of their degenerousness ought to fall heavy on such dishonourable heads ; ought to fall so heavy, as to degrade them of their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

But this Robert Sanderson lived worthy of his name and family ; of which one testimony may be, that Gilbert, called the great and glorious earl of Shrewsbury, thought him not unworthy to be joined with him as a god-father to Gilbert Sheldon, the late lord archbishop of Canterbury ; to whose merits and memory posterity (the clergy especially) ought to pay a reverence.

But I return to my intended relation of Robert the son, who (like Josiah that good king) began in his youth to make the laws of God, and obedience to his parents, the rules of his life ; seeming even then, to dedicate himself and all his studies, to piety and virtue.

And, as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endowed him ; so this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind (his being mild and averse to oppositions) made the whole course of his life easy and grateful both to himself and others. And this blessed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent father's good example ; as also, by his frequent conversing with him, and scattering short and virtuous apophthegms with little pleasant stories, and making useful applications of them, by which his son was in his infancy taught to abhor vanity and vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of wisdom and virtue ; and by these means and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed, that all became so habitual, as it was not easy to determine whether nature or education were his teachers.

And here let me tell the reader, that these early beginnings of virtue were by God's assisting grace blest with what St. Paul seemed to beg for his Philippians ; namely, *that he that had begun a good work in them, would finish it.* (Phil. i. 6.) And Almighty God did : for his whole life was so regular and innocent, that he might have said at his death (and with truth and comfort) what the same St. Paul said after to the same Philippians, when

he advised them *to walk as they had him for an example*. (Chap. iii. 17.)

And this goodness, of which I have spoken, seemed to increase as his years did; and with his goodness his learning, the foundation of which was laid in the grammar school of Rotheram (that being one of those three that were founded and liberally endowed by the said great and good bishop of that name). And in this time of his being a scholar there, he was observed to use an unwearied diligence to attain learning, and to have a seriousness beyond his age², and with it a more than common modesty; and to be of so calm and obliging behaviour, that the master and whole number of scholars loved him as one man.

And in this love and amity he continued at that school, till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father designed to improve his grammar learning by removing him from Rotheram to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster: and after a year's stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But, as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learning, and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon; and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then rector of Lincoln college: and he, after some time and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and not long after to matriculate him in the university, which he did the first of July 1603: but he was not chosen fellow till the third of May 1606; at which time he had taken his degree of batchelor of arts; at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the rector, that his pupil Sander-

² *Beyond his age.*] "For myself," (he tells us in the preface to his Sermons, dated 1657,) "I had a desire I may truly say, *almost from my very childhood*, to understand as much as was possible for me, the bottom of our religion; and particularly as it stood in relation both to the Papist, and (as they were then styled) Puritans; to inform myself rightly, wherein consisted the true differences between them and the church of England, together with the grounds of those differences: for I could even then observe (which was no hard matter to do), that the most of mankind took up their religion upon trust, as custom or education framed them, rather than choice." P. 76, edit. 1689.

son had a metaphysical brain, and a matchless memory : and that he thought he had improved, or *made* the last so by an art of his own invention. And all the future employments of his life proved that his tutor was not mistaken.

I must here stop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made professor of it in this university ; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by king James appointed to be one of the translators of the bible : and that this doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company : and they resting on a Sunday with the doctor's friend, and going together to that parish church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation³ of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie) and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When evening prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the doctor's friend's house ; where, after some other conference, the doctor told him, " He might have preached more useful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears with needless exceptions against the late translation ; and for that word, for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons, why it ought to have been translated as he said ; he and others had considered all them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed : " and told him, " If his friend, then attending him, should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favour." To which Mr. Sanderson said, " He hoped he should not." And the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, " He would not justify himself." And so I return to Oxford.

In the year 1608 (July the 11th,) Mr. Sanderson was compleated master of arts. I am not ignorant, that for the attaining these dignities the time was shorter than was then, or is now required ; but either his birth, or the well performance of some

³ *Late translation.*] Meaning the authorized version then just made, and of which Dr. Kilbie was one of the authors. He was one of the seven Oxford divines appointed to translate the four greater prophets, with the Lamentations and the twelve lesser prophets.

extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so : and the reader is requested to believe that it was the last ; and requested to believe also, that if I be mistaken in the time, the college records have mis-informed me : but I hope they have not.

In that year of 1608, he was (November the 7th,) by his college chosen reader of logic in the house ; which he performed so well, that he was chosen again the sixth of November 1609. In the year 1613, he was chosen sub-rector of the college, and the like for the year 1614 ; and chosen again to the same dignity and trust for the year 1616.

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole society ; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful, both which were, God knows, so connatural, as they never left him. And I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had ; for they proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which by God's assisting grace never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be so called) more hereafter.

In the year 1614, he stood to be elected one of the proctors for the university. And it was not to satisfy any ambition of his own, but to comply with the desire of the rector, and whole society of which he was a member, who had not had a proctor chosen out of their college for the space of sixty years (namely not from the year 1554, unto his standing) ; and they persuaded him, that if he would but stand for proctor, his merits were so generally known, and he so well beloved, that it was but appearing, and he would infallibly carry it against any opposers : and told him, "That he would by that means recover a right or reputation that was seemingly dead to his college." By these and other like persuasions he yielded up his own reason to theirs, and appeared to stand for proctor. But that election was carried on by so sudden and secret and by so powerful a faction, that he mist it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, "That if he were troubled at the disappointment, it was for their, and not for his own sake : for he was far from any desire of such an employment, as must be managed with charge

and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with hard censures, or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others, to renew the logic lectures which he had read for some years past in his college; and that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity.

And though he had an averseness to appear publicly in print, yet after many serious solicitations and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year 1615. And the book proved, as his friends seemed to prophecy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect the art or the author. For logic may be said to be an art of right reasoning; an art that undeceives men, who take falsehood for truth; and enables men to pass a true judgment and detect those fallacies which in some men's understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our author was in this art, may easily appear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. And that he who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself, was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this his first public undertaking, by hearing, that most tutors in both universities teach Dr. Sanderson's logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in philosophy. And for a further confirmation of my belief the reader may note, that since this his book of logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand sold: and that it is like to continue both to discover truth and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

It will easily be believed that his former standing for a proctor's place, and being disappointed, must prove much displeasing to a man of his great wisdom and modesty, and create in him an averseness to run a second hazard of his credit and content; and yet, he was assured by Dr. Kilbie, and the fellows of his own college, and most of those that had opposed him in the former election, that his book of logic had purchased for him such a belief of his learning and prudence, and his behaviour at the former election had got for him so great and so general a love, that all his former opposers repented what they had done;

and therefore persuaded him to venture to stand a second time. And upon these and other like encouragements, he did again (but not without an inward unwillingness,) yield up his own reason to theirs, and promised to stand. And he did so; and was the tenth of April, 1616, chosen senior proctor for the year following, Mr. Charles Crook of Christ-Church being then chosen the junior.

In this year of his being proctor there happened many memorable accidents, part of which I will relate. Namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, master of Baliol college, and *regius* professor of divinity (who being elected or consecrated bishop of Sarum some months before) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his diocese, by the heads of all houses, and the other chiefs of all the university. And it may be noted that Dr. Prideaux succeeded him in the professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642, (being then elected bishop of Worcester) at which time our now proctor Mr. Sanderson, succeeded him in the *regius* professorship.

And in this year Dr. Arthur Lake (then warden of New College) was advanced to the bishopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sate usually with his chancellor in his consistory, and at least advised, if not assisted in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved church censures. And it may be noted, that after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very rarely or never, allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and then, as usually preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and did so apply them to the offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them, then, a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives; and having done that, he would take them (though never so poor) to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing, and persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them for their own sakes to believe him. And his humility, and charity, and all other Christian excellencies were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in his life, truly writ and printed before his excellent sermons.

And in this year also, the very prudent and very wise lord Elsmere, who was so very long lord chancellor of England, and

then of Oxford, resigning up the last, the right honourable, and magnificent, William Herbert earl of Pembroke, was chosen to succeed him.

And in this year, our late king Charles the first (then prince of Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the university, the schools, colleges, and libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits.

And in this year king James sent letters⁴ to the university for the regulating their studies: especially of the young divines; advising they should not rely on modern sums and systems, but study the fathers and councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning predestination, universal redemption, the irresistibility of God's grace, and of some other knotty points depending upon these; points which many think were not, but by interpreters were forced to be Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the king's letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our proctor large and laudable matter to dilate and discourse upon; and, that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it; yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up discipline and order in the university; which at that time was either by defective statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also, the magisterial part of the proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which statutes were then and not till then, and others suddenly after, put into an useful execution. And though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful, as they were designed, till archbishop Laud's time (who assisted in the forming and promoting them) yet, our present proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do. Of which one

⁴ *Sent letters.*] See above, the *Life of Donne*, vol. iii. pp. 661-2; and *Life of Hammond*, p. 334, note.

example may seem worthy the noting, namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular scholars absent from their colleges at university hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him unsent for next morning: and when they did, convinced them with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said to God, *There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou shalt be feared.* (Psal. cxxx.) And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous employment, as but very few, if any have done, even without an enemy.

After his proctor's speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy; he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose. "I look back upon my late employment with some content to myself, and a great thankfulness to Almighty God, that he hath made me of a temper not apt to provoke the meanest of mankind, but rather to pass by infirmities, if noted; and in this employment I have had (God knows) many occasions to do both. And when I consider how many of a contrary temper, are by sudden and small occasions transported, and hurried by anger to commit such errors, as they in that passion could not foresee, and will in their more calm and deliberate thoughts upbraid, and require repentance; and consider, that though repentance secures us from the punishment of any sin, yet how much more comfortable it is to be innocent, than need pardon; and consider, that errors against men, though pardoned both by God and them, do yet leave such anxious and upbraiding impressions in the memory, as abate of the offender's content: when I consider all this, and that God hath of his goodness given me a temper, that he hath prevented me from running into such enormities, I remember my temper with joy and thankfulness. And though I cannot say with David (I wish I could) that therefore *his praise shall always be in my mouth* (Psalm cxxx.); yet I hope, that by his grace, and that grace seconded by my endeavours, it shall never be blotted out of my memory; and I now beseech Almighty God that it never may."

And here I must look back, and mention one passage more in his proctorship, which is; that Gilbert Sheldon, the late lord

archbishop of Canterbury, was this year sent to Trinity college in that university; and not long after his entrance there, a letter was sent after him from his god-father (the father of our proctor) to let his son know it, and commend his god-son to his acquaintance, and to a more than common care of his behaviour; which proved a pleasing injunction to our proctor, who was so gladly obedient to his father's desire, that he some few days after sent his servitor to intreat Mr. Sheldon to his chamber next morning. But it seems Mr. Sheldon having (like a young man as he was) run into some such irregularity as made him conscious he had transgressed his statutes, did therefore apprehend the proctor's invitation as an introduction to punishment; the fear of which made his bed restless that night; but at their meeting the next morning, that fear vanished immediately by the proctor's chearful countenance, and the freedom of their discourse of friends. And let me tell my reader, that this first meeting proved the beginning of as spiritual a friendship as human nature is capable of: of a friendship free from all self-ends: and it continued to be so, till death forced a separation of it on earth; but it is now reunited in heaven.

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that this busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of bachelor in divinity, in an elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the method and matter, as hath been preached in that university since that day. And having well performed his other exercises for that degree, he took it the nine and twentieth of May following, having been ordained deacon and priest in the year 1611, by John King, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been dean of Christ-church, and then knew him so well, that he owned it at his ordination, and became his most affectionate friend. And in this year, being about the 29th of his age, he took from the university a license to preach.

In the year 1618, he was by sir Nicholas Sanderson, lord viscount Castleton, presented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being (next to a good conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it; and he, apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wib-

berton a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

And about this time of his resignation he was presented to the rectory of Boothby Pannel in the same county of Lincoln; a town which has been made famous, and must continue to be famous, because Dr. Sanderson, the humble and learned Dr. Sanderson, was more than forty years parson of Boothby Pannel, and from thence dated all or most of his matchless writings.

To this living (which was of less value, but a purer air than Wibberton) he was presented by Thomas Harrington of the same county and parish, esq.; a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of great use and esteem in his country during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannel the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderson and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

About the time that he was made parson of Boothby Pannel, he resigned his fellowship of Lincoln college unto the then rector and fellows; and his resignation is recorded in these words.

“Ego Robertus Sanderson per, &c.

“I Robert Sanderson, fellow of the college of St. Mary’s and All-Saints, commonly called Lincoln college, in the university of Oxford, do freely and willingly resign into the hands of the rector and fellows, all the right and title that I have in the said college, wishing to them and their successors, all peace, and piety, and happiness, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

“ROBERT SANDERSON.”

“May 6, 1619.”

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then bishop of York, (or the king, *sede vacante*) made prebend of the collegiate church of Southwell⁵ in that diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the bishop of that see.

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannel, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general and cheerful acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a university life, he could not but

⁵ Southwell.] See *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i. p. 625, note.

think the want of society would render this of a country parson still more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation ; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life ; yet a complying and prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual joys, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul, which he would not have wanted, (Colos. i. 24,) because they occasioned *his rejoicing in them*. And he having well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them : he, having considered all this, the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, bachelor in divinity, then rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln (a man of noted worth and learning). And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires : a wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was cheerful ; that was always cheerful when he was content ; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burthen ; a wife, that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life ; and at his death too ; for she out-lived him.

And in this Boothby Pannel he either found or made his parishioners peaceable, and complying with him in the constant, decent, and regular service of God. And thus his parish, his patron and he lived together in a religious love, and a contented quietness : he not troubling their thoughts by preaching high and useless notions, but such, and only such plain truths as were necessary to be known, believed, and practised in order to the honour of God and their own salvation. And their assent to what he taught was testified by such a conformity to his doctrine, as declared they believed and loved him. For it may be noted he would often say, “ That without the last, the most evident truths (heard as from an enemy, or an evil liver) either are not, (or are at least the less) effectual ; and usually rather harden, than convince the hearer.”

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by

only reading the Church-prayers, catechizing, preaching, and administering the sacraments seasonably ; but thought (if the law, or the canons may seem to injoin no more, yet) that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making, can or do enjoin ; even the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising not only what the law enjoins, but what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse, and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it ; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, (Gal. vi. 2,) *help to bear one another's burthen*, either of sorrow or want : and what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account as well for that evil we have done, as the good we have omitted, to remember we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

And that his practice was to do good the following narrative may be one example. He met with a poor dejected neighbour that complained he had taken a meadow, the rent of which was 9*l.* a year ; and when the hay was made ready to be carried into his barn, several days constant rain had so raised the water, that a sudden flood carried all away, and his rich landlord would abate him no rent ; and that unless he had half abated, he and seven children were utterly undone. It may be noted, that in this age there are a sort of people so unlike the God of mercy, so void of the bowels of pity, that they love only themselves and children ; love them so, as not to be concerned, whether the rest of mankind waste their days in sorrow or shame ; people that are curst with riches, and a mistake that nothing but riches can make them and theirs happy. But it was not so with Dr. Sanderson ; for he was concerned, and spoke comfortably to the poor dejected man ; bade him go home and pray ; and not load himself with sorrow, for he would go to his landlord next morning, and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went next day; and in a conference the doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected tenant; telling him how much God is pleased when men compassionate the poor: and told him, that though God loves sacrifice, yet he loves mercy so much better, that he is best pleased when he is called *the God of mercy*: and told him the riches he was possessed of were given him by that God of mercy, who would not be pleased, if he that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich steward in the Gospel, *that took his fellow servant by the throat to make him pay the utmost farthing*. This he told him. And told him, that the law of this nation (by which law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men *honest* or *merciful* (that was too nice an undertaking); but does what it can to restrain men from being *dishonest* or *unmerciful*; and yet that our law was defective in both: and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich steward which he had mentioned to him; and told him, that riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as Job says, *prove like gravel in his teeth*; would in time so corrode his conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able; and therefore advised him (being very rich,) to make friends of his *unrighteous mammon*, before that evil day come upon him: but however, neither for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any rent of his poor dejected sad tenant, for that were to gain a temporal, and lose his eternal happiness. These and other such reasons were urged with so grave and so compassionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent.

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson, who was himself so meek and merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and will believe also, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts, *that he had seen none perish for want of cloathing: and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice*. (Job xxxi.) And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions: but since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader,

I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence and piety were much noted and valued by the bishop of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that country. By the first of which he was often summoned to preach many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory (even the art of it) yet he was punished with such an innate, invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his sermons, so as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when some of them were first printed and exposed to censure, (which was in the year 1632) "That the best sermons that were ever read, were never preached."

In this contented obscurity he continued, till the learned and pious archbishop Laud, who knew him well in Oxford (for he was his contemporary there) told the king (it was the knowing and conscientious king Charles the I.) that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his majesty would take so much notice of him as to make him his chaplain. The king granted it most willingly, and gave the bishop charge to hasten it, for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The bishop forgot not the king's desire, and Mr. Sanderson was made his chaplain in ordinary in November following (1631). And when the king and he became better known to each other, then, as it is said, that after many hard questions put to the prophet Daniel, king Darius found (Dan. vi.) *an excellent spirit in him*; so it was with Mr. Sanderson and our excellent king; who having put many cases of conscience to him, received from Mr. Sanderson such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him so great content, in conversing with him, (which he did several times in private,) that at the end of his month's attendance the king told him; "He should long for the next November; for he

resolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him, when that month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good king was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that the king thought what he spake: for he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life; and he proved to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he was under such a restraint as he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first parliament of this good king (which was 1625) he was chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about predestination, and the many critical points that depend upon, or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin's (though others say they were long before his time). But of these Dr. Sanderson then drew up for his own satisfaction⁶ such a scheme

⁶ *His own satisfaction.*] We possess from the bishop's own pen, in a letter to the rev. Dr. Pierce, a narrative of the change which took place in his sentiments at this period; and of the commencement and foundation of his theological studies about eighteen years before, too important to be omitted here.

"When I began to set myself to the study of divinity as my proper business, which was after I had the degree of Master of Arts, being then nearly twenty one years of age, the first thing I thought fit for me to do, was to consider well of the articles of the church of England, which I had formerly read over, twice or thrice, and whereunto I had subscribed. And because I had then met with some puritanical pamphlets written against the liturgy and ceremonies, although most of the arguments therein were such as needed no great skill to give satisfactory answers unto, yet for my fuller satisfaction (the question being *de rebus agendis*, and so the more suitable to my proper inclination) I read over, with great diligence and no less delight, that excellent piece of learned Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. And I have great cause to bless God for it, that so I did, not only for that it much both cleared and settled my judgment for ever after in many very weighty points (as of Scandal, Christian Liberty, Obligation of Laws, Obedience, &c.) but that it also proved (by his good providence) a good preparative to me (that I say not antidote) for the reading of Calvin's *Institutions* with more caution, than perhaps otherwise I should have done. For that book was commended to me, as it was generally to all young scholars in those times, as the best and perfectest system of divinity, and fittest to be laid as a ground-work in the study of that profession. And indeed, being so prepared as is said, my

(he called it *Pax Ecclesiæ*) as then gave himself, and hath since given others such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great

expectation was not at all deceived in the reading of those institutions. I found, so far as I was then able to judge, the method exact, the expressions clear, the stile grave and unaffected; his doctrine for the most part conform to St. Augustin's; in a word, the whole work very elaborate, and useful to the churches of God in a good measure; and might have been, I verily believe, much more useful, if the honour of his name had not given so much reputation to his very errors. I must acknowledge myself to have reaped great benefit by the reading thereof. But as for the questions of Election, Reprobation, Effectual Grace, Perseverance, &c. I took as little notice of the two first, as of any other thing contained in the book; both because I was always afraid to pry much into those secrets, and because I could not certainly inform myself from his own writings, whether he were a *Supra-lapsarian*, as most speak him, and he seemeth often to incline much that way, or a *Sub-lapsarian*, as sundry passages in the book seem to import. But giving myself mostly still to the study of moral divinity, and taking most other things upon trust, as they were in a manner generally taught, both in the schools and pulpits in both universities, I did for many years together acquiesce, without troubling myself any further about them, in the more commonly received opinions concerning both these two, and the other points depending thereupon: yet in the *Sub-lapsarian* way ever, which seemed to me of the two the more moderate, rational and agreeable to the goodness and justice of God: for the rigid *Supra-lapsarian* doctrine could never find any entertainment in my thoughts, from first to last.

“But in 1625 a parliament being called, wherein I was chosen one of the clerks of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, during the continuance of that parliament, which was about four months, as I remember, there was some expectation that those Arminian points, the only questions almost in agitation at that time, should have been debated by the clergy in the convocation. Which occasioned me, as it did sundry others, being then at some leisure, to endeavour by study and conference to inform myself, as thoroughly and exactly in the state of those controversies, as I could have opportunity, and my wit could serve me for it. In order whereunto, I made it my first business to take a survey of the several different opinions concerning *the ordering of God's decrees*, as to the salvation or damnation of men: not as they are supposed to be really *in mente divinâ*, (for all his decrees are eternal, and therefore coeternal, and therefore no priority or posteriority among them,) but *quoad nostrum intelligendi modum*, because we cannot conceive or speak of the things of God, but in a way suitable to our own finite condition and understanding; even as God himself hath been pleased to reveal himself to us in the Holy Scriptures by the like suitable condescensions and accommodations. Which opinions, the better to represent their differences to the eye *uno quasi intuitu*, for their more easy conveying to the understanding by that means, and the avoiding of confusion and tedious discoursings, I reduced into five schemes or tables, much after the manner as I had used to draw pedigrees, (a thing which I think you know I have

estimation. He was also chosen clerk of all the convocations during that good king's reign. Which I here tell my reader, because I shall hereafter have occasion to mention that convocation in 1640, that unhappy long parliament and some debates of the predestinarian points, as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him, the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend dean of Salisbury. And here the reader may note, that in letters writ to the said dean, Dr. Sanderson seems to have altered his judgment in some points, since he writ his scheme called *Pax Ecclesiæ*; which he seems to say also in his last will, besides other reasons to think so.

In the year 1636, his majesty then in his progress took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and his honourable attendants, which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities: but, this is mentioned, because at the king's coming thither, May 3, Sanderson did then attend him; and was then (the 31 of August) created doctor of divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having

very much fancied, as to me of all others the most delightful recreation); of which scheme, some special friends to whom I shewed them, desired copies: who, as it seemeth, valuing them more than I did, (for divers men have copies of them, as I hear, but I do not know that I have any such myself) communicated them farther, and so they are come into many hands. These are they which doctor Reynolds, in his Epistle prefixed to master Barlee's *Correptory Correction*, had taken notice of. Having all these schemes before my eyes at once, so as I might with ease compare them one with another, and having considered of the conveniences and inconveniences of each, as well as I could, I soon discerned a necessity of quitting the *Sub-lapsarian* way, of which I had a better liking before, as well as the *Supra-lapsarian*, which I could never fancy." Dr. Hammond's *Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees*, A.D. 1660. Hammond's *Works*, vol. i. p. 669. It may be worth observing that this collection of schemes or tables must not be confounded with the tract published by Isaac Walton under the title *Pax Ecclesiæ*, which Walton attributes to the year 1625. In that tract it is plain, that he still retains the *Sub-lapsarian* opinion: and there are other reasons to prove that the tracts are not the same. In truth, the *Pax Ecclesiæ* can hardly be considered as the work of Dr. Sanderson at all. For Dr. Hammond thus speaks of it in his Preface to the *Pacific Discourse* above cited. "It seemed not improper at this time, to offer to public view the present sentiments of the judicious Dr. Sanderson, the regius professor of the university of Oxford, and the rather, because some manuscript tables of his former thoughts, and some passages from his sermons, long since preached, and now republished, have been made use of to gain authority to those doctrines which he is now far from owning."

many of the nobility of this nation then made doctors and masters of arts with him: some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his (and none shall out-live it). First Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then bishops of Winton and of Norwich (and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge) were with him created doctors of divinity in his university. So was Meric the son of the learned Isaac Casaubon: and prince Rupert (who still lives); the then duke of Lenox; earl of Hertford; earl of Essex; of Berkshire; and very many others of noble birth (too many to be named) were then created masters of arts.

Some years before this unhappy long parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, (though inwardly sick of being well,) namely in the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scotch church were zealously restless for another reformation of their kirk government; and to that end created a new Covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the king for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation: but this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity, but by so many thousands, and they so armed, as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed but to request; so that though forbidden by the king, yet they entered England, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered New-Castle, where the king was forced to meet them with an army; but upon a treaty and some concessions, he sent them back (though not so rich as they intended, yet) for that time without any blood-shed.—But oh! this peace and this covenant were but the fore-runners of war, and the many miseries that followed. For in the year following there were so many chosen into the long parliament, that were of a conjunct council with these very zealous, and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the members of that parliament (all did never consent) and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their covenant would restore them to that former tranquillity which they had lost. And to that end, the presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch covenanters back into England: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes, and in their hats with this motto, *For the Crown and Covenant of both Kingdoms*. This I saw and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families,

the blood-shed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning! when I consider this, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the covenanters of this nation, and their party in parliament, made many exceptions against the common prayer and ceremonies of the church, and seemed restless for another reformation. And though their desires seemed not reasonable to the king and the learned Dr. Laud, then archbishop of Canterbury, and many others; yet to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they did in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderson to call two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences; and to this end⁷ he and

⁷ *And to this end.*] I do not know that there is any particular account remaining of what was consulted and prepared on this interesting occasion. I incline to think however, that there is a reference to the undertaking in a sermon of Sanderson's *Ad Clerum*, preached at Grantham, Oct. 8, 1641, on Matt. xv. 9. § 30.

"The last use should be an humble supplication to those that have in their hands the ordering of the great affairs of church and state, that they would, in their goodness and wisdom, make some speedy and effectual provision, to repress the exorbitant licentiousness of these times in printing and preaching every man what he lists, to the great dishonour of God, scandal of the reformed religion, fomenting of superstition and error, and disturbance of the peace, both of church and commonwealth; lest, if way be still given thereunto, those evil spirits that this late connivance hath raised, grow so fierce within a while, that it will trouble all the power and wisdom of the kingdom, to conjure them handsomely down again. But certainly, since we find by late experience, what wildness in some of the lay people, what petulance in some of the inferior clergy, what insolency in some both of the laity and clergy, our land is grown unto, since the reins of the ecclesiastical government have lain a little slack:—we cannot but see, what need we have to desire and pray, that the ecclesiastical government and power may be *timely settled in some such moderate and effectual way*; as that it may not be either too much abased by them that are to exercise it, or too much despised by those that must live under it. In the mean time, so long as things hang

two others did meet together privately twice a week at the dean of Westminster's house, for the space of five months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the church and state were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless the repute of his moderation and wisdom was such, that he was in the year 1642, proposed by both houses of parliament to the king then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was allowed of by the king to be so; but that treaty came to nothing.

In the year 1643, the two houses of parliament took upon them to make an ordinance, and call an Assembly of Divines, to debate and settle church controversies, of which many that were elected were very unfit to judge: in which Dr. Sanderson was also named by the parliament, but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear, the summons wanting the king's authority.

And here I must look back and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be *professor regius* of divinity in Oxford; but though *knowledge* be said to *puff up*, yet his modesty and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons (expressed in his speech^s,

thus loose and unsettled, I know not better how to represent unto you the present face of the times in some respects, than in the words of the prophet Jeremy, *The prophets prophesy lies, and the priests get power into their hands by their means, and my people love to have it so: And what will ye do in the end thereof?* (Jer. v. 31)." p. 96, edit. 1686.

^s *Expressed in his speech.*] There is so much of nature, and other interesting, beautiful and excellent qualities in the account which he gives here, in his inaugural oration, that though the extract is long, I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of producing it. The quotation begins with the opening of the oration:

"Postquam mihi, integro jam quadriennio et quod excurrit, quicquid est hoc professorii sive muneris delegatum, sive oneris impositum esse sensi; dici vix potest, auditores, quam horruerim totus, quam variæ adversantesque sibi cogitationes mox animum alternatim incesserint meum. Obversabantur imprimis ante oculos quamplurima, quæ virum longe viribus præstabiliorem audentiorumque quam ego me aut esse puto, aut haberi velim, a suscipiendo tam arduo munere prorsus absterrent. Provincia cum omni tempore difficilis, tum illis, nisi pejora insecuta essent, pessimis temporibus, post tot enatas novas, veteres renatas hæreses, multo difficilior: vires, cum vel maxime

when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed) kept him from entering into it till October 1646.

vigerent, admodum exiguæ, et tunc accrescentibus annis fractæ plurimum imminutæque; memoria fragilis et infida; impediti oris, in hac etiam balbescente senectute, infantia; vel ipsius Latini sermonis post quinque tum superque lustrorum absentiam insolentia: perorandi, prælegendi, disputandi, determinandi, cæteraque quæ hujusce sunt muneris præstandi (quæ fortassis ab his exigi fas est, qui assidui sunt in hac palæstra) facultas si qua olim inerat, quum in his studiis aliquantulum versaremur, et quantilla tum illa! exoleta jam prorsus et plane nulla. Denique ut minutiora illa præteream, longinquæ migrationis cum famulatu et supellectile qua libraria qua domestica, tædium, reliquaque ab re familiari incommoda: vel is unus, quem et fateri pudet, pudor plusquam subrusticus, et (quam facile patior amicos amoris quodam errore modestiam interpretari) invirilis quædam verecundia. Insuperabilis illa quidem, ut quam natura inseat, firmavit educatio, fovit hactenus, atque etiamnum fovet, tenuitatis propriæ conscientia; sed qua tamen vix aliud comperi quidquam a prima pueritia ad hunc usque diem aut rationibus meis aut existimationi magis adversarium. Retundit hæc assidue generosiores quosque animi impetus; eximium quid ausuri conatus frangit: memoriam pessime labefactat, sermonis vim aut præripit aut sistit; ut, quod mihi visus sum quandoque mente concepissem haud prorsus incommode aut abs re, hoc aut non ausim proloqui statua taciturnior; aut si tentem, sic timide, sic gelide, sic id faciam hæsitans, ut aliquando præstaret non tentasse; dicam verbo, et quod res est; una hæc timiditas et (si dabitis vocabulo veniam) hæc infiducia mei, ut de munere hoc detrectando serio cogitarim, atque etiam aliud eam in rem tentarim, plus efficit quam cætera illa, quantumvis gravia, quæ hactenus commemini universa.

“Occurrebant, dum isthæc cogito, ex adverso pauca quædam, nec aspernanda, quæ labantem animum nonnihil erigerent, cunctantemque subinde velut subjectis stimulis in hanc arenam propellerent. Optimi Regis judicium: crebri amicorum hortatus: vester multorum (ut illi submonebant, et ego haud inexpertus humanitatem vestram facile credebam) in me proni affectus. Pepulerunt ista fateor (ut par erat) animum meum; quin et commoverunt: sed hactenus, ut tamen si meo unius arbitratu res statuenda foret, nec longa nec difficilis futura esset deliberatio. Quid enim? Patererne ego me ætate jam declivi, defectis viribus, memoria lubrica, balbum et pertimidum senem, ex suavissimo quo perfruebar otio et umbra, in apicum et in pulverem, iniquissimo tempore, post viginti-quinque annorum missionem, quasi postliminio et invitum rapi? et quæ me poterant satis expurgasse cicutæ si lubens consensissem? Quis non omnem mihi Anticyram destinatam crederet, ni abnuissem, et quoad verecunde licuit, restitissem?

“Ergo ne perduci poteras, inquietis, ut conditioni tam iniquæ acquiesceres tandem, sanus utrisque auribus atque oculis? Poteram, ut videtis, et perductus sum: ita sunt et res humanæ, sic et consilia incerta: sanusne an secus ubi facti rationem edidero vosmet judicate: certe non ego hac in re vel ingenio meo obsecutus sum, vel etiam judicio; cui ut optatius fuit ita visum est salutaris in tenebris latitare securum quam cum labore et periculo pro-

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first *de Juramento*, a point very seraphical, and as difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abilities to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of it, and of oaths in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part of, or at least very useful to their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and his following lectures *de Conscientia*, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best pens fall short in the commendation of them: so that I shall only add that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in that

dire in scenam. Imo vero egi cum amicis, qui apud serenissimam regiam majestatem videbantur aliquid posse; idque non una vice, coram et per literas semel atque iterum obtestatus sum per omnem amicitiam, regis animum pertentarent fieri ne posset sine ipsius offensione, ut de hac cathedra aliter statueretur, nec ego tam importunum onus tam imparibus humeris sustinere cogerer. Pertentant: renunciant fieri non posse; perstare in sententia regem, quod ante jussisset et id ratum esse velle; non utique obniterer porro frustra, sed onus quod excutere non possem, qua possem animi alacritate subirem et perferrem. Hæc admonitus, officii conscientia, cujus voluntati obtemperare debui, ejus auctoritati cessi: Maxime cum altius insurgerem (nam quæ hactenus dicta sunt ad humanas tantum rationes pertinent) et ut decuit hominem et Christianum et Theologum, summam Dei Opt. Max. providentiam, singula quæ in terris aguntur vel minutissima quæquæ, prout ipsi collibitum est, et suaviter et fortiter moderantis, diligentius cogitarem: scilicet est cor regis in manu domini, sicut derivationes aquarum et pro beneplacito suo convertit ipsum. Hæc ego quo sæpius et attentius cum animo reputavi meo, eo mihi propius conjunctam cum regia voluntate divinam etiam vocationem visus sum contueri. Si quidem nihil aliud est, quantum ego quidem adhuc intelligere potui, ordinaria Dei ad aliquod munus vocatio, quam ab his penes quos est plena et legitima de ejusmodi rebus statuendi potestas, personæ ipsorum judicio non inidoneæ, nulla intercedente prava ambitione, dolo, malisve artibus, designatio. Pervicit itaque omnia impedimenta, omnia objectamenta diluit, duplex illa parendi necessitas, voluntati regiæ, divinæ vocationi. Quo mihi paratiorem apud omnes bonos, apud omnes æquos rerum æstimatores excusationem fore confido, si (quod indubie futurum prospicio) in obeundo hoc tam illustri, tam arduo munere, nec votis meis, nec vestræ expectationi satisfacerem. Dabo tamen operam officio utcunque ut satisfaciam meo; et sane, ut aliquid saltem de me fidenter dicam, spero me aliqua ex parte satisfacturum: illud si concedatis, quod omnino concedi debet et est verissimum, non satisfecisse officio, qui se ingessit, ni fecerit, quod debuit: satisfecisse, qui admotus est, si fecerit quod potuit. . . .”

part of casuistical divinity. And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures (the king being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight) that part of the parliament then at Westminster sent the *Covenant*, the *Negative Oath*, and I know not what more to Oxford, to be taken by the doctor of the chair, and all heads of houses: and all the other inferior scholars of what degree soever, were also to take these oaths by a fixed day: for those that did not were to abandon their colleges and the university too, within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum; and if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

Dr. Laud the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Strafford and many others, had been formerly murdered, but the king yet was not; and the university had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being betwixt him and them that confined him, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made, that the dissenters in the university might both preserve their consciences, and the poor subsistence which they then enjoyed by their colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the men in present power were not yet grown so merciless, as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the university appointed the delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a *manifesto* to them, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences. And of these delegates Dr. Sheldon (late archbishop of Canterbury), Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley (now bishop of Winchester), and that most honest, very learned, and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a part: the rest I cannot now name; but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderson, and he was requested to methodize and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires, and did so. And then after they had been read in a full convocation, and allowed of, they were printed in Latin⁹, that the parliament's proceedings and the university sufferings might be manifested to all nations;

⁹ *Printed in Latin.*] The English copy, under the title, "Reasons of the present judgment of the University of Oxford, concerning the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship; approved by general consent in a full Convocation, June 1st, 1647," may be found, along with other tracts of Sanderson, in the first

and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them : but they were past the first ; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderson, that all those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the cause of the loyal party's sufferings.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the king from a close to a more large imprisonment, and by their own pretences to *liberty of conscience*, were obliged to allow somewhat like that to the king, who had in the year 1646, sent for Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon (the late archbishop of Canterbury) and Dr. Morley (the now bishop of Winchester) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the parliament for a peace in church and state ; but these having been then denied by the presbyterian parliament, were now by their own rules allowed him ¹ by those Independents now in present power. And with some of those divines, Dr. Sanderson also gave his attendance on his majesty in the Isle of Wight ; preached there before him, and had in that attendance many, both public and private conferences with him, to his majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderson, being the parliament had then proposed to him the abolishing of episcopal government in the church, as inconsistent with monarchy, and selling theirs and the cathedral church-land to pay those soldiers that they had raised to fight against him, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it ; but it might not be printed ² till our king's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderson's then taking his leave of his majesty in this his last attendance on him, the king requested him to betake himself to the writing cases of conscience for the good of posterity. To which his answer was, "That he was now grown old, and unfit

edition of this life, published in 1678 ; and also in Somers's Tracts, vol. iv. p. 606—26. For the Latin copy, see Sanderson's Lectures *De Juramenti Obligatione*, at the end. See also Wood's *Annals of the Univ. of Oxford*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 507. It is an extremely valuable and interesting treatise.

¹ *Allowed him.*] See *Life of Dr. Hammond* in this vol. p. 347, note.

² *Might not be printed.*] "*Episcopacy, as established by law in England, not prejudicial to regal power, written in the time of the long parliament by the special command of the late king, 1661.*"

to write cases of conscience." But the king was so bold with him as to say, "It was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderson; for no young man was fit to be made a judge, or write cases of conscience." And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, very fit to be, but not commonly known; that in one of these conferences this conscientious king was told by a faithful and private intelligencer, "That if he assented not to the parliament's proposals, the treaty betwixt him and them would break immediately, and his life would then be in danger; he was sure he knew it." To which his answer was, "I have done what I can to bring my conscience to a compliance with their proposals, and cannot; and I will not lose my conscience to save my life;" and within a very short time after, he told Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Morley, or one of them that then waited with him, "That the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the earl of Strafford's death, and the abolishing episcopacy in Scotland³; and that if God ever restored him to be in a peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and voluntary penance" (I think barefoot) "from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's church, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon." I am sure one of them that told it me, lives

³ *In Scotland.*] "He never refused to take to himself the shame of those acts wherein he had transgressed, that he might give glory to his God. After the army had forced him from Holmby, [or Holdenby, near Northampton] and in their several removes had brought him to Latimers, an house of the earl of Devonshire, [near Chesham, in Buckinghamshire] on August 1st, [1647] being Sunday, in the morning, before sermon, he led forth with him into the garden the rev. Dr. Sheldon, who then attended on him, and whom he was pleased to use as his confessor, and drawing out of his pocket a paper, commanded him to read it, transcribe it, and so deliver it to him again. This paper contained several vows, which he had obliged his soul unto, for the glory of his Maker, the advance of true piety, and emoluments of the church. And among them this was one; that 'he would do public penance for the injustice he had suffered to be done to the earl of Strafford; and his consent to those injuries that were done to the church of England,' (though at that time he had yielded to no more than the taking away of the high commission, and the bishops' power to vote in parliament,) 'and to the church of Scotland:' and he adjured the doctor, that 'if ever he saw him in a condition to observe that, or any other of those vows, he should solicitously mind him of the obligations, as he dreaded the guilt of the breach should lie upon his own soul.'—*The Royal Martyr; or the Life and Death of King Charles I.*, by Dr. Richard Perrinchief, p. 181, 2, edit. 1727.

still, and will witness it.—And it ought to be observed, that Dr. Sanderson's lectures *de Juramento* were so approved and valued by the king, that in this time of his imprisonment and solitude, he translated them into exact English, desiring Dr. Juxon (then bishop of London,) Dr. Hammond, and sir Thomas Herbert (who then attended him in his restraint) to compare them with the original. The last still lives, and has declared it, with some other of that king's excellencies, in a letter⁴ under his own hand, which was lately shewed me by sir William Dugdale, king at arms. The translation was designed to be put into the king's library at St. James's⁵, but I doubt, not now to be found there. I thought the honour of the author and the translator to be both so much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderson in the chair in Oxford, where they that complied not in taking the *covenant, negative oath*, and *parliament ordinance for church discipline and worship*, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion; for the visitors⁶ were daily expected, and both city and university full of soldiers, and a party of presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject the dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods. But notwithstanding, Dr. Sanderson did still continue to read his lecture, and did to the very faces of those presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed. But these thriving sinners were hardened; and as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they without scruple or shame possessed themselves immediately of their colleges; so that with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June 1648) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the university had

⁴ *In a letter.*] See *Memoirs of the two last years of the reign of king Charles I.*, p. 63, edit. 1813.

⁵ *King's library at St. James's.*] Meaning the old Royal Library, which has been mentioned before (see p. 199, note) as being in the British Museum. In Bernard's Catalogue it is called "*Bibliotheca Jacobæa.*"

⁶ *The visitors.*] Compare above, *Life of Hammond*, p. 349.

denied this subscription, and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then canon of Christ-church (now lord bishop of Winchester), and others, to petition the parliament for re-calling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or to accept of their reasons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by parliament referred to a committee to hear and report the reasons to the house, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and fee counsel, to plead their cause on the day appointed: but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst be so bold as to undertake it cordially; for at this time the privileges of that part of the parliament then sitting were become a *noli me tangere*; as sacred and useful to them, as traditions ever were, or are now to the church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced, for want of counsel, to plead the university's reasons for not compliance with the parliament's injunctions; and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause, yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate, as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the dissenters out of the university. And one that was at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the parliament, and of that committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and enquiring of him, and hearing a good report of his principles in religion, and of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, "He had such a love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take the oaths, and must therefore be ejected his college, and leave Oxford; he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford when the visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that by so doing he should without taking any oath or other molestation, enjoy his canon's place in the college." I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power to do what he professed, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the doctor word; to which his answer was, "That I must not fail to return my friend" (who

still lives) "his humble and undissembled thanks, though he could not accept of his intended kindness; for when Dr. Fell" (then the dean), "Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the rest of the college, were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame to be left behind with him only." Dr. Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of him, *for he is dead*.

It may be easily imagined, with what a joyful willingness these self-loving reformers took possession of all vacant preferments, and with what reluctance others parted with their beloved colleges and subsistence: but their consciences were dearer than both, and out they went; the reformers possessing them without shame or scruple; where I will leave these scruple-mongers, and proceed to make an account of the then present affairs of London, to be the next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the bishop's houses were turned to be prisons, and they filled with divines that would not take the covenant, or forbear reading common-prayer, or that were accused for some faults like these. For it may be noted, that about this time the parliament sent out a proclamation to encourage all laymen that had occasion to complain of their ministers, for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to orders of parliament, to make their complaint to a select committee for that purpose; and the minister, though one hundred miles from London, was to appear there and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; (and you may be sure no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complainant:) by which means all prisons in London, and in many other places, became the sad habitations of conforming divines.

And about this time the bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown law condemned to die⁷, and the execution suspended for some days, many citizens fearing time and cool thoughts might procure his pardon, became so maliciously impudent as to shut up their shops, "professing not to open them till justice was executed." *This malice and madness is scarce credible, but I saw it.*

The bishops had been about this time voted out⁸ of the house of parliament, and some upon that occasion sent to the Tower, which made many covenanters rejoice, and most of them to believe

⁷ *To die.*] He was beheaded January 10, 1644-5.

⁸ *Voted out.*] See *Life of Hall*, p. 305.

Mr. Brightman (who probably was a well-meaning man) to be inspired when he writ his Comment on the *Apocalypse*; a short abridgment of which was now printed, cried up and down the streets and called Mr. Brightman's *Revelation of the Revelation*, and both bought up and believed by all the covenanters. And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet, because he had there made the churches of Geneva and Scotland, (which had no bishops) to be Philadelphia in the *Apocalypse*, *that angel that God loved*; and the power of prelacy to be *Antichrist*, the evil angel, which the house of commons had now so spued up, as never to recover their dignity⁹: therefore did those covenanters rejoice, approve, and applaud Mr. Brightman, for discovering and foretelling the bishops' downfall; so that they both railed at them, and at the same time rejoiced to buy good penny-worths of all their land, which their friends of the house of commons did afford both to themselves and them, as a reward for their zeal and diligent assistance to pull them down.

And the bishops' power being now vacated, the common people were made so happy, as that every parish might choose their own minister, and tell him when he did, and when he did not preach true doctrine: and by this and the like means several churches had several teachers, that prayed and preached for and against one another; and engaged their hearers to contend furiously for truths which they understood not; some of which I shall mention in what will follow.

I have heard of two men that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, *for he was beholden to him*; and the other that he was not, *for he was not beholden to him*. And something like this was in the designs both of the covenanters and independents (the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former): for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of

⁹ *Recover their dignity.*] "The Puritans have a strange kind of logic. A seat in the civil legislature for the bishops the Puritans deemed an abuse. They are now deprived of their seat, which, in the sense of the Puritans, was bringing them nearer to the primitive standard. Yet this *blessing* (for such it was, if it brought them nearer to the practice of the purest times), must be reckoned by these very Puritans, the *hand of God in judgment* for their sins." Warburton's *Remarks on Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*; Works, vol. xii. p. 395.

being in the state of grace, if we were but zealous for the covenant; and the other not; for we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear the covenant contrary to their consciences, and probably lose both their livings and liberties too. But though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down common prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings; and whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

They also made other strange observations of *election*, *reprobation*, and *free-will*, and the other points dependant upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not, though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannel.

And in the way thither I must tell him, that a very covenanter and a Scot too, that came into England with this unhappy covenant, was got into a good sequestered living by the help of a presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch presbyterian being well settled in this good living, began to reform the church-yard, by cutting down a large ewe tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners: and they excepting against him for so doing, were by him answered, "That the trees were his, and it was lawful for every man to use his own as he, and not as others thought fit." I have heard (but do not affirm it) that no action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet from off a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and, that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it: I speak this because I would not suppose any man to do what this covenanter did: and whether there were any law against him I know not, but pity the parish the less, for turning out their legal minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderson at Boothby Pannel, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise. For all corners of the nation were filled with covenanters, confusion, committee-men and soldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted

glass windows, and serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy (so the historian ^a saith) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations; and so though there might be some of these covenanters that were beguiled, and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and the temper of the times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet was an eminent dissenter from them, could therefore not live peaceably; nor did he. For the soldiers would appear, and visibly oppose and disturb him in the church when he read prayers, some of them pretending to advise him how God was to be served more acceptably; which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the church service, they forced his book from him, and tore it ¹, expecting extemporary prayers.

At this time he was advised by a parliament-man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the *common prayer*, but to make some little variation, especially

^a Thucydides.

¹ *Tore it.*] “And yet this excellent book hath had the fate to be cut in pieces with a pen-knife, and thrown into the fire; but it is not consumed. At first it was sown in tears, and is now watered with tears: yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. It began with the martyrdom of the compilers; and the church hath been vexed ever since by angry spirits, and she was forced to defend it with much trouble and unquietness. But it is to be hoped, that all these storms are sent but to increase the zeal and confidence of the pious sons of the church of England. Indeed the greatest danger that ever the Common Prayer book had, was the indifferency and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing: and they who thought it fit for the meanest of the clergy to read prayers, and for themselves only to preach, though they might innocently intend it, yet did not in that action consult the honour of our liturgy, except where charity or necessity did interpose. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and actual possession. I pray God it may prove so in our case, and that we may not be too willing to be discouraged; at least that we may not cease to love and to desire what is not publicly permitted to our practice and profession.” Bp. Taylor’s Preface to his *Apology for authorized and set forms of Liturgy*, at the end.

if the soldiers came to watch him ; for if he did, it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the covenant, or sequestration : for which reasons he did vary somewhat² from the strict rules of the rubrick. I will set

² *Did vary somewhat.*] In a long letter, subjoined to the first edition of this life, under the title of Bishop Sanderson's *Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers*, a full account is given of his manner of performing the whole public service of the church : which was in every respect studiously conformed, as much as the times would bear, to the English liturgy : and the letter is further exceedingly valuable as containing a vindication of the extent to which he submitted, as a point of conscience to the usurping powers, without abandoning his ministerial duties, and without persisting, to his own destruction, in the usage of the entire liturgy, then forbidden, as we have seen, under the severest penalties. A similar practice was very generally followed by the loyal clergy. Mr. Bull, afterwards the celebrated bishop of St. David's, occasionally resorted to another expedient. " He was sent for to baptize the child of a dissenter in his parish ; upon which occasion he made use of the office of baptism, as prescribed by the church of England, *which he had got entirely by heart* ; and he went through it with so much readiness and freedom, and yet with so much gravity and devotion, and gave that life and spirit to all that he delivered, that the whole audience was extremely affected with his performance : and notwithstanding that he used the sign of the cross, yet, they were so ignorant of the offices of the church, that they did not thereby discover that it was the Common Prayer. But after that he had concluded that holy action, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating at the same time, with how much greater edification they prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for his assistance in their *extempore* effusions, than those did who tied themselves up to premeditated forms ; and that if he had not made the sign of the cross, that badge of popery, as he called it, no body could have formed the least objection against his excellent prayers. Upon which Mr. Bull, hoping to recover him from his ill-grounded prejudices, shewed him the office of baptism in the liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occasion ; which, with farther arguments that he then urged, so effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that they always after that time frequented the parish church, and never more absented themselves from Mr. Bull's communion. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that as a mistaken zeal may throw contempt upon what justly deserves to be admired ; so also, that gravity, seriousness, and devotion, in reading the prayers are necessary to secure that respect to the liturgy which its own excellency requireth from us." *Life of Bishop Bull*, by Robert Nelson, Esq., p. 39, edit. 2.

" I have observed," says Dr. Nicholas Bernard, in his *Clavi Trabales*, p. 59, (A. D. 1661,) " that some who had so great a prejudice to the liturgy, as to run out of the church, when it was offered to be read out of the book, when I used the very same form in several administrations *by heart, without the book*,—baptism, communion, matrimony, burial, and the like, they have

down the very words of confession which he used, as I have it under his own hand ; and tell the reader that all his other variations were as little and very much like to this.

His Confession.

“O Almighty God and merciful Father, we thy unworthy servants do with shame and sorrow confess, that we have all our life long gone astray out of thy ways like lost sheep ; and that by following too much the vain devices and desires of our own hearts we have grievously offended against thy holy laws, both in thought, word, and deed ; we have many times left undone those good duties, which we might and ought to have done ; and we have many times done those evils, when we might have avoided them, which we ought not to have done. We confess, O Lord, that there is no health at all, nor help in any creature to relieve us ; but all our hope is in thy mercy ; whose justice we have by our sins so far provoked : have mercy therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders : spare us, good God, who confess our faults, that we perish not ; but according to thy gracious promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore us upon our true repentance into thy grace and favour. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we henceforth study to serve and please thee by leading a godly, righteous, and a sober life, to the glory of thy holy name, and the eternal comfort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

In these and other provocations of tearing his service-book, a neighbour came on a Sunday, after the evening service was ended, to visit and condole with him for the affront offered by the soldiers. To whom he spake with a composed patience, and said ; “God hath restored me to my desired privacy, with my wife and children, where I hoped to have met with quietness, and it proves not so ; but I will labour to be pleased, because God, on whom I depend, sees it is not fit for me to be quiet. I praise him that he hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of a good conscience to maintain me in a place ^b of great reputation and profit :

highly commended it, as conceiving they had been my own present conceptions.”

^b Doctor of the chair.

and though my condition be such, that I need the last, yet I submit: for God did not send me into this world to *do* my own, but *suffer* his will; and I will obey it." Thus by a sublime depending on his wise and powerful, and pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit to what God had appointed; still justifying the truth of that doctrine and the reason of that discipline which he had preached.

About this time that excellent book of the king's *Meditations in his Solitude* was printed, and made public; and Dr. Sanderson was such a lover of the author, and so desirous that not this nation only, but the whole world should see the character of him in that book, and something of the cause for which he and many others then suffered, that he designed to turn it into Latin; but when he had done half of it most excellently, his friend Dr. Earle prevented him, by appearing to have done it, and printed the whole very well before him.

And about this time his dear and most intimate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a quiet conversation and rest with him for some days at Boothby Pannel, and did so. And having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he had writ it; Dr. Sanderson became so compliant as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbour minister, and requested to exchange a sermon; and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderson's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon (which was a very short one) into the hands of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was writ; but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond (looking on his sermon as written) observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, especially the method, that he also became afraid for him: for it was discernible to many of that plain auditory. But when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderson said with much earnestness, "Good doctor, give me my sermon, and know, that neither you, nor any man living, shall ever persuade me to preach again without my books." To which the reply was, "Good doctor, be not angry; for if ever I persuade you to preach again without book, I will give you leave to burn all the books that I am master of."

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond's visit was at this time, to discourse Dr. Sanderson about some opinions, in which if they did not then, they had doubtless differed formerly; it was about

those knotty points, which are by the learned called the *quinquarticular controversy*; of which I shall proceed, not to give any judgment (I pretend not to that) but some short historical account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy covenant was brought, and so generally taken in England, a liberty given or taken by many preachers (those of London especially) to preach and be too positive in the points of universal redemption, predestination, and those other depending upon these. Some of which preached "That all men were, before they came into this world, so predestinated to salvation or damnation, that it was not in their power to sin so, as to lose the first, nor by their most diligent endeavour to avoid the latter." Others, "That it was not so; because then God could not be said to grieve for the death of a sinner, when he himself had made him so by an inevitable decree, before he had so much as a being in this world;" affirming therefore, "that man had some power left him to do the will of God, because he was advised to work out his salvation with fear and trembling;" maintaining, "that it is most certain every man can do what he can to be saved; and as certain that he that does what he can to be saved, shall never be damned:" and yet many that affirmed this to be a truth, would yet confess, "That that grace, which is but a persuasive offer, and left to us to receive or refuse, is not that grace which shall bring men to heaven." Which truths, or untruths, or both, be they which they will, did upon these or the like occasions come to be searched into, and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce (the now reverend dean of Salisbury) of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the 52 London ministers (then a fraternity of Sion college in that city) had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his *Practical Catechism* affirmed, "That our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind." To justify which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works). After which there were many letters passed betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God's grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderson was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate, for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who in his judgment of God's decrees differed with Dr. Hammond (whom he revered and loved dearly) and would not therefore engage

himself in a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end: nevertheless they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderson and Dr. Hammond being now printed in his works; and for what past betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter sent to me and annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderson was by these debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margent find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find, that upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a postscript to the last letter of his to Dr. Sanderson, says, "God can reconcile his own contradictions, and therefore advises all men, as the apostle does, to study mortification, and be wise to sobriety." And let me add further, that if these 52 ministers of Sion college were the occasion of the debates in these letters, they have, I think, been the occasion of giving an end to the *quinquarticular controversy*; for none have since undertaken to say more; but seem to be so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of the rest, till they come to that place, where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open. And let me here tell the reader also, that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr. Sanderson, not conceal their alteration of judgment³, but

³ *Their alteration of judgment.*] Another very eminent contemporary, whose sentiments concerning the Calvinistical points appear to have undergone, at a much later period of his life, a change very similar to that which took place in those of his friend Dr. Sanderson, was the truly pious and primitive archbishop Usher: who had often exerted herself as an earnest and public advocate and propagator of those notions, which he latterly disclaimed.

"To your queries" (says Dr. Hammond in a letter to Mr. Peter Staninough, dated June 12, 1657) "all that I have to return is, *first*, that that bishop did *for many years* acknowledge universal redemption, *but* that with a distinction of *non ex æquo pro omnibus*.—*Secondly*, that a little before his leaving London (I was told it by some that heard him about this time two years) at St. Peter's Paul-wharf, as also in several other places, he preached

confess it to the honour of God and themselves ; then, our nation would become freer from pertinacious disputes, and fuller of recantations.

a sermon, which himself called a soul-saving sermon, on Rom. viii. 30. part of the verse, *whom he called them he justified*, in which he earnestly pressed the sincerity of God's universal call to *every one of all sinners* to whom the Gospel was preached : pressing throughout all his sermon the universal free invitation of all by God. Apocal. xxii. 17, *Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely* ; Isaiah lv. 1, 7, *Ho ! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts ; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him ; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon* : adding, that without this made good, all preaching to convert sinners, as yet in their sins from the evil of their ways, would want a firm foundation.

" *Thirdly*, that a learned divine going after this to him, and taking rise from these words of his, *that God intended truly that all whom he called by the word to repent and believe, might certainly if they would, and God truly would they should, come and repent, &c.* to ask, *Can they all will ? Doth God, with his word, give internal grace to all that are called by it, that they may repent, &c. if they will ; and that they certainly can will ?* He answered, *Yes, they all can will. And that so many will not, 'tis because, as I then taught, they resist God's grace* ; alledging, Acts vii. 51, *Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost : as your fathers did, so do ye.* This and much more he then declared ; and in fine concluded in these words, *Bishop Overal was in the right, and I am of his mind.*

" *Fourthly*. A learned doctor that was frequently with the bishop, wrote Mr. Pierce word (as he wrote me, on my asking him the same question which you do me) *that that bishop told him lately before his death that he wholly disliked the Genevan form of doctrine in this matter.* This is all that hath come within my reach of your *first* question." See *Nineteen Letters of the rev. Henry Hammond, D.D. now first published from the originals by Francis Peck, M.A.* London, 1739, 8vo. p. 17.

The testimonies and certificates of Dr. Brian Walton, Mr. Peter Gunning, and Mr. Herbert Thorndike, of which the above extract is the sum, are published in full length by Dr. Thomas Pierce ; in an Appendix to the *Self-revenger exemplified in Mr. William Barlee* ; London, 1658, 4to. p. 155—7. See also Baxter's *Life*, (Silvester's) part 2, p. 206, § 61, and Smith's *Vita Usserii*, p. 113, 114. A.D. 1707, 4to. A similar change of sentiment is recorded of themselves by the above-mentioned Dr. Thomas Pierce, by Dr. Thomas Jackson, Dr. Daniel Whitby, and many others.

But especially, the reader will be gratified by the grave, solemn, and pious narrative to that effect related by Dr. Christopher Potter, dean of Windsor, in a letter to Mr. Vicars, republished at Cambridge in the year 1719, in a very valuable *Collection of Tracts concerning Predestination and Providence*. Having been taxed by his friend with the desertion of his former principles, and the charge being coupled with an insinuation, that

I am not willing to lead my reader to Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson where we left them together at Boothby Pannel, till I

this change was brought about by court-influence, and put on to please abp. Laud, &c., "It appears," (says he) "by the whole tenour of your letter, that you are affected with a strong suspicion, that I am turned Arminian; and you further guess at the motive, that some sprinkling of court holy-water, like an exorcism hath enchanted and conjured me into this new shape. How loth am I to understand your meaning! And how fain would I put a fair interpretation upon those foul passages, if they were capable! What man! not an Arminian only, but hired into that faith by carnal hopes! one that can value his soul at so poor a rate, as to sell it to the times, or weigh or sway his conscience with money! My good friend, how did you thus forget me, and yourself? and the strict charge of our Master, *Judge not?* Well; you have my pardon: and God Almighty confirm it unto you with his! But to prevent you error and sin in this kind hereafter, I desire you to believe that I neither am, nor ever will be Arminian. I am resolved to stand fast in that liberty, which my Lord hath so dearly bought for me. In divine truths, my conscience cannot serve men, or any other master besides him who hath his chair in Heaven. I love Calvin very well: and I must tell you, I cannot hate Arminius. And for my part, I am verily persuaded that these two are now where they agree well, in the kingdom of Heaven; whilst some of their passionate disciples are so eagerly brawling here on earth.——But because you are my friend, I will yet farther reveal myself unto you. I have laboured long and diligently in these controversies, and I will tell you with what mind and method, and with what success.

"For some years in my youth, when I was most ignorant, I was most confident: before I knew the true state, or any grounds of those questions, I could peremptorily resolve them all. And upon every occasion, in the very pulpit, I was girding and railing upon these new heretics, the Arminians, and I could not find words enough to decipher the folly and absurdity of their doctrine: especially I abhorred them as venomous enemies of the precious grace of God, whereof I ever was, and ever will be most jealous and tender, as I am most obliged, holding all I am, or have, or hope for, by that glorious grace. Yet all this while, I took all this that I talked upon trust, and knew not what they (the Arminians) said or thought, but by relation from others, and from their enemies. And because my conscience in secret would often tell me, that railing would not carry it in matters of religion, without reason and divine authority; that I might now solidly maintain God's truth, as it becomes a minister, out of God's word, and clearly vindicate it from wicked exceptions; and that I might not only revile and scratch the adversary, but beat, and wound him, and fight it out, *fortibus armis, non solum fulgentibus*, I betook myself seriously and earnestly to peruse the writings of both parties; and to observe and balance the Scriptures produced for both parties. But my aim in this inquiry was not to inform myself whether I held the truth, (for therein I was extremely confident, presuming it was with US, and reading the opposers with prejudice and

have looked back to the long parliament, the society of covenanters in Sion college, and those others scattered up and down

detestation,) but the better to fortify our tenets against their cavils and subtilties.

"In the mean while, knowing that all light and illumination in divine mysteries, descends from above from the Father and Fountain of all light, without whose influence and instruction all our studies are most vain and frivolous; I resolved constantly and daily to solicit my gracious God, with most ardent supplications, as I shall still continue, that he would be pleased to keep his poor servant in his true faith and fear; that he would preserve me from all false and dangerous errors, how specious or plausible soever; that he would fill my heart with true holiness and humility; empty it of all pride, vain-glory, curiosity, ambition, and all other carnal conceits and affections, which usually blind and pervert the judgment; that he would give me the grace to renounce and deny my foolish reason in those holy studies, and teach me absolutely to captivate my thoughts to the obedience of his heavenly word; finally, that he would not permit me to speak or think any thing, but what were consonant to his Scriptures, honourable and glorious to his majesty.

"I dare never look upon my books, till I have first looked up to heaven with these prayers. Thus I begin, thus I continue, and thus conclude my studies. In my search, my first and last resolution was, and is, to believe only what the Lord tells me in his book: and because all men are liars, and the most of men factious, to mark not what they say, but what they prove. Though I must confess, I much favoured my own side, and read what was written against it with exceeding indignation; especially when I was pinched, and found many objections to which I could find no answers. Yet in spite of my judgment, my conscience stood as it could: and still multiplying my prayers, and recurring to my oracle, I repelled such thoughts as temptations. —Well; in this perplexity I went on; and first observed the judgments of this age, since the reformation. And here I found in the very harmony of the confessions some little discord in these opinions, but generally, and the most part of our reformed churches favouring the remonstrants: and among particular writers, many here differing in judgments, though nearly linked in affection, and all of them eminent for learning and piety; and being all busied against the common adversary, the church of Rome, these little differences amongst themselves were wisely neglected and concealed. At length, some of our own gave occasion, I fear, to these intestine and woeful wars, letting fall some speeches very scandalous, and which cannot be maintained. This first put the Lutheran churches in a fresh alarm against us, and imbittered their hatred: and now, that which was but a question, is made a quarrel; that which before was fairly and sweetly debated between private doctors, is now become an appeal to contention between whole reformed churches, they in one army, we in the other. But still the most wise and holy in both parties desired a peace, and ceased not to cry with tears, *Sirs, ye are brethren, why do ye strive?* and with all their

in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then archbishop of Canterbury, whose life seemed to be sacrificed to appease the popular fury of that present time. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both at his trial and before it; yet my desire is, that what follows may

power laboured that both the armies might be joined under the Prince of Peace.

“But whilst these laboured for peace, there never wanted some eager spirits, that made all ready for war; and whose nails were still itching till they were in the wounds of the church; for they could not believe they had any zeal, unless they were furious; nor any faith, unless they wanted all charity. And by the wicked diligence of these *Boutefeus*, that small spark, which at first a little moderation might have quenched, hath now set us all in a woeful fire, worthy to be lamented with tears of blood.

—“But now you long to hear, what is the issue of all my study and inquiry; what my resolution. Why, you may easily conjecture. Finding upon this serious search, that all doubts are not clearly decided by Scripture; that in the ancient church, after the age of St. Augustine, who was presently contradicted by many catholics, as you may see in the epistles of Prosper and Fulgentius to him upon that very occasion, they have ever been friendly debated, and never determined in any council; that in our age, whole churches are here divided, either from one another, as the Lutherans from us; or amongst themselves, as the Romanists, among whom the Dominican family is wholly for the contra-remonstrants; that in all these several churches, some particular doctors vary in these opinions: out of all this I collect, for my part, that these points are no necessary catholic verities, not essential to the faith, but merely matters of opinion, problematical, of inferior moment, wherein a man may err, or be ignorant without danger to his soul; yet so still, that the glory of God’s justice, mercy, truth, sincerity, and divine grace be not any ways blemished, nor any good ascribed to man’s corrupt will, or any evil to God’s decree of Providence; wherein I can assure you I do not depart from my ancient judgment, but do well remember what I affirmed in my questions at the act, and have confirmed it, I suppose, in my Sermon. So you see, I am still where I was. If I can clearly discover any error or corruption in myself, or any other, I should hate it with all my might: but, pity, support, and love all that love the Lord Jesus, though they err in doubtful points; but never break charity, unless with him that obstinately errs in fundamentals, or is wilfully factious. And with this moderation I dare with confidence and comfort enough appear before my Lord at the last day, when I fear what will become of him that loves not his brother, that divine precept of love being so often ingeminated; why may I not, when the Lord himself hath assured me by his *Beati Pacifici*? You tell me of a dean that should say, *Maledicti Pacifici*; but you and he shall give me leave in this contradiction, rather to believe my Saviour.” *Tracts*, p. 230, &c.

be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter concern us ; that is, to note, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he did (as our blessed Saviour advised his disciples,) *pray for those that persecuted and despitefully used him*. And not only pardoned those enemies ; but dispassionately begged of Almighty God that he would also pardon them ; and besought all the present beholders of this sad sight, that they would pardon and pray for him. But though he did all this, yet, he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for not suppressing a sort of people whose malicious and furious zeal had so far transported them, and violated all modesty, that though they could not know whether he were justly or unjustly condemned, were yet suffered to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, *that the parliament would hasten his execution*. And he having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in popery (for that was one of the accusations for which he died) he declared with sadness, “That the several sects and divisions then in England” (which he had laboured to prevent) “were now like to bring the pope a far greater harvest, than he could ever have expected without them.” And said, “these sects and divisions introduce prophaneness under the cloak of an imaginary religion ;” and, “that we have lost the substance of religion by changing it into opinion ;” and, “that by these means the church of England, which all the Jesuits’ machinations could not ruin, was fallen into apparent danger by those (covenanters) which were his accusers.” To this purpose he spoke at his death : for which, and more to the same purpose, the reader may view his last sad sermon on the scaffold. And it is here mentioned, because his dear friend Dr. Sanderson seems to demonstrate the same fear of popery in his two large and remarkable prefaces⁴ before his two volumes of sermons ; and seems also with much sorrow to say the same again in his last will, made when he was and apprehended himself to be very near his death. And these covenanters ought to take notice of it ; and to remember, that by the late wicked war begun by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the professor’s chair in Oxford ; and that if he had continued in it (for he lived fourteen years after) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and

⁴ Remarkable prefaces.] See *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 532—43, and p. 544—86.

so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted, that Dr. Sanderson was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit of all the learned that shall be born after him : but, this benefit is so like *time past*, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

I should now return to Boothby Pannel, where we left Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sanderson together, but neither can now be found there : for, the first was in his journey to London, and the second seized upon the day after his friend's departure, and carried prisoner to Lincoln, then a garrison of the parliament's. For the pretended reason of which commitment, I shall give this following account.

There was one Mr. Clarke, (the minister of Alington, a town not many miles from Boothby Pannel,) who was an active man for the parliament and covenant ; and one that, when Belvoir Castle (then a garrison for the parliament) was taken by a party of the king's soldiers, was taken in it, and made a prisoner of war in Newark (then a garrison of the king's) ; a man so active and useful for his party that they became so much concerned for his enlargement, that the committee of Lincoln sent a troop of horse to seize and bring Dr. Sanderson a prisoner to that garrison ; and they did so. And there he had the happiness to meet with many that knew him so well as to reverence and treat him kindly ; but told him, " He must continue their prisoner, till he should purchase his own enlargement by procuring an exchange for Mr. Clarke, then prisoner in the king's garrison of Newark." There were many reasons given by the doctor of the injustice of his imprisonment, and the inequality of the exchange, but all were uneffectual ; for done it must be, or he continue a prisoner. And in time done it was upon the following conditions :

First, That Dr. Sanderson and Mr. Clarke being exchanged, should live undisturbed at their own parishes ; and if either were injured by the soldiers of the contrary party, the other having notice of it, should procure him a redress, by having satisfaction made for his loss, or for any other injury ; or if not, he to be used in the same kind by the other party. Nevertheless, Dr. Sanderson could neither live safe nor quietly, being several times plundered, and once wounded in three places ; but he, apprehending the remedy might turn to a more intolerable burthen by impatience or complaining, forbore both ; and possessed his soul in a contented quietness, without the least repining. But though

he could not enjoy the safety he expected by this exchange, yet by *His* providence that can bring good out of evil, it turned so much to his advantage, that whereas his living had been sequestered from the year 1644, and continued to be so till this time of his imprisonment, he, by the articles of war in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but more contented subsistence for himself, his wife and children, till the happy restoration of our king and church.

In this time of his poor, but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation and sincerity, became so remarkable, that there were many that applied themselves to him for resolution in perplexed cases of conscience ; some known to him, and many not ; some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters ; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds ; yet, as St. Paul accounted himself *a debtor to all men*, so he, for he denied none. And if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, “That all worldly joys seem less, when compared with shewing mercy, or doing kindnesses ;” then doubtless this Barnabas, this son of consolation, Dr. Sanderson, might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded consciences ; which, as Solomon says, *are a burden that none can bear*, though their fortitude may sustain their other calamities : and if words cannot express the joy of a conscience relieved from such restless agonies, then Dr. Sanderson might rejoice, that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied ; and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion ; and, that God had inclined his heart to do it, to the meanest of any of those poor, but precious souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified.

Some of those very many cases that were resolved by letters, have been preserved and printed for the benefit of posterity ; as namely,

1. Of the sabbath.
2. Marrying with a recusant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of scandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the king's name.
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a rash vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of simony; and I wish the world might see it, that it might undeceive so many mistaken patrons, who think they have discharged that great and dangerous trust, both to God and man, if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable, which I forbear to name.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown restless and giddy by the many falsehoods, and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons, when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party⁵, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous frenzies; in this time, he did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened such an undertaking with danger; yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his last twenty sermons (first printed in the dangerous year 1655): in which there was such strength of reason, with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the nonconformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed of a good sequestered living, and with it such a spirit of covetousness and contradiction, as being neither able to defend his error, nor yield to truth manifested, (his conscience having slept long and quietly in that living) was yet at the reading of it so awakened, (for there is a divine power in reason) that after a conflict with the reason he had met, and the damage he was to sustain if he consented to it (and being still unwilling to be so convinced, as to lose by being over-reasoned) he went in haste to the bookseller of whom it was bought, threatened him and told him in anger, "he had sold a book in which there was false divinity; and that the preface had upbraided the parliament, and many godly ministers of that party for unjust dealing." To which his reply was, (it was Tim. Garthwaite)

⁵ *To be of their party.*] "A puritan gossip met a church-woman, her neighbour, one morning in the streets of Exeter. 'Heark you, neighbour,' says the first, 'do you hear the news? Merchant such-an-one is a bankrupt, and merchant such-an-one, the churchman, loses ten thousand pounds by the break: there is *God's judgment* for you: the merchant was ever a great scoffer at the conventicle.'—'And is this all you have heard?' said the other. 'Yes.'—'Why then you have heard but half the news. Mercer such-an-one of *your* religion has lost fifteen hundred pounds by this break.'—'I must confess,' replied the first, '*a severe trial.*'"—Warburton's *Remarks on Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*; Works, vol. xii. p. 395.

“That it was not his trade to judge of true or false divinity, but to print and sell books ; and yet if he, or any friend of his would write an answer to it, and own it by setting his name to it, he would print the answer, and promote the selling of it.”

About the time of his printing this excellent preface, I met him accidentally in London in sad-coloured cloaths, and God knows, far from being costly. The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently ; and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a pent-house (for it began to rain) and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for our ready money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage ; for in that time he made to me many useful observations of the present times with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader.

He seemed to lament that the parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the grief and scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and necessary use of it with their blood ; and that no minister was now thought godly that did not decry it ; and, at least, pretend to make better prayers *extempore* : and that they, and only they that could do so, prayed by the spirit, and were godly ; though in their sermons they disputed, and evidently contradicted each other in their prayers. And as he did dislike this, so he did most highly commend the *Common Prayer* of the church, saying, “The Holy Ghost seemed to assist the composers : and, that the effect of a constant use of it would be, to melt and form the soul into holy thoughts and desires : and beget habits of devotion.” This he said : and “that the Collects were the most passionate, proper, and most elegant comprehensive expressions that any language ever afforded ; and that there was in them such piety, and that, so interwoven with instructions, that they taught us to know the power, the wisdom, the majesty, and mercy of God, and much of our duty both to him and our neighbour ; and that a congregation behaving themselves reverently, and putting up to God these joint and known desires for pardon of sins, and their praise for mercies received, could not but be

more pleasing to God, than those raw unpremeditated expressions which many understood not, and to which many of the hearers could not say Amen."

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter or Psalms of David; speaking to this purpose, "That they were the treasury of Christian comfort, fitted for all persons and all necessities; able to raise the soul from dejection by the frequent mention of God's mercies to repentant sinners; able to stir up holy desires; to increase joy; to moderate sorrow; to nourish hope, and teach us patience, by waiting God's leisure for what we beg; able to beget a trust in the mercy, power and providence of our Creator; and to cause a resignation of ourselves to his will; and then (and not till then) to believe ourselves happy." This he said the Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of the last they would not only prove to be our souls' comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them. After this manner⁶ he expressed himself, and his sorrow, concerning the Liturgy and Psalms; and seemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about *free-will*, *election* and *reprobation*, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, "They might be religious first, and then just and merciful; that they might sell their consciences, and yet have something left that was worth keeping; that they might be sure they were *elected*, though their lives were visibly scandalous; that to be cunning was to be wise, that to be rich was to be happy, though it is evidently false; that to speak evil of government, and to be busy in things they understood not, was no sin." These, and the like mistakes, he lamented much, and besought God to remove them, and restore us to that humility, sincerity, and single-heartedness,

⁶ *After this manner.*] Compare to the same effect the beautiful passages in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v. sect. 37, 9; and bishop Horne's *Preface to his Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, near the end. See above, *Life of Ferrar*, vol. iv. p. 211, note.

with which this nation was blest, before the unhappy Covenant was brought amongst us, and every man preached and prayed what seemed best in his own eyes. And he then said to me, "That the way to restore this nation to a more meek and Christian temper, was to have the body of divinity (or so much of it as was needful to be known by the common people) to be put into 52 homilies⁷, or sermons, of such a length as not to exceed

⁷ *Fifty-two homilies.*] At a subsequent period, a similar wish was, among other noble designs for the advancement of piety, entertained by the excellent archbishop Tillotson. The scheme, it is unnecessary to say, has never been executed. Bishop Burnet, in the year 1713, published seven sermons as a specimen of this undertaking; in the preface to which he has detailed at considerable length the model which was intended to be pursued. The design appears so commendable, and so capable of being converted, even in *private* hands, to salutary purposes, that, it is presumed, its insertion in this place will not be thought an unsuitable incumbrance.

"About three and twenty years ago, archbishop Tillotson, being then dean of St. Paul's, but designed for that high dignity, to which he was afterwards advanced, entered into a long conversation with bishop Patrick, then bishop of Chichester, and myself, concerning a design he had formed of a new book of Homilies; not that he intended to lay aside the book of Homilies already established, but to add a new one to that we have had now for above an hundred and fifty years.

"He thought that was not full enough: and that it was, according to the state of things at the time in which it was composed, fitted chiefly to settle people's minds right with relation to the reformation, and in opposition to popery.

"He thought that such a work had been of great use to the nation; but that another book of Homilies, that should contain a full and plain account both of the doctrinal and practical parts of the Christian religion; such as should give a clear explanation of every thing relating to our holy faith, or to the conduct of our lives, was necessary, chiefly for the instruction of the clergy; and it might be also a family book for the general use of the whole nation.

"He proposed that it should consist of threescore and two Homilies; two and fifty for all the Sundays of the year, and ten for (if I remember right) the following holidays. For Christmas; 2d, for the Circumcision; 3d, for Epiphany; 4th, for Christ's presentment in the Temple; 5th, for the Annunciation; 6th, for Good Friday; 7th, for the Ascension; 8th, for the Monday and Tuesday in Easter-week; 9th, for the Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun-week; and the 10th for Ash Wednesday.

"He designed the book should begin at Advent, in this order. The first should give a view of the Mosaical dispensation: the second was to explain the prophecies concerning the Messiah, during the first temple: the third was to explain the prophecies in the captivity in Daniel, and the others during the second temple: the fourth was to shew what were the defects in

a third or fourth part of an hour's reading ; and these needful points to be made so clear and plain, that those of a mean capacity

that dispensation, and what was necessary to establish a better covenant, upon better promises ; with a particular view of the nature of the priesthood, it being Ordination Sunday.

“Then from Christmas all to Ash-Wednesday in a series of several sermons, the circumstances of the doctrine, the parables, and the miracles of Christ were to be copiously opened, with these particulars : on the feast of the Circumcision, baptism was to be explained, as come instead of it : on Epiphany, the calling of the Gentiles, with the progress that the Christian religion made, and the destruction of Jerusalem, with the persecutions that followed, were to be opened. On the presentment in the Temple, the compliance with the authorised rituals of religion, even though the body of a church was much corrupted, both with false doctrines and superstitious practices, was to be made out ; but with the necessary limitations of such a degree of corruption, as should make a separation from the body not only lawful, but necessary. On the feast of Annunciation, the hymns of the Blessed Virgin, of Zachary, and Simeon, as being parts of the daily worship, were to be paraphrased, and explained ; on Ash-Wednesday and the three first Sundays in Lent, the whole doctrine of repentance was to be fully enlarged on ; restitution, and the reparation of injuries were to be much pressed : then the guilt of sin, with the just punishments due for it, both in this life, and in the next, were to be set forth, to prepare men for a just sense of the mercies of God in Christ. On the Sunday before Easter, the institution of the Lord's Supper, and every thing relating to it were to be rightly stated. On Good Friday, the sufferings and death of Christ were to be fully set forth. On Easter day, the resurrection was the proper subject ; both the evidence of it, and the effects of it were to be enlarged on. For Monday and Tuesday in that week, the doctrine of the resurrection, of the judgment to come, and of the blessedness of the saints in heaven, were to be opened.

“In the six Sundays to Whitsuntide, the doctrine of Justification was to be explained ; and some expressions in the first book, that seemed to carry Justification by Faith only, to a height that wanted some mitigation, were to be well examined ; and all that St. Paul had writ on that head, both to the Romans, and the Galatians, was to be explained, and reconciled to what St. James wrote on the same subject. Next Sanctification was to be right stated ; Faith and Hope were to be explained. The mission of the Apostles, and of their successors, the bishops and pastors of the church, with their authority and its limits were to be asserted. Christ's Ascension, and his kingdom, as the Messiah, was next to be proved, and explained. The great effusion of the Holy Ghost on Whitsunday was next to be dwelt on ; upon which the authority of the New Testament is to be proved, in opposition to tradition ; and the authenticalness of the Scriptures, as they are now in our hands, was to be made out. For the Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week the necessity of inward assistances was to be shewn, and to be guarded against the danger of enthusiasm. On Trinity Sunday, that great article of

might know what was necessary to be believed, and what God requires to be done ; and then some plain applications of trial

the Christian religion, of the unity of the God-head, and that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were one God, was to be proved, and settled ; with an exhortation to all in Holy Orders, to remember their vows, and to live and labour suitably to their profession.

“ In the Sundays after Trinity, the sum of the Ten Commandments, and every one of the ten, with the duties relating to it, were to be fully opened ; in particular, Humility, Meekness, and Contentment, with a freedom from Envy and Covetousness, were to be well set out. After this, some Sermons were to be added concerning Prayer, with a particular enlargement on all the parts of the Lord’s Prayer : and the year was to end in some sermons, charging home on the people the care of their souls, and their duty to Almighty God, the Creator of all things, and the Governor of the world, and the Saviour of all that believe.

“ This is the substance of that scheme, that in a long conversation was thus digested ; and which the archbishop said that he would communicate to others, to be corrected, or improved, as they should advise. In order to this, bishop Patrick undertook to examine carefully the Gospels and Epistles for the whole year, to see how they agreed with this scheme, and to gather what other portions out of the Gospels and Epistles he could choose, that should agree better with all the parts of it, and to prepare Collects proper for them : and from some discourse with him afterwards, I conclude that he had made a good progress in it ; whether he finished it, or not, I cannot tell.

“ At that time, the king and queen set out proclamations against profane swearing, breach of sabbath, lewdness, and drunkenness ; so the archbishop put it upon me to draw, for an essay, Homilies on these subjects. He said he would take a large share of the work to himself : the like bishop Patrick also was willing to undertake ; and he knew several persons who had considered some matters relating to the scheme very critically, to whom he would assign such parts of it, as they would be both very willing and able to execute well. He also told me, that he had proposed the design to the present reverend and most learned bishop of Worcester” (Dr. Lloyd) “ who highly approved of it, but would take no other share in it, than the revising the several compositions that were given in towards the finishing the work. He said he would read them carefully, and make such remarks and corrections as should occur to him, with his utmost care and exactness.

“ But soon after this, we found a spirit of opposition and contradiction grew so strong, and it was so much animated and supported, that we saw it was to no purpose to struggle against it at that time. Therefore this, with many other good designs, were reserved to a better opportunity, and no further progress was made in it. So since these two worthy prelates are dead, I thought it was fit for me to give this account of it to the world, that it may not be quite lost ; and to offer it with the following essay that was intended to be a part of it.”

and conviction: and these to be read every Sunday of the year, as infallibly as the blood circulates the body at a set time; and then as certainly began again, and continued the year following."

And he explained the reason of this his desire, by saying to me, "All grammar scholars, that are often shifted, from one to another school, learn neither so much, nor their little so truly, as those that are constant to one good master: because, by the several rules of teaching in those several schools they learn less, and become more and more confused; and at last, so puzzled and perplexed, that their learning proves useless both to themselves and others. And so do the immethodical, useless, needless notions that are delivered in many sermons, make the hearers; but a clear and constant rule of teaching us what we are to know and do, and what not, and that taught us by an approved authority, might probably bring the nation to a more conscientious practice of what we know, and ought to do." Thus did this prudent man explain the reason of this his desire: and oh! that he had undertaken what he advised: for then in all probability it would have proved so useful, that the present age would have been blest by it; and, posterity would have blest him for it.

And at this happy time of my enjoying his company and his discourse, he expressed a sorrow by saying to me, "O that I had gone chaplain to that excellently accomplished gentleman, your friend, sir Henry Wotton! which was once intended, when he first went ambassador to the state of Venice⁸: for by that employment I had been forced into a necessity of conversing, not only with him, but with several men of several nations; and might thereby have kept myself from my unmanly bashfulness, which has proved very troublesome, and not less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is become so habitual as never to leave me: and besides, by that means I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of seeing one of the late miracles of mankind, for general learning, prudence and modesty, sir Henry Wotton's dear friend, Padre Paulo⁹, who, the author of his life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible as I have found my own to be: a man whose fame must never die, till virtue and learning shall become so useless as not to be regarded."

This was a part of the benefit I then had by that hour's conversation: and I gladly remember and mention it, as an argu-

⁸ *Venice.*] See p. 84.

⁹ *Padre Paulo.*] Sarpi.

ment of my happiness, and his great humility and condescension.—I had also a like advantage by another happy conference with him, which I am desirous to impart in this place to the reader.

He lamented much, that in those times of confusion, in many parishes, where the maintenance was not great, there was no minister to officiate; and that many of the best sequestered livings were possessed with such rigid covenanters as denied the sacrament to their parishioners, unless upon such conditions, and in such a manner as they could not with a good conscience take it. This he mentioned with much sorrow, saying, “The blessed sacrament did, even by way of preparation for it, give occasion to all conscientious receivers to examine the performance of their vows, since they received that last seal for the pardon of their sins past; and also to examine and research their hearts, and make penitent reflections on their failings; and that done to bewail them seriously, and then make new vows or resolutions to obey all God’s commands better, and beg his grace to perform them. And that this being faithfully done, then the sacrament repairs the decays of grace, helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us grace to beg God’s grace, and then gives us what we beg; makes us still hunger and thirst after his righteousness, which we then receive, and being assisted with our own endeavours, will still so dwell in us, as to become our sanctification in this life, and our comfort on our last sick-beds.” The want of this blessed benefit he lamented much, and pitied their condition that desired, but could not obtain it.

I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. As first, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little (yet enough) of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested an endearing affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm, and so matchless a fortitude, as secured him from complying with any of those many parliament injunctions, that interfered with a doubtful conscience. His learning was methodical and exact; his wisdom useful; his integrity visible; and his whole life so unspotted, so like the primitive Christians, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after; the clergy especially; who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God, whose pure eyes abhor iniquity; and especially in them.

There was in his sermons no improper rhetoric, nor such perplexed divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes that the sight becomes less perfect. But in them there was no want of useful matter, nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions, and made his hearers depart both wiser, and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as it was only overcome by his bashfulness: for he alone or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius without book; and would say, "The repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself," (which he did often) "was to him such music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they played it voluntarily to themselves or friends." And though he was blest with a clearer judgment than other men, yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did usually over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and reconsider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet, when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his Divinity Lectures in Oxford, and all the scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolved and writ what he meant to *determine*; so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend Dr. Sheldon would often say of him, namely, "That his judgment was so much superior to his fancy, that whatsoever this suggested, that disliked and controuled; still considering, and reconsidering, till his time was so wasted, that he was forced to write, not (probably) what was best, but what he thought last." And yet what he did then read, appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever *determined* with greater applause.

These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him some averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because during that time they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not suffer his mind to be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions, yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave a pleasant rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen two remarkable volumes; and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

And this holy humble man had so conquered all repining and

ambitious thoughts, and with them all other unruly passions, that, if the accidents of the day proved to his danger or damage, yet he both began and ended it with an even and undisturbed quietness: always praising God that he had not withdrawn food and raiment from him and his poor family, nor suffered him in the times of trial to violate his conscience for his safety, or to support himself or them in a more splendid or plentiful condition; and that he therefore resolved with David, *That his praise should be always in his mouth.*

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and much more might be added of all: but I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men, clergymen especially, were sufferers; namely, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very pitiful condition as to his estate: and in that time Mr. Robert Boyle¹, (a gentleman of a very noble birth, and more eminent for his liberality, learning and virtue, and of whom I would say much more, but that he still lives) having casually met with, and read his lectures *de Juramento*, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderson's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow, (the now learned bishop of Lincoln), 50*l.* and with it a request and promise. The request was, "That he would review the lectures *de Conscientia*, which he had read when he was doctor of the chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of posterity;" (and this Dr. Sanderson did in the year 1659). And the promise was, "That he would pay him that, or if he desired it, a greater sum yearly, during his life to enable him to pay an amanuensis, to ease him from the trouble of writing what he should conceive or dictate." For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ to me by the said Dr. Barlow, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the beginning of the year 1660, when the many mixed sects, and their creators, and merciless protectors, had led, or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion both in church and state: when amazement and fear had seized most of them by foreseeing, they must now not only vomit up the church's, and

¹ Boyle.] The celebrated Hon. Robert Boyle.

the king's land, but their accusing consciences did also give them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the God of opposition, disobedience, and confusion, which they had so long and so diligently feared, was now ready to reward them with such wages as he always pays to witches for their obeying him : when these wretches (that had said to themselves, "*We shall see no sorrow,*") were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our king's return, and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderson (and with him many of the oppressed clergy and others) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it ; then the 29th of May following, the king was by our good God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and then a general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations ; the suffering and sequestered clergy (who had, like the children of Israel, sat long lamenting their sad condition, and hanged their neglected harps on the willows that grow by the rivers of Babylon) were after many thoughtful days, and restless nights, now freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise, and pray to almighty God publicly in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderson and his dejected family rejoiced to see this happy day, and be of this number.

At this time of the conformable clergy's deliverance from the presbyterian severities, the doctor said to a friend, " I look back on this strange and happy turn of the late times with amazement and thankfulness ; and cannot but think the Presbyterians ought to read their own errors, by considering that by their own rules the Independents have punished, and supplanted them as they did the conformable clergy, who are now (so many as still live) restored to their lawful right ; and as the prophet David hath taught me, so I say with a thankful heart, *Verily, there is a God that judgeth the earth : and a reward for the righteous.*"

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times, men of learning, prudence, and virtue were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of episcopal government, and often refused it. For, they conscientiously considered that the office of a bishop was not made up of ease and state, but of labour and care : that they were trusted to be of God's almoners of the church's revenue, and double their care for the church's good, and the poor ; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers and clergy, became

examples of innocence and piety to others ; and that the account of that stewardship must at the last dreadful day be made to the Searcher of all hearts : and for these reasons they were in the primitive times timorous to undertake it. It may not be said that Dr. Sanderson was accomplished with these, and all the other requisites required in a bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly ; but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years (for he was so old at the king's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man, than are apparent in others in these days, in which (God knows) we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal to God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson ; as namely, that at the king's return Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent archbishop of Canterbury (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderson more or better) was by his majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant bishoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the king that he would nominate him : and that done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson that he would "for God's and the church's sake take that charge and care upon him." Dr. Sanderson had, if not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it, and would often say, "He had not led himself, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily prayed against ; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares and endeavours might promote his glory, and help forward the salvation of others."

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishopric, and am next to tell that he was consecrated bishop of Lincoln at Westminster the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose consciences were (as they said) tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the church, might have a satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the church service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty ; of which last some were then preferred to power and dignity in the church. And of these bishop Sanderson was one, and then chosen to be a moderator in that debate, and he performed his

trust with much mildness, patience, and reason ; but all proved ineffectual. For there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy² in the Strand : and the points debated were, I think, many (and I think many of them needless) ; some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either ; and these debates being at first in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed as satisfied neither party. For sometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot, or mistaken, or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. And that the debate might become more satisfactory and useful, it was therefore resolved that the day following, the desires and reasons of the non-conformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren ; yet I am sure Mr. Richard Baxter was one, and I am sure also one of the points debated was “ Concerning a command of lawful superiors, what was sufficient towards its being a lawful command ? ”—This following proposition was brought by the conforming party :

“ That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.”

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus : one was, “ Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in itself ; and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command.” Another was, “ That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty.”

Again, this proposition being brought by the conformists, “ That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful.”

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason then given in with his own hand in writing, thus ; “ Because the *first* act commanded may

² *The Savoy.*] For a large account of the Savoy conference, see Baxter's *Life*, p. 303, &c. ; also Collier's *Ecclesiast. History*, vol. ii. p. 876—86 ; and *History of Non-conformity as it was argued by commissioners on both sides, in 1661*, p. 149—338, edit. 1704, 8vo.

be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded be such."

Again this proposition being brought by the conformists, "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act *per accidens* unlawful nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty."

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same reasons.

PETER GUNNING.

JOHN PEARSON.

These were then two of the disputants, still live, and will attest this; one being now lord bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the dissenters (which I could, but forbear to name) appeared to Dr. Sanderson to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient³ Dr. Sanderson (who was then bishop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other bishops) to say with an unusual earnestness, "That he had never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities in all his conversation."

But, though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires and understood the abilities of the other much better than before it: and the late distressed clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, were so charitable, as at their next meeting in convocation, to contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part both of the rubric and Common Prayer; as also by adding some new necessary collects, with a particular collect of thanksgiving. How many of these new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the

³ *Patient.*] Baxter, speaking of Sanderson at this period, says, that he was "a very worthy man, but for that great peevishness, which injuries, partiality, temperature and age had caused in him."—*Life*, &c. p. 357. See also p. 363.

convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and, as usually, approve and thank him.

At this convocation the Common-Prayer was made more complete, by adding three new necessary offices ; which were, *A Form of Humiliation for the Murder of King Charles the Martyr ; a Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his Son our King ; and for the Baptizing of Persons of riper Age*. I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the convocation ; and he did also, by desire of the convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea (now taken into the service-book). And it may be noted, that William ⁴, the now most reverend archbishop of Canterbury, was in these employments diligently useful ; especially in helping to rectify the calendar and rubric. And lastly it may be noted, that for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the liturgy, were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderson ; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the liturgy, and may now be known by this title—*The Preface* ; and begins thus—*It hath been the wisdom of the church*.

I shall now follow Dr. Sanderson to his bishopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his clergy, as to know and be known to most of them. And indeed he practised the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannel ; for there was all joy at his table when they came to visit him : then they prayed for him, and he for them, with an unfeigned affection.

I think it will not be denied but that the care and toil required of a bishop, may justly challenge the riches and revenue with which their predecessors had lawfully endowed them ; and yet he sought not that so much, as doing good with it both to the present age and posterity ; and he made this appear by what follows.

The bishop's chief house at Buckden, in the county of Huntingdon, the usual residence of his predecessors (for it stands about the midst of his diocese), having been at his consecration

⁴ William.] Sancroft.

a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added, that the king having by an *injunction*⁵ commended to the care of the bishops, deans, and prebends of all cathedral churches, “the repair of them, their houses, and an augmentation of the revenue of small vicarages;” he, when he was repairing Buckden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases; so fast, that a friend taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, “he was under his first fruits, and that he was old, and had a wife and children that were yet but meanly provided for, especially if his dignity were considered.” To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, “It would not become a Christian bishop to suffer those houses built by his predecessors to be ruined for want of repair; and less justifiable to suffer any of those poor vicars that were called to so high a calling as to sacrifice at God’s altar, to eat the bread of sorrow constantly, when he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of cheerfulness: and wished that as *this was*, so it *were* also in his power to make all mankind happy, for he desired nothing more. And for his wife and children, he hoped to leave them a competence; and in the hands of a God, that would provide for all that kept innocence, and trusted in his providence and protection, which he had always found enough to make and keep him happy.”

There was in his diocese a minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln college when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness. This minister asked the bishop what books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning? To which his answer was, that he declined reading many books; but what he did read were well chosen, and read so often that he became very familiar with them; and told him they were chiefly three, Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, Aquinas’s *Secunda Secundæ*, and Tully, but chiefly his *Offices*, which he had not read over less than twenty times, and could at this age repeat without book. And told him also, the learned civilian doctor Zouch (who died lately) had writ *Elementa Jurisprudentiæ*, which was a book

⁵ By an *injunction*.] See Kennett’s *Case of Impropriations and Augmentation of Vicarages*, 251—8. The king’s letter was issued Aug. 7, 1660.

that he thought he could also say without book ; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love, or commend it too much ; and he told him the study of these had been his toil ; but for himself, he always had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry ; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplexed studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation ; and that his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the descent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation.

Before I give an account of his last sickness, I desire to tell the reader that he was of a healthful constitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death ; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it : and this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way disable him from studying (indeed too much). In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason (for this distemper works not upon the understanding), he made his last will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what hath been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

He did in his last will give an account of his faith and persuasion in point of religion and church-government, in these very words :

“ I Robert Sanderson, doctor of divinity, an unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, and by the providence of God bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, or decay of understanding, do make this my will and testament (written all with my own hand) revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, if any such shall be found. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator, which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, looking upon it, not as it is in itself (infinitely polluted with sin) but as it is redeemed and purged with the precious blood of his only beloved Son, and my most sweet saviour Jesus Christ ; in confidence of whose merits and mediation alone it is, that I cast myself upon

the mercy of God for the pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eternal life. And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die in the communion of the catholic church of Christ, and a true son of the church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education (to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion,) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and impartial examination of the grounds, as well of popery as puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the papists on the one hand, and the superstition which the puritan on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively⁶. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God, the Father of mercies, to preserve the church by his power and providence, in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end: which doubtless he will do, if the wickedness and security of a sinful people (and particularly those sins that are so rife, and seem daily to increase among us, of unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do not tempt his patience to the contrary. And I also farther humbly beseech him, that it would please him to give unto our gracious sovereign, the reverend bishops, and the parliament, timely to consider the great danger that visibly threatens his church in point of religion by the late great increase of popery, and in point of revenue by sacrilegious inclosures; and to provide such wholesome and effectual remedies as may prevent the same before it be too late."

And for a further manifestation of his humble thoughts and desires, they may appear to the reader, by another part of his will which follows:

"As for my corruptible body, I bequeath it to the earth whence it was taken, to be decently buried in the parish church of Buckden, towards the upper end of the chancel, upon the second, or (at the farthest) the third day after my decease; and that with

⁶ *Themselves respectively.*] See *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 313, 14. 546, 573—5. 658, 9.

as little noise, pomp, and charge as may be, without the invitation of any person how near soever related unto me, other than the inhabitants of Buckden; without the unnecessary expence of escutcheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and without any blacks to be hung any where in or about the house or church, other than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and a mourning gown for the preacher; whereof the former, (after my body shall be interred) to be given to the preacher of the funeral sermon, and the latter to the curate of the parish for the time being. And my will further is, that the funeral sermon be preached by my own household chaplain, containing some wholesome discourse concerning mortality, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment; and that he shall have for his pains *5*l.** upon condition, that he speak nothing at all concerning any person either good or ill, other than I myself shall direct; only signifying to the auditory that it was my express will to have it so. And it is my will, that no costly monument be erected for my memory, but only a fair flat marble stone to be laid over me, with this inscription in legible roman characters,—*Depositum Roberti Sanderson nuper Lincolnensis episcopi, qui obiit anno Domini MDCLXII. et ætatis suæ septuagesimo sexto. Hic requiescit in spe beatæ resurrectionis.* This manner of burial, although I cannot but foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to sundry my nearest friends and relations, and be apt to be censured by others, as an evidence of my too much parsimony and narrowness of mind, as being altogether unusual, and not according to the mode of these times; yet it is agreeable to the sense of my heart, and I do very much desire my will may be carefully observed herein, hoping it may become exemplary to some or other: at least howsoever testifying at my death (what I have so often and earnestly professed in my life time) my utter dislike of the flatteries commonly used in funeral sermons, and of the vast expences otherwise laid out in funeral solemnities and entertainments, with very little benefit to any, which (if bestowed in pious and charitable works) might redound to the public or private benefit of many persons." This is a part of his will.

I am next to tell, that he died the 29th of January 1662, and that his body was buried in Buckden the third day after his death; and for the manner, that it was as far from ostentation as he desired it; and all the rest of his will was as punctually performed. And when I have (to his just praise) told this truth, That he

died far from being rich, I shall return back to visit, and give a further account of him on his sick bed.

His last will (of which I have mentioned a part) was made about three weeks before his death, about which time, finding his strength to decay, by reason of his constant infirmity and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts by himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what might concern this world. Thus as his natural life decayed, his spiritual life seemed to be more strong, and his faith more confirmed : still labouring to attain that holiness and purity, without which none shall see God. And that not any of his clergy (which are more numerous than any other bishop's of this nation) might suffer by his retirement, he did by commission empower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with episcopal power, to give institutions to all livings or church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement, which was wholly spent in devotion, he longed for his dissolution ; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, " His friends said their prayers backward for him : and that it was not his desire to live a useless life, and by filling up a place, keep another out of it, that might do God and his church more service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, " That during his being a house-keeper (which was more than forty years) there had not been one buried out of his family, and that he was now like to be the first." He would also mention with thankfulness, " That till he was three-score years of age, he had never spent five shillings in law, nor (upon himself) so much in wine : and rejoiced much that he had so lived as never to cause an hour's sorrow to his good father ; and that he hoped that he should die without an enemy."

He in this retirement had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day : and at nine at night some prayers read to him and a part of his family out of the *Whole Duty of Man*. As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals : and his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he expecting and calling for it, was answered " It would be ready in a quarter of an hour." To which his reply was with some earnestness, " A quarter of an hour ? is a quarter of an hour nothing to a man that probably has not many hours to

live?" And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary either of motion or sitting, that he was content, or forced to keep his bed. In which I desire he may rest, till I have given some short account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed (which was three days before his death) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his, and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for this blessing was ended, he spake to this purpose; "I have now to the great joy of my soul tasted of the all-saving sacrifice of my Saviour's death and passion; and with it, received a spiritual assurance that my sins past are pardoned, and my God at peace with me: and that I shall never have a will, or power to do any thing that may separate my soul from the love of my dear Saviour. Lord confirm this belief in me; and make me still to remember that it was thou O God that tookest me out of my mother's womb, and hast been the powerful protector of me to this present moment of my life: thou hast neither forsaken me now I am become grey-headed, nor suffered me to forsake thee in the late days of temptation, and sacrifice my conscience for the preservation of my liberty or estate. It was not of myself but by grace that I have stood, when others have fallen under my trials: and these mercies I now remember with joy and thankfulness; and my hope and desire is that I might die remembering this, and praising thee my merciful God." The frequent repetition of the psalms of David hath been noted to be a great part of the devotion of the primitive Christians: the psalms having in them, not only prayers and holy instructions, but such commemorations of God's mercies, as may preserve, comfort, and confirm our dependance on the power, and providence, and mercy of our Creator. And this is mentioned in order to telling, that as the holy psalmist said, that *his eyes should prevent both the dawning of the day and the night watches, by meditating on God's word*; so it was Dr. Sanderson's constant practice every morning to entertain his first waking thoughts with a repetition of those very psalms, that the church hath appointed to be constantly read in the daily

morning service ; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the service of the evening ; remembering and repeating the very psalms appointed for every day ; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if the first fruits of his waking thoughts were of the world, or what concerned it, he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth which is now the employment of Dr. Hammond and him in heaven.

After his taking his bed, and about a day before his death, he desired his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, to give him absolution : and at his performing that office, he pulled off his cap, that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head. After this desire of his was satisfied, his body seemed to be at more ease, and his mind more cheerful ; and he said often, “ Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me, but continue thy mercy, and let my mouth be ever filled with thy praise.” He continued the remaining night and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment : and during that time, did often say to himself the 103d psalm, (a psalm that is composed of praise and consolations, fitted for a dying soul,) and say also to himself very often these words, “ *My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found.*” And now his thoughts seemed to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepared, that that King of Terrors could not surprise him *as a thief in the night* ; for he had often said, “ he was prepared, and longed for it.” And as this desire seemed to come from heaven, so it left him not, till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in consort with his, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought him and them to that place, into which sin and sorrow cannot enter.

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life :—it is now too late to wish that mine may be like his (for, I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age ; and, God knows it hath not) : but, I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may ; and I do as earnestly beg, that if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and as true relation, he will be so charitable, as to say Amen.

I. W.

“ Blessed is that man in whose spirit there is no guile.” Psal.
xxxii. 2.

DR. PIERCE, DEAN OF SALISBURY, HIS LETTER TO MR. WALTON.

Good Mr. Walton,

AT my return to this place, I made a yet stricter search after the letters long ago sent me from our most excellent Dr. Sanderson before the happy restoration of the king and church of England to their several rights; in one of which letters more especially, he was pleased to give me a narrative both of the rise and the progress, and reasons also, as well of his younger, as of his last and riper judgment, touching the famous points controverted between the Calvinians and the Arminians, as they are commonly (though unjustly and unskilfully) miscalled on either side.

The whole letter I allude to, does consist of several sheets, whereof a good part has been made public long ago by the most learned, most judicious, most pious Dr. Hammond (to whom I sent it both for his private, and for the public satisfaction, if he thought fit) in his excellent book, entituled *a Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in full accordance with Dr. Sanderson*: to which discourse I refer you for an account of Dr. Sanderson, and the history of his thoughts in his own hand-writing, wherein I sent it to Westwood, as I received it from Boothby Pannel. And although the whole book (printed in the year 1660, and reprinted since with his other tracts in folio) is very worthy of your perusal; yet for the work you are about, you shall not have need to read more at present, than from the 8th to the 23rd page, and as far as the end of section 33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whose life you write, became a master of arts. How his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by some puritanical pamphlets; and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of Calvin's *Institutions*, the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors. How he erred with Mr. Calvin (whilst he took things upon trust) in the sublapsarian way. How being chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, 1625, he reduced the *Quinquarticular Controversy* into five schemes or tables; and thereupon discerned a necessity of quitting the sublapsarian way (of which he had before a better liking) as well as the supralapsarian, which he could never fancy. There you will meet with his two weighty reasons against them both; and find his happy change of judgment to have been ever since the year 1625,

even thirty-four years before the world either knew, or (at least) took notice of it. And more particularly his reasons for rejecting Dr. Twiss (or the way he walks in) although his acute, and very learned and ancient friend.

^c I now proceed to let you know from Dr. Sanderson's own hand, which was never printed (and which you can hardly know from any, unless from his son, or from myself) That when that parliament was broken up, and the convocation therewith dissolved, a gentleman of his acquaintance, by occasion of some discourse about these points, told him of a book, not long before published at Paris (A.D. 1623,) by a ^d Spanish bishop, who had undertaken to clear the differences in the great controversy *De Concordia Gratiae et Liberi Arbitrii*. And because his friend perceived he was greedily desirous to see the book, he sent him one of them containing the four first books of twelve which he intended then to publish. "*When I had read,*" (says Dr. Sanderson, in the following words, of the same letter) "*his epistle dedicatory to the pope (Greg. 15,) he spake so highly of his own invention, that I then began rather to suspect him for a mountebank, than to hope I should find satisfaction from his performances. I found much confidence, and great pomp of words, but little matter as to the main knot of the business, other than had been said an hundred times before, to wit, of the co-existence of all things past, present, and future in mente divina realiter ab æterno, which is the subject of his whole third book; only he interpreteth the word realiter so, as to import not only præsentialem objectivam (as others held before him) but propriam et actualem existentiam. Yet confesseth it is hard to make this intelligible. In his fourth book he endeavours to declare a two-fold manner of God's working ad extra; the one sub ordine Prædestinationis, of which eternity is the proper measure; the other sub ordine Gratiae, whereof time is the measure. And that God worketh fortiter in the one (though not irresistibiliter) as well as suaviter in the other, wherein the free-will hath his proper working also. From the result of his whole performance I was confirmed in this opinion, that we must acknowledge the work of both (grace and free-will) in the conversion of a sinner. And so likewise in all other events, the consistency of the infallibility of God's foreknowledge at*

^c Sir, I pray note, That all that follows in the Italian character, are Dr. Sanderson's own words, excellently worthy, but no where else extant; and commend him as much as any thing you can say of him. T. P.

^d Francisco de Arriba.

least (though not with any absolute, but conditional predestination) with the liberty of man's will, and the contingency of inferior causes and effects. These, I say, we must acknowledge for the ὅτι: but for the τὸ πῶς, I thought it bootless for me to think of comprehending it. And so came the two Acta Synodalia Dordrectana to stand in my study, only to fill up a room to this day.

“And yet see the restless curiosity of man. Not many years after, to wit, A.D. 1632, out cometh Dr. Twiss's *Vindiciæ Gratix*, a large volume purposely writ against Arminius. And then notwithstanding my former resolution, I must needs be meddling again. The respect I bore to his person and great learning, and the long acquaintance I had had with him in Oxford, drew me to the reading of that whole book. But from the reading of it (for I read it through to a syllable) I went away with many and great dissatisfactions. Sundry things in that book I took notice of, which brought me into a greater dislike of his opinion than I had before. But especially these three: First, that he bottometh very much of his discourse upon a very erroneous principle, which yet he seemeth to be so deeply in love with, that he hath repeated it (I verily believe) some hundreds of times in that work: to wit this, that whatsoever is first in the intention, is last in execution, and e converso. Which is an error of that magnitude, that I cannot but wonder, how a person of such acuteness and subtilty of wit could possibly be deceived with it. All logicians know, there is no such universal maxim as he buildeth upon. The true maxim is but this, *Finis qui primus est in intentione, est ultimus in executione*. In the order of final causes, and the means used for that end, the rule holdeth perpetually: but in other things, it holdeth not at all, or but by chance; or not as a rule, and necessarily. Secondly, that, foreseeing such consequences would naturally and necessarily follow from his opinion, as would offend the ear of a sober Christian at the very first sound, he would yet rather choose not only to admit the said harsh consequences, but professedly endeavour also to maintain them, and plead hard for them in large digressions, than to recede in the least from that opinion which he had undertaken to defend. Thirdly, that seeing (out of the sharpness of his wit) a necessity of forsaking the ordinary sublapsarian way, and the supralapsarian too, as it had diversely been declared by all that had gone before him (for the shunning of those rocks, which either of those ways must unavoidably cast him upon) he was forced to seek out an untrodden path, and to frame out of his own brain a new way (like a spider's web wrought out of her own bowels) hoping by that device to

*salve all absurdities which could be objected ; to wit, by making the glory of God (as it is indeed the chiefest,) so the only end of all other his decrees, and then making all those other decrees to be but one entire co-ordinate medium conducing to that one end, and so the whole subordinate to it, but not any one part thereof subordinate to any other of the same. * Dr. Twiss should have done well to have been more sparing in imputing the studium partium to others, wherewith his own eyes (though of eminent perspicacity) were so strangely blind-folded, that he could not discern, how this his new device, and his old dearly beloved principle (like the Cadmean Sparti) do mutually destroy the one the other.*

“ This relation of my passed thoughts having spun out to a far greater length than I intended, I shall give a shorter account of what they now are concerning these points.”

For which account I refer you to the following parts of Dr. Hammond's book aforesaid, where you may find them already printed. And for another account at large of bishop Sanderson's last judgment concerning God's concurrence or non-concurrence with the actions of men, and the positive entity of sins of commission, I refer you to his letters already printed by his consent, in my large appendix to my *Impartial inquiry into the nature of sin*. Sect. 68, p. 193, as far as p. 200.

Sir, I have rather made it my choice to transcribe all above out of the letters of Dr. Sanderson which lie before me, than venture the loss of my originals by post or carrier, which, though not often, yet sometimes fail. Make use of as much, or as little as you please, of what I send you from himself (because from his own letters to me) in the penning of his life, as your own prudence shall direct you ; using my name for your warranty in the account given of him, as much or as little as you please too. You have a performance of my promise, and an obedience to your desires, from

Your affectionate
humble servant,

THO. PIERCE.

North-Tidworth,
March 5, 167 .

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER.

My worthy friend Mr. Walton,

I AM heartily glad, that you have undertaken to write the life of that excellent person, and (both for learning and piety) eminent

prelate, Dr. Sanderson, late bishop of Lincoln ; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth : and sure I am that the life and actions of that pious and learned prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his life, as were certainly known to me. I confess I had the happiness to be particularly known to him for about the space of twenty years, and (in Oxon) to enjoy his conversation, and his learned and pious instructions while he was *regius professor* of divinity there. Afterwards, when (in the time of our late unhappy confusions) he left Oxon, and was retired into the country, I had the benefit of his letters ; wherein (with great candour and kindness) he answered those doubts I proposed, and gave me that satisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from some others of greater confidence, but less judgment and humility.

Having in a letter named two or three books writ (*ex professo*) against the being of any original sin ; and that Adam (by his fall) transmitted some calamity only, but no crime to his posterity ; the good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seemed to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be permitted to publish any error so contradictory to truth, and the doctrine of the church of England, established (as he truly said) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the just and supreme power of this nation, both sacred and civil. I name not⁷ the books, nor their

⁷ *I name not.*] It is probable that part, at least, of the writings here referred to, are certain chapters of Jeremy Taylor's *Doctrine and Practice of Repentance*, and his *Deus Justificatus*, a vindication of the glory of the divine attributes in the question of original sin.

“ Dr. White Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, had in his possession the copies of two letters transcribed from the originals that were in the hands of bishop Barlow. 1. Superscribed ‘for Mr. Thomas Barlow, at the library in Oxon,’ and subscribed ‘your very loving friend and servant, Robert Sanderson,’ dated ‘Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 28, 1656,’ importuning Dr. Barlow, ‘to undertake the managing that dispute in the question of great importance, upon the ancient landmarks by Dr. Jeremy Taylor, so unhappily (and so unseasonably too) endeavoured to be removed, in the doctrine of original sin.’ 2. Another letter of Dr. Sanderson to Dr. Barlow, at Queen’s College, dated ‘Botheby Pagnell, Sept. 17, 1657,’ expressing himself, ‘that Dr. Taylor is so peremptory and pertinacious of his errors, as not to hearken to the sober

authors, which are not unknown to learned men (and I wish they had never been known) because both the doctrine, and the unadvised abettors of it are (and shall be) to me apocryphal.

Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an argument of Dr. Sanderson's piety, great ability and judgment as a casuist. Discoursing with an ^ehonourable person (whose piety I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be great) about a case of conscience concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation ; in which (for some particular reasons) he then desired more fully to be informed ; I commended to him Dr. Sanderson's book *De Juramento* : which having read (with great satisfaction) he asked me, if I thought the doctor could be induced to write cases of conscience, if he might have an honorary pension allowed him, to furnish him with books for that purpose ? I told him I believed he would : and (in a letter to the doctor) told him what great satisfaction that honourable person (and many more) had reaped by reading his book *De Juramento* : and asked him, whether he would be pleased (for the benefit of the church) to write some tract of cases of conscience ? He replied, that he was glad that any had received any benefit by his books ; and added further, that if any future tract of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seemed to say his former had done, he would willingly (though without any pension) set about that work. Having received this answer, that honourable person (before mentioned) did (by my hands) return fifty pounds to the good doctor (whose condition then, as most good men's at that time were, was but low) and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent book *De Conscientia*. A book little in bulk ; but not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it. For there are so many general propositions concerning conscience, the nature and obligation of it explained and proved with such firm consequence and evidence of reason, that he who reads, remembers, and can (with prudence) pertinently apply them *Hic et nunc* to particular cases, may (by their light and help) rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of conscience. Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in promoting, and the piety

advices of his grave, reverend, and learned friends, amidst the distractions of these times.' See Kennet's *Register*, p. 633."—From Dr. Zouch's edition of Walton's *Lives*, p. 442. 2nd edit.

^e Robt. Boyle, Esq.

and industry of the good doctor in performing that excellent work.

And here I shall add the judgment of that learned and pious prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the schools as *regius professor* of divinity, and by the truth of his positions, and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers, especially in his clear resolutions of all difficult cases which occurred in the explication of the subject matter of his lectures; a person of quality (yet alive) privately asked him, what course a young divine should take in his studies to enable him to be a good casuist? His answer was, that a convenient understanding of the learned languages (at least of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) and a sufficient knowledge of arts and sciences presupposed, there were two things in human literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use, to enable a man to be a rational and able casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible: 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the nature of human actions: to know, *quid sit actus humanus* (*spontaneus, invitus, mixtus*)? *unde habent bonitatem et malitiam moralem? an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?* How the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of human actions? How far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish the goodness or evil of our actions? For every case of conscience being only this—*Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?* He who (in these) knows not how and whence human actions become morally good and evil, never can (*in hypothesi*) rationally and certainly determine, whether this or that particular action be so. 2. The second thing, which (he said) would be a great help and advantage to a casuist, was a convenient knowledge of the nature and obligation of laws in general: to know what a law is; what a natural and a positive law; what is required to the *latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis*; what promulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of any positive law; what ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does excuse, diminish, or aggravate the transgression: for every case of conscience being only this—*Is this lawful for me, or is it not?* and the law the only rule and measure, by which I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action; it evidently follows, that he, who (in these) knows

not the nature and obligation of laws, never can be a good casuist, or rationally assure himself (or others) of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of actions in particular. This was the judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious prelate; and having (by long experience) found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive, I could not without ingratitude to him, and want of charity to others, conceal it.—Pray pardon this rude, and (I fear) impertinent scribble, which (if nothing else) may signify thus much, that I am willing to obey your desires, and am indeed

Your affectionate friend,

THOMAS LINCOLN.

London, May 10, 1678.

RICHARD BAXTER.

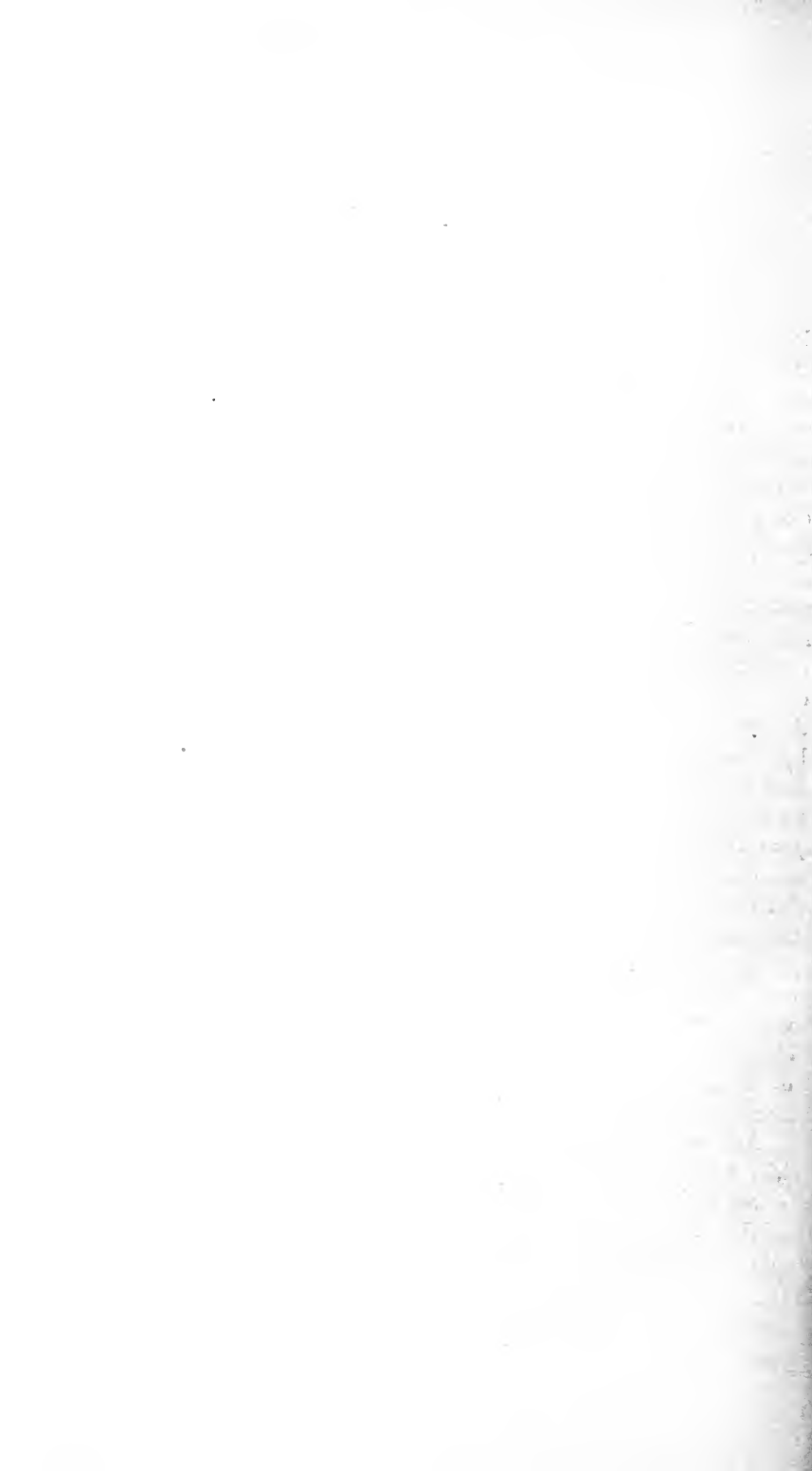
I am much more sensible of the evil of schism, and of the separating humour, and of gathering parties, and making several sects in the church, than I was heretofore. For the effects have shewn us more of the mischiefs.

RICHARD BAXTER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

RICHARD BAXTER was born November 12, 1615, at High-Ercall, a village near Shrewsbury, in Shropshire; and died in London, December 8, 1691. When he was about the age of fourteen years, very deep religious impressions were made upon his mind, in the perusal of a work of Parson's the Jesuite, translated and corrected by Edmund Bunny, and intitled Parson's *Resolution*. For several years afterwards, he sustained a long and severe conflict, partly with the maladies of a weak and sickly constitution of body, and partly from the questionings of a trembling, perplexed and doubtful conscience; during which interval he carefully read over all the practical treatises in divinity which he could meet with, in search of quiet and satisfaction of mind. He did not receive the advantages of an academical education. About the usual age, he entered into the ministry, being ordained by Dr. Thornborough, bishop of Worcester, and preached his first sermon at Dudley. After continuing in that town for nine months, he removed to Bridgnorth; and from thence, in the year 1640, to Kidderminster. There he spent two years, before the civil wars (in which he sided with the parliament,) and about fourteen years after, in a most laborious and zealous discharge of the duties of his calling. When Cromwell was made protector, though much courted by him, he refused to comply with, and to countenance his measures: and likewise, after the restoration, he would not submit to the required terms of conformity to the church of England. Hence, during a great part of the reigns of Charles II. and James II. he suffered many hardships for non-conformity.

Among his voluminous and valuable writings he left behind him a very interesting *Narrative of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (London, 1696, fol.) from the conclusion of the first part of which work, the following review and censure of his own character is taken.



RICHARD BAXTER.

BECAUSE it is soul-experiments which those that urge me to this kind of writing, do expect that I should especially communicate to others, and I have said little of God's dealing with my soul since the time of my younger years, I shall only give the reader so much satisfaction as to acquaint him truly what change God hath made upon my mind and heart since those unriper times, and wherein I now differ in judgment and disposition from myself. And for any more particular account of occurrences, and God's operations on me, I think it somewhat unsavory to recite them; seeing God's dealings are muchwhat the same with all his servants in the main, and the points wherein he varieth are usually so small, that I think not such fit to be repeated: nor have I any thing extraordinary to glory in, which is not common to the rest of my brethren, who have the same spirit, and are servants of the same Lord. And the true reason why I do adventure so far upon the censure of the world, as to tell them wherein the case is altered with me, is that I may take off young unexperienced Christians from being over confident in their first apprehensions, or over valuing their first degrees of grace, or too much applauding and following unfurnished, unexperienced men; but may somewhat be directed what mind and course of life to prefer by the judgment of one that hath tried both before them.

The temper of my *mind* hath somewhat altered with the temper of my *body*. When I was young, I was more vigorous, affectionate, and fervent in preaching, conference and prayer, than (ordinarily) I can be now; my stile was more extemporate and lax, but by the advantage of affection, and a very familiar moving voice and utterance, my preaching then did more affect

the auditory, than many of the last years before I gave over preaching; but yet what I delivered was much more raw, and had more passages that would not bear the trial of accurate judgments; and my discourses had both less substance and less judgment than of late.

My understanding was then quicker, and could easilier manage any thing that was newly presented to it upon a sudden; but it is since better furnished, and acquainted with the ways of truth and error, and with a multitude of particular mistakes of the world, which then I was the more in danger of because I had only the faculty of knowing them, but did not actually know them. I was then like a man of a quick understanding that was to travel a way which he never went before, or to cast up an account which he never laboured in before, or to play on an instrument of music which he never saw before: and I am now like one of somewhat a slower understanding (by that *præmatura senectus* which weakness and excessive bleedings brought me to) who is travelling a way which he hath often gone, and is casting up an account which he hath often cast up, and hath ready at hand, and that is playing on an instrument which he hath often played on: so that I can very confidently say, that my judgment is much sounder and firmer now than it was then; for though I am not now as competent judge of the *actings* of my own understanding then, yet I can judge of the *effects*: and when I peruse the writings which I wrote in my younger years, I can find the footsteps of my unfurnished mind, and of my emptyness and insufficiency: so that the man that followed my judgment then, was likelier to have been misled by me, than he that should follow it now.

And yet, that I may not say worse than it deserveth of my former measure of understanding, I shall truly tell you what change I find now, in the perusal of my own writings. Those points which then I thoroughly studied, my judgment is the same of now, as it was then; and therefore in the substance of my religion, and in those controversies which I then searcht into, with some extraordinary diligence, I find not my mind disposed to a change; but in divers points that I studied slightly and by the halves, and in many things which I took upon trust from others, I have found since that my apprehensions were either erroneous, or very lame. And those things which I was orthodox in, I had either insufficient reasons for, or a mixture of some

sound and some insufficient ones, or else an insufficient apprehension of those reasons; so that I scarcely knew what I seemed to know. And though in my writings I have found little in substance which my present judgment differeth from, yet in my *Aphorisms* and *Saints Rest* (which were my first writings) I find some raw unmeet expressions; and one common infirmity I perceive, that I put off matters with some kind of confidence, as if I had done something new or more than ordinary in them, when upon my more mature reviews, I find that I said not half that which the subject did require: as *exempli gratia*, in the doctrine of the covenants, and of justification, but especially about the divine authority of the Scripture in the second part of *the Saints Rest*; where I have not said half that should have been said; and the reason was, because that I had not read any of the fuller sort of books that are written on those subjects, nor conversed with those that knew more than myself, and so all those things were either new or great to me, which were common and small perhaps to others: and because they all came in by the way of my own study of the naked matter, and not from books, they were apt to affect my mind the more, and to seem greater than they were. And this token of my weakness accompanied those my younger studies, that I was very apt to start up *controversies* in the way of my *practical* writings, and also more desirous to acquaint the world with all that I took to be the truth, and to assault those books by name which I thought did tend to deceive them, and did contain unsound and dangerous doctrine. And the reason of all this was, that I was then in the vigour of my youthful apprehensions; and the new appearance of any sacred truth, it was more apt to affect me, and be highlier valued, than afterward, when commonness had dulled my delight; and I did not sufficiently discern then how much in most of our controversies is verbal, and upon mutual mistakes. And withal I knew not how impatient divines were of being contradicted, nor how it would stir up all their powers to defend what they have once said, and to rise up against the truth which is thus thrust upon them, as the mortal enemy of their honour: and I knew not how hardly men's minds are changed from their former apprehensions, be the evidence never so plain. And I have perceived, that nothing so much hindereth the reception of the truth, as urging it on men with too harsh importunity, and falling too heavily on their errors: for hereby you engage their honour in the business, and they

defend their errors as themselves, and stir up all their wit and ability to oppose you. In controversies it is fierce opposition which is the bellows to kindle a resisting zeal; when if they be neglected, and their opinions lie a while despised, they usually cool and come again to themselves (though I know that this holdeth not when the greediness and increase of his followers, doth animate a sectary, even though he have no opposition). Men are so loth to be drenched with the truth, that I am no more for going that way to work; and to confess the truth, I am lately much prone to the contrary extreme, to be too indifferent what men hold, and to keep my judgment to myself, and never to mention any thing wherein I differ from another, or any thing which I think I know more than he; or at least, if he receive it not presently, to silence it, and leave him to his own opinion. And I find this effect is mixed according to its causes, which are some good, and some bad. The bad causes are, 1. An impatience of men's weakness and mistaking frowardness and self-conceitedness. 2. An abatement of my sensible esteem of truths, through the long abode of them on my mind: though my judgment value them, yet it is hard to be equally affected with old and common things, as with new and rare ones. The better causes are, 1. That I am much more sensible than ever of the necessity of living upon the principles of religion, which we are all agreed in, and uniting these; and how much mischief men that over-value their own opinions have done by their controversies in the church; how some have destroyed charity, and some caused schisms by them, and most have hindered godliness in themselves and others, and used them to divert men from the serious prosecuting of a holy life; and as sir Francis Bacon saith, (in his *Essay of Peace*) that it is one great benefit of church-peace and concord, that writing controversies is turned into books of practical devotion for increase of piety and virtue. 2. And I find that it is much more for most men's good and edification, to converse with them only in that way of godliness which all are agreed in, and not by touching upon differences to stir up their corruptions; and to tell them of little more of your knowledge, than what you find them willing to receive from you as meer learners; and therefore to stay till they crave information of you (as Musculus did with the Anabaptists; when he visited them in prison, and conversed kindly and lovingly with them, and showed them all the love he could, and never talked to

them of their opinions, till at last they who were wont to call him a deceiver and false prophet, did intreat him to instruct them, and received his instructions). We misstate men's diseases when we think there needeth nothing to cure their errors, but only to bring them the evidence of truth: alas! there are many distempers of mind to be removed, before men are apt to receive that evidence. And therefore that church is happy where order is kept up, and the abilities of the ministers command a reverend submission from the hearers; and where all are in Christ's school in the distinct ranks of teachers and learners: for in a learning way men are ready to receive the truth, but in a disputing way they come armed against it with prejudice and animosity.

And I must say farther, that what I last mentioned on the by, is one of the notablest changes of my mind. In my youth I was quickly past my fundamentals, and was running up into a multitude of controversies, and greatly delighted with metaphysical and scholastic writings (though I must needs say, my preaching was still on the necessary points): but the older I grew the smaller stress I laid upon these controversies and curiosities, (though still my intellect abhorreth confusion,) as finding far greater uncertainties in them, than I at first discerned, and finding less usefulness comparatively, even where there is the greatest certainty. And now it is the fundamental doctrines of the catechism, which I highest value, and daily think of, and find most useful to myself and others. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, do find me now the most acceptable and plentiful matter for all my meditations: they are to me as my daily bread and drink: and as I can speak and write of them over and over again, so I had rather read or hear of them, than of any of the school niceties, which once so much pleased me. And thus I observed it was with old bishop Usher, and with many other men: and I conjecture that this effect also is mixed of good and bad according to its causes.

The bad cause may perhaps be some natural infirmity and decay: and as trees in the spring shoot up into branches, leaves and blossoms; but in the autumn the life draws down into the root; so possibly, my nature, conscious of its infirmity and decay, may find itself insufficient for numerous particles, and assurgency to the attempting of difficult things; and so my mind may retire to the root of Christian principles; and also I have often been

afraid, lest ill rooting at first, and many temptations afterwards, have made it more necessary for me than many others to retire to the root, and secure my fundamentals. But upon much observation I am afraid lest most others are in no better a case; and that at the first they take it for a granted thing, that Christ is the Saviour of the world, and that the soul is immortal, and that there is a heaven and a hell, &c. while they are studying abundance of scholastic superstructures, and at last will find cause to study more soundly their religion itself, as well as I have done.

The better causes are these: 1. I value all things according to their use and ends; and I find in the daily practice and experience of my soul, that the knowledge of God and Christ, and the holy Spirit, and the truth of Scripture, and the life to come, and of a holy life, is of more use to me than all the most curious speculations. 2. I know that every man must grow (as trees do) downwards and upwards both at once; and that the roots increase as the bulk and branches do. 3. Being nearer death and another world, I am the more regardful of those things which my everlasting life or death depend on. 4. Having most to do with ignorant, miserable people, I am commanded by my charity and reason, to treat with them of that which their salvation lieth on; and not to dispute with them of formalities and niceties, when the question is presently to be determined, whether they shall dwell for ever in heaven or in hell. In a word, my meditations must be most upon the matters of my practice and my interest: and as the love of God, and the seeking of everlasting life is the matter of my practice and my interest, so must it be of my meditation. That is the best doctrine and study which maketh men better, and tendeth to make them happy. I abhor the folly of those unlearned persons, who revile or despise learning because they know not what it is: and I take not any piece of true learning to be useless; and yet my soul approveth of the resolution of holy Paul, who determined to know nothing among his hearers, (that is, comparatively to value and make ostentation of no other wisdom) but (the knowledge of) a crucified Christ: to know God in Christ is life eternal. As the stock of the tree affordeth timber to build houses and cities, when the small though higher multifarious branches are but to make a crow's nest, or a blaze: so the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ, of heaven and holiness, doth build up the soul to endless blessedness, and affordeth it solid peace and comfort; when a multitude of school niceties

serve but for vain janglings and hurtful diversions and contentions: and yet I would not dissuade my reader from the perusal of Aquinas, Scotus, Ockam, Arminiensis, Durandus, or any such writer; for much good may be gotten from them: but I would persuade him to study and live upon the essential doctrines of Christianity and godliness, incomparably above them all. And that he may know that my testimony is somewhat regardable, I presume to say, that in this I as much gainsay my natural inclination to subtilty and accurateness in knowing, as he is like to do by his, if he obey my counsel. And I think if he lived among infidels and enemies of Christ, he would find that to make good the doctrine of faith, and of life eternal, were not only his noblest and most useful study: but also that which would require the height of all his parts, and the utmost of his diligence, to manage it skilfully to the satisfaction of himself and others.

I add therefore that this is another thing which I am changed in; that whereas in my younger days I never was tempted to doubt of the truth of Scripture or Christianity, but all my doubts and fears were exercised at home, about my own sincerity and interest in Christ, and this was it which I called unbelief; since then my sorest assaults have been on the other side, and such they were, that had I been void of internal experience, and the adhesion of love, and the special help of God, and had not discerned more reason for my religion than I did when I was younger, I had certainly apostatized to infidelity (though for atheism or ungodliness, my reason seeth no stronger arguments, than may be brought to prove that there is no earth, or air, or sun). I am now therefore much more apprehensive than heretofore, of the necessity of well-grounding men in their religion, and especially of the witness of the indwelling Spirit: for I more sensibly perceive that the Spirit is the great witness of Christ and Christianity to the world. And though the folly of fanatics tempted me long to over-look the strength of this testimony of the Spirit, while they placed it in a certain internal affection, or enthusiastic inspiration; yet now I see that the Holy Ghost in another manner is the witness of Christ and his agent in the world. The Spirit in the prophets was his first witness; and the Spirit by miracles was the second; and the Spirit by renovation, sanctification, illumination and consolation, assimilating the soul to Christ and heaven, is the continued witness to all true believers: and if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, (Rom.

8. 9.) Even as the rational soul in the child is the inherent witness or evidence, that he is the child of rational parents. And therefore ungodly persons have a great disadvantage in their resisting temptations to unbelief, and it is no wonder if Christ be a stumbling block to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness. There is many a one that hideth his temptations to infidelity, because he thinketh it a shame to open them, and because it may generate doubts in others; but I doubt the imperfections of most men's care of their salvation, and of their diligence and resolution in a holy life, doth come from the imperfection of their belief of Christianity and the life to come. For my part I must profess, that when my belief of things eternal and of the Scripture is most clear and firm, all goeth accordingly in my soul, and all temptations to sinful compliances, worldliness, or flesh-pleasing, do signify worse to me, than an invitation to the stocks or Bedlam. And no petition seemeth more necessary to me than, *Lord, increase our faith: I believe, help thou my unbelief.*

Among truths certain in themselves, all are not equally certain unto me; and even of the mysteries of the gospel, I must needs say with Mr. Richard Hooker, Eccl. Polity¹, that whatever men may pretend, the subjective certainty cannot go beyond the objective evidence: for it is caused thereby as the print on the wax is caused by that on the seal. Therefore I do more of late than ever discern a necessity of a methodical procedure in maintaining the doctrine of Christianity, and of beginning at natural verities, as presupposed fundamentally to supernatural (though God may when he please reveal all at once, and even natural truths by supernatural revelation): and it is a marvellous great help to my faith, to find it built on so sure a foundation, and so consonant to the law of nature. I am not so foolish as to pretend my certainty to be greater than it is, merely because it is a dishonour to be less certain; nor will I by shame be kept from confessing those infirmities, which those have as much as I, who hypocritically reproach me with them. My certainty that I am a man, is before my certainty that there is a God, for *quod facit notum est magis notum*: my certainty that there is a God, is greater than my certainty that he requireth love and holiness of his creature: my certainty of this is greater than my certainty of

¹ Eccl. Polity.] Not there: but in his *Sermon* on Habak. i. 4, and his *Answers to Travers's Supplication*, § 9 and 10. Compare vol. iii. p. 504, 5, of this collection.

the life of reward and punishment hereafter: my certainty of that, is greater than my certainty of the endless duration of it, and of the immortality of individuate souls: my certainty of the Deity is greater than my certainty of the Christian faith: my certainty of the Christian faith in its essentials, is greater than my certainty of the perfection and infallibility of all the holy Scriptures; my certainty of that is greater than my certainty of the meaning of many particular texts, and so of the truth of many particular doctrines, or of the canonicalness of some certain books. So that as you see by what gradations my understanding doth proceed, so also my certainty differeth as the evidences differ. And they that have attained to greater perfection, and a higher degree of certainty than I, should pity me and produce their evidence to help me. And they that will begin all their certainty with that of the truth of the Scripture, as the *principium cognoscendi*, may meet me at the same end; but they must give me leave to undertake to prove to a heathen or infidel, the being of a God; and the necessity of holiness, and the certainty of a reward or punishment, even while he yet denieth the truth of Scripture, and in order to his believing it to be true.

In my younger years my trouble for sin was most about my actual failings in thought, word or action, (except hardness of heart, of which more anon). But now I am much more troubled for inward defects, and omission or want of the vital duties or graces in the soul. My daily trouble is so much for my ignorance of God, and weakness of belief, and want of greater love to God and strangeness to him, and to the life to come, and for want of a greater willingness to die, and longing to be with God in heaven, as that I take not some immoralities, though very great, to be in themselves so great and odious sins, if they could be found as separate from these. Had I all the riches of the world, how gladly should I give them, for a fuller knowledge, belief, and love of God and everlasting glory! these wants are the greatest burden of my life, which oft maketh my life itself a burden. And I cannot find any hope of reaching so high in these, while I am in the flesh, as I once hoped before this time to have attained: which maketh me the wearier of this sinful world, which is honoured with so little of the knowledge of God.

Heretofore I placed much of my religion in tenderness of heart, and grieving for sin, and penitential tears; and less of it, in the love of God, and studying his love and goodness, and in his joyful

praises, than now I do. Then I was little sensible of the greatness and excellency of love and praise; though I coldly spake the same words in its commendations as now I do: and now I am less troubled for want of grief and tears (though I more value humility, and refuse not needful humiliation): but my conscience now looketh at love and delight in God, and praising him, as the top of all my religious duties, for which it is that I value and use the rest.

My judgment is much more for frequent and serious meditation on the heavenly blessedness, than it was heretofore in my younger days. I then thought that a sermon of the attributes of God, and the joys of heaven were not the most excellent; and was wont to say, "Every body knoweth this, that God is great and good, and that heaven is a blessed place; I had rather hear how I may attain it." And nothing pleased me so well as the doctrine of regeneration, and the marks of sincerity; which was because it was suitable to me in that state: but now I had rather read, hear, or meditate, on God and heaven, than on any other subject: for I perceive that is the object that altereth and elevateth the mind; which will be such as that is, which it most frequently feedeth on: and that it is not only useful to our comfort, to be much in heaven² in our believing thoughts: but that it must animate all our other duties, and fortify us against every temptation and sin; and that the love of the end is it that is the poise or spring, which setteth every wheel a going, and must put us on to all the means: and that a man is no more a Christian indeed than he is heavenly.

I was once wont to meditate most on my own heart, and to dwell all at home, and look little higher: I was still poring either on my sins or wants, or examining my sincerity; but now, though I am greatly convinced of the need of heart-acquaintance and employment, yet I see more need of a higher work; and that I should look oftener upon Christ, and God, and heaven, than upon my own heart. At home I can find distempers to trouble me, and some evidences of my peace: but it is above that I must find matter of delight and joy, and love and peace itself. Therefore I would have one thought at home upon myself and sins, and many thoughts above upon the high and amiable and beatifying objects.

² *Much in heaven.*] See vol. iii. p. 531. Hooker's *Death-bed Meditations*.

Heretofore I knew much less than now ; and yet was not half so much acquainted with my ignorance. I had a great delight in the daily new discoveries which I made, and of the light which shined in upon me (like a man that cometh into a country where he never was before ;) but I little knew either how imperfectly I understood those very points, whose discovery so much delighted me, nor how much might be said against them ; nor how many things I was yet a stranger to : but now I find far greater darkness upon all things, and perceive how very little it is that we know in comparison of that which we are ignorant of, and have far meaner thoughts of my own understanding, though I must needs know that it is better furnished than it was then.

Accordingly I had then a far higher opinion of learned persons and books, than I have now ; for what I wanted myself I thought every reverend divine had attained, and was familiarly acquainted with : and what books I understood not by reason of the strangeness of the terms or matter, I the more admired, and thought that others understood their worth. But now experience hath constrained me against my will to know, that reverend learned men are imperfect, and know but little as well as I ; especially those that think themselves the wisest : and the better I am acquainted with them, the more I perceive that we are all yet in the dark : and the more I am acquainted with holy men, that are all for heaven, and pretend not much to subtilties, the more I value and honour them. And when I have studied hard to understand some abstruse admired book, (as *De Scientia Dei*, *De Providentia circa malum*, *de Decretis*, *de Prædeterminatione*, *de Libertate Creaturæ*, &c.) I have but attained the knowledge of human imperfection, and to see that the author is but a man as well as I.

And at first I took more upon my author's credit, than now I can do : and when an author was highly commended to me by others, or pleased me in some part, I was ready to entertain the whole ; whereas now I take and leave in the same author, and dissent in some things from him that I like best, as well as from others.

At first I was greatly inclined to go with the highest in controversies, on one side or other ; as with Dr. Twisse, and Mr. Rutherford, and Spanhemius *de Providentia et gratia*, &c. But now I can so easily see what to say against both extremes that I am much more inclinable to reconciling principles. And whereas

then I thought that conciliators were but ignorant men, that were willing to please all, and would pretend to reconcile the world by principles which they did not understand themselves ; I have since perceived, that if the amiableness of peace and concord had no hand in the business, yet greater light and stronger judgment usually is with the reconcilers, than with either of the contending parties (as with Davenant, Hall, Usher, Lud. Crocius, Bergius, Strangius, Camero, &c.) But on both accounts their writings are most acceptable (though I know that moderation may be a pretext of errors).

At first the stile of authors took as much with me as the argument, and made the arguments seem more forcible ; but now I judge not of truth at all by any such ornaments or accidents, but by its naked evidence.

I now see more good and more evil in all men than heretofore I did. I see that good men are not so good, as I once thought they were, but have more imperfections : and that nearer approach and fuller trial doth make the best appear more weak and faulty, than their admirers at a distance think. And I find that few are so bad, as either malicious enemies, or censorious separating professors do imagine. In some indeed I find that human nature is corrupted into a greater likeness to devils, than I once thought any on earth had been. But even in the wicked usually there is more for grace to make advantage of, and more to testify for God and holiness, than I once believed there had been.

I less admire gifts of utterance and bare profession of religion than I once did ; and have much more charity for many, who by the want of gifts, do make an obscurer profession than they. I once thought that almost all that could pray movingly and fluently, and talk well of religion, had been saints. But experience hath opened to me, what odious crimes may consist with high profession ; and I have met with divers obscure persons, not noted for any extraordinary profession, or forwardness in religion, but only to live a quiet blameless life, whom I have after found to have long lived, as far as I could discern, a truly godly and sanctified life : only their prayers and duties were by accident kept secret from other men's observation. Yet he that upon this pretence would confound the godly and the ungodly, may as well go about to lay heaven and hell together.

I am not so narrow in my special love as heretofore : being less censorious, and taking more than I did *for* saints, it must

needs follow that I love more as saints than I did before. I think it not lawful to put that man off with bare church communion, and such common love which I must allow the wicked, who professeth himself a true Christian, by such a profession as I cannot disprove.

I am not too narrow in my principles of church communion, as once I was. I more plainly perceive the difference between the church as congregate or visible, and as regenerate or mystical; and between sincerity and profession; and that a credible profession is proof sufficient of a man's title to church admission: and that the profession is credible *in foro ecclesiæ*, which is not disproved. I am not for narrowing the church more than Christ himself alloweth us; nor for robbing him of any of his flock. I am more sensible how much it is the will of Christ that every man be the chooser or refuser of his own felicity, and that it lieth most on his own hands, whether he will have communion with the church or not; and that if he be an hypocrite it is himself that will bear the loss.

Yet am I more apprehensive than ever of the great use and need of ecclesiastical discipline, and what a sin it is in the pastors of the church to make no distinction, but by bare names and sacraments, and to force all the utmeet against their own wills, to church communion and sacraments (though the ignorant and erroneous may sometime be forced to hear instruction): and what a great dishonour to Christ it is, when the church shall be as vicious as Pagan and Mahometan assemblies, and shall differ from them only in ceremony and name.

I am much more sensible of the evil of schism, and of the separating humour, and of gathering parties, and making several sects in the church, than I was heretofore. For the effects have shewed us more of the mischiefs.

I am much more sensible how prone many young professors are to spiritual pride and self-conceitedness, and unruliness and division, and so to prove the grief of their teachers, and fire-brands in the church; and how much of a minister's work lieth in preventing this, and humbling and confirming such young unexperienced professors, and keeping them in order in their progress in religion.

Yet am I more sensible of the sin and mischief of using men cruelly in matters of religion, and of pretending men's good, and the order of the church, for acts of inhumanity or uncharitable-

ness. Such know not their own infirmity, nor yet the nature of pastoral government, which ought to be paternal and by love; nor do they know the way to win a soul, nor to maintain the church's peace.

My soul is much more afflicted with the thoughts of the miserable world, and more drawn out in desire of their conversion than heretofore. I was wont to look but little farther than England in my prayers, as not considering the state of the rest of the world: or if I prayed for the conversion of the Jews, that was almost all. But now as I better understand the case of the world, and the method of the Lord's prayer, so there is nothing in the world that lieth so heavy upon my heart, as the thought of the miserable nations of the earth. It is the most astonishing part of all God's providence to me that he so far forsaketh almost all the world, and confineth his special favour to so few: that so small a part of the world hath the profession of Christianity, in comparison of heathens, Mahometans, and other infidels! And that among professed Christians there are so few that are saved from gross delusions, and have but any competent knowledge: and that among those there are so few that are seriously religious, and truly set their hearts on heaven. I cannot be affected so much with the calamities of my own relations, or the land of my nativity, as with the case of the heathen, Mahometan, and ignorant nations of the earth. No part of my prayers are so deeply serious, as that for the conversion of the infidel and ungodly world, that God's name may be sanctified, and his kingdom come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven: nor was I ever before so sensible what a plague the division of languages was which hindereth our speaking to them for their conversion; nor what a great sin tyranny is, which keepeth out the gospel from most of the nations of the world. Could we but go among Tartarians, Turks, and heathens, and speak their language, I should be but little troubled for the silencing of eighteen hundred ministers at once in England, nor for all the rest that were cast out here, and in Scotland and Ireland; there being no employment in the world so desirable in my eyes, as to labour for the winning of such miserable souls; which maketh me greatly honour Mr. John Eliot³, the apostle of the Indians in New-England, and whoever else have laboured in such work.

³ *John Eliot.*] Of whose labours there remains a singular testimonial, viz. a version of the Bible into one of the North American Indian dialects

Yet am I not so much inclined to pass a peremptory sentence of damnation upon all that never heard of Christ; having some more reason than I knew of before to think that God's dealing with such is much unknown to us! And that the ungodly here among us Christians are in a far worse case than they.

My censures of the papists do much differ from what they were at first. I then thought that their errors in the doctrines of faith were their most dangerous mistakes, as in the points of merit, justification by works, assurance of salvation, the nature of faith, &c. But now I am assured that their mis-expressions, and mis-understanding us, with our mistakings of them, and inconvenient expressing our own opinions, hath made the differences in these points to appear much greater than they are; and that in some of them it is next to none at all. But the great and unreconcilable differences lie in their church tyranny and usurpations, and in their great corruptions and abasement of God's worship, together with their befriending of ignorance and vice. At first I thought that Mr. Perkins well proved that a Papist cannot go beyond a reprobate⁴; but now I doubt not but that God hath many sanctified ones among them, who have received the true doctrine of Christianity so practically, that their contradictory errors prevail not against them, to hinder their love of God, and their salvation: but that their errors are like a conquerable dose of poison which nature doth overcome. And I can never believe that a man may not be saved by that religion, which doth but bring him to the true love of God, and to a heavenly mind and life: nor that God will ever cast a soul into hell that truly loveth him. Also at first it would disgrace any doctrine with me, if I did but hear it called popery and anti-christian: but I have long learned to be more impartial, and to dislike men for bad doctrine, rather than the doctrines for the men; and to know that Satan can use even the names of popery and antichrist, against a truth.

I am deeper afflicted for the disagreements of Christians than I was when I was a younger Christian. Except the case of the infidel world, nothing is so sad and grievous to my thoughts, as the case of the divided churches. And therefore I am more deeply sensible of the sinfulness of those prelates and pastors of now extinct. Two editions of it were printed at Cambridge (New England) in 1663 and 1680.

⁴ *A reprobate.*] Compare above, vol. iii. p. 508, &c. *Life of Hooker.*

the churches, who are the principal cause of these divisions. O how many millions of souls are kept by them in ignorance, and ungodliness, and deluded by faction, as if it were true religion ! How is the conversion of infidels hindered by them ! and Christ and religion heinously dishonoured ! The contentions between the Greek church and the Roman, the Papists and the Protestants, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, have wofully hindered the kingdom of Christ.

I have spent much of my studies about the terms of Christian concord⁵, and have over and over considered of the several ways, which several sorts of reconcilers have devised. I have thought of the Papists' way, who think there will be no union, but by coming over wholly to their church ; and I have found that it is neither possible nor desirable. I have thought and thought again of the way of the moderating Papists, Cassander, Grotius, Baldwin, &c. and of those that would have all reduced to the state of the times of Gregory the first, before the division of the Greek and Latin churches, that the pope might have his primacy, and govern all the church by the canons of the councils, with a salvo to the rights of kings and patriarchs and prelates ; and that the doctrines and worship which then were received might prevail. And for my own part, if I lived in such a state of the church, I would live peaceably, as glad of unity, though lamenting the corruption and tyranny : but I am fully assured that none of these are the true desirable terms of unity, nor such as are ever like to procure an universal concord : and I am as sure that the true means and terms of concord are obvious and easy to an impartial willing mind. And that these three things alone would easily heal and unite all the churches.

1. That all Christian princes and governors take all the coercive power about religion into their own hands, (though if prelates and their courts must be used as their officers in exercising that coercive power, so be it :) and that they make a difference between the *approved* and the *tolerated* churches ; and that they keep the peace between these churches, and settle their several privileges by a law.

2. That the churches be accounted *tolerable*, who profess all that is in the creed, Lord's prayer, and decalogue in particular, and generally all that they shall find to be revealed in the word

⁵ *Christian concord.*] See *The true and only way of Concord of all the Christian churches ; opened by Richard Baxter.* 1680. 8vo.

of God, and hold communion in teaching, prayer, praises, and the two sacraments, not obstinately preaching any heresy contrary to the particular articles which they profess, nor seditiously disturbing the public peace: and that such heretical preaching, and such seditious unpeaceableness, or notorious wickedness of life, do forfeit their toleration.

3. And that those that are further orthodox in those particulars, which rulers think fit to impose upon their subjects, have their public maintenance and greater encouragement. Yea, and this much is become necessary, but upon supposition that men will still be so self-conceited and uncharitable, as not to forbear their unnecessary impositions. Otherwise there would be found but very few who are *tolerable*, that are not also in their measure to be *approved*, maintained, and encouraged. And if the primitive simplicity in doctrine, government, and worship, might serve turn, for the terms of the church's union and communion, all would be well without any more ado; supposing that where Christian magistrates are, they keep the peace, and repress the offenders, and exercise all the coercive government. And heretics who will subscribe to the Christian faith, must not be punished because they will subscribe to no more, but because they are proved to preach or promote heresy, contrary to the faith which they profess.

I am farther than ever I was from expecting great matters of unity, splendour, or prosperity to the church on earth, or that saints should dream of a kingdom of this world, or flatter themselves with the hopes of a golden age, or reigning over the ungodly (till there be *a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness*). And on the contrary I am more apprehensive that sufferings must be the church's most ordinary lot, and Christians indeed must be self-denying cross-bearers, even where there are none but formal nominal Christians to be the cross-makers: and though ordinarily God would have vicissitudes of summer and winter, day and night, that the church may grow extensively in the summer of prosperity, and intensively and radicately in the winter of adversity: yet usually their night is longer than their day, and that day itself hath its storms and tempests. For the prognostics are evident in their causes.

1. The church will be still imperfect and sinful, and will have those diseases which need this bitter remedy. 2. Rich men will be the rulers of the world: and rich men will be generally so far

from true godliness, that they must come to heaven as by human impossibilities, as a camel through a needle's eye. 3. The ungodly will ever have an enmity against the image of God, and he that is born of the flesh will persecute him that was born after the spirit, and brotherhood will not keep a Cain from killing an Abel, who offereth a more acceptable sacrifice than himself: and the guilty will still hate the light, and make a prey to their pride and malice of a conscionable reprovcr. 4. The pastors will be still troubling the church with their pride and avarice and contentions; and the worst will be seeking to be the greatest, and they that seek it are likeliest to attain it. 5. He that is highest will be still imposing his conceits upon those under him, and lording it over God's heritage, and with Diotrophes casting out the brethren, and ruling them by constraint, and not as volunteers. 6. Those that are truly judicious will still comparatively be few; and consequently the troublers and dividers will be the multitude; and a judicious peace-maker and reconciler will be neglected, slighted, or hated by both extremes. 7. The tenor of the gospel predictions, precepts, promises, and threatenings, are fitted to a people in a suffering state. 8. And the graces of God in a believer are mostly suited to a state of suffering. 9. Christians must imitate Christ, and suffer with him before they reign with him: and his kingdom was not of this world. 10. The observation of God's dealing hitherto with the church in every age confirmeth me: and his befooling them that have dreamed of glorious times. It was such dreams that transported the Munster Anabaptists and the followers of David George in the low countries, and Campanella, and the *Illuminati* among the Papists, and our English Anabaptists and other fanatics here, both in the army and the city and country. When they think the golden age is come, they shew their dreams in their extravagant actions; and as our fifth monarchy men, they are presently upon some unquiet rebellious attempt, to set up Christ in his kingdom whether he will or not. I remember how Abraham Scultetus in *curriculo Vitæ suæ* confesseth the common vanity of himself and other protestants in Germany, who seeing the princes in England, France, Bohemia and many other countries, to be all at once both great and wise, and friends to reformation, did presently expect the golden age: but within one year either death, or ruins of war, or back-slidings, had exposed all their expectations to scorn, and laid them lower than before.

I do not lay so great a stress upon the external modes and forms of worship, as many young professors do. I have suspected myself, as perhaps the reader may do, that this is from a cooling and declining from my former zeal (though the truth is I never much complied with men of that mind): but I find that judgment and charity are the causes of it, as far as I am able to discover. I cannot be so narrow in my principles of church-communion as many are, that are so much for liturgy, or so much against it, so much for ceremonies or so much against them, that they can hold communion with no church that is not of their mind and way. If I were among the Greeks, the Lutherans, the Independents, yea, the Anabaptists (that own no heresy, nor set themselves against charity and peace) I would hold sometimes occasional communion with them as Christians (if they will give me leave, without forcing me to any sinful subscription or action): though my most usual communion should be with that society, which I thought most agreeable to the word of God, if I were free to choose. I cannot be of their opinion that think God will not accept him that prayeth by the common prayer book, and that such forms are a self-invented worship which God rejecteth: nor yet can I be of their mind that say the like of extemporary prayers.

I am much less regardful of the approbation of man, and set much lighter by contempt or applause, than I did long ago. I am oft suspicious that this is not only from the increase of self-denial and humility; but partly from my being glutted and surfeited with human applause: and all worldly things appear most vain and unsatisfactory when we have tried them most. But though I feel that this hath some hand in the effect, yet as far as I can perceive, the knowledge of man's nothingness, and God's transcendent greatness, with whom it is that I have most to do, and the sense of the brevity of human things, and the nearness of eternity, are the principal causes of this effect; which some have imputed to self-conceitedness and morosity.

I am more and more pleased with a solitary life; and though in a way of self-denial I could submit to the most public life, for the service of God, when he required it, and would not be unprofitable that I might be private; yet I must confess, it is much more pleasing to myself, to be retired from the world, and to have very little to do with men, and to converse with God and conscience and good books; of which I have spoken my heart in my *Divine Life*, part iii.

Though I was never much tempted to the sin of covetousness, yet my fear of dying was wont to tell me, that I was not sufficiently loosened from this world. But I find that it is comparatively very easy to me to be loose from this world, but hard to live by faith above. To despise earth is easy to me ; but not so easy to be acquainted and conversant in heaven. I have nothing in this world which I could not easily let go ; but to get satisfying apprehensions of the other world is the great and grievous difficulty.

I am much more apprehensive than long ago, of the odiousness and danger of the sin of pride ; scarce any sin appeareth more odious to me. Having daily more acquaintance with the lamentable naughtiness and frailty of man and of the mischiefs of that sin, and especially in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, I think so far as any man is proud he is kin to the devil, and utterly a stranger to God and to himself. It is a wonder that it should be a possible sin, to men that still carry about with them, in soul and body, such humbling matter of remedy as we all do.

I more than ever lament the unhappiness of the nobility, gentry and great ones of the world, who live in such temptation to sensuality, curiosity and wasting of their time about a multitude of little things ; and whose lives are too often the transcript of the sins of Sodom ; pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness, and want of compassion to the poor. And I more value the life of the poor labouring man ; but especially of him that hath neither poverty nor riches.

I am much more sensible than heretofore, of the breadth, and length, and depth of the radical, universal, odious sin of selfishness, and therefore have written so much against it : and of the excellency and necessity of self-denial, and of a public mind, and of loving our neighbour as ourselves.

I am more and more sensible that most controversies have more need of right stating than of debating ; and if my skill be increased in any thing it is in that, in narrowing controversies by explication, and separating the real from the verbal, and proving to many contenders, that they differ less than they think they do.

I am more solicitous than I have been about my duty to God, and less solicitous about his dealings with me ; as being assured that he will do all things well ; and his acknowledging the goodness of all the declarations of his holiness, even in the punishment of man ; and as knowing that there is no rest but in the will and goodness of God.

Though my works were never such as could be any temptation to me to dream of obliging God by proper merit, in commutative justice; yet one of the most ready, constant, undoubted evidences of my uprightness and interest in his covenant, is the consciousness of my living as devoted to him: and I the easilier believe the pardon of my failings through my Redeemer, while I know that I serve no other master, and that I know no other end, or trade, or business; but that I am employed in his work, and make it the business of my life, and live to him in the world, notwithstanding my infirmities. And this bent and business of my life, with my longing desires after perfection in the knowledge and belief and love of God, and in a holy and heavenly mind and life, are the two standing, constant, discernible evidences, which most put me out of doubt of my sincerity. And I find that constant action and duty is it that keepeth the first always in the sight; and constant wants and weaknesses, and coming short of my desires, do make those desires still the more troublesome, and so the more easily still perceived.

Though my habitual judgment and resolution and scope of life be still the same, yet I find a great mutability as to actual apprehensions, and degrees of grace; and consequently find that so mutable a thing as the mind of man, would never keep itself if God were not its keeper. When I have been seriously musing upon the reasons of Christianity, with the concurrent evidences methodically placed in their just advantages before my eyes, I am so clear in my belief of the Christian verities, that Satan hath little room for a temptation. But sometimes when he hath on a sudden set some temptation before me, when the foresaid evidences have been out of the way, or less upon my thoughts, he hath by such surprises amazed me, and weakened my faith in the present act. So also as to the love of God, and trusting in him, sometimes when the motives are clearly apprehended, the duty is more easy and delightful: and at other times, I am merely passive and dull, if not guilty of actual despondency and distrust.

I am much more cautelous in my belief of history than heretofore: not that I run into their extreme that will believe nothing because they cannot believe all things. But I am abundantly satisfied by the experience of this age, that there is no believing two sorts of men, ungodly men and partial men: though an honest heathen of no religion may be believed, where enmity

against religion biasset him not, yet a debauched Christian, besides his enmity to the power and practice of his own religion, is seldom without some farther bias of interest or faction; especially when these concur, and a man is both ungodly and ambitious, espousing an interest contrary to a holy heavenly life, and also factious, embodying himself with a sect or party suited to his spirit and designs, there is no believing his word or oath. If you read any man partially bitter against others as differing from him in opinion, or as cross to his greatness, interest or designs, take heed how you believe any more, than the historical evidence distinct from his word compelleth you to believe. The prodigious lies which have been published in this age in matters of fact, with unblushing confidence, even where thousands or multitudes of eye and ear-witnesses knew all to be false, doth call men to take heed what history they believe, especially where power and violence affordeth that privilege to the reporter, that no man dare answer him or detect his fraud, or if they do their writings are all suppressed. As long as men have liberty to examine and contradict one another, one may partly conjecture by comparing their words on which side the truth is like to lie. But when great men write history, or flatterers by their appointment, which no man dare contradict, believe it but as you are constrained. Yet in these cases I can freely believe history: 1. If the person shew that he is acquainted with what he saith. 2. And if he shew you the evidences of honesty and conscience, and the fear of God (which may be much perceived in the spirit of a writing). 3. And if he appear to be impartial and charitable, and a lover of goodness and of mankind; and not possessed with malignity, or personal ill will and malice, nor carried away by faction or personal interest. Conscionable men dare not lie; but faction and interest abate men's tenderness of conscience. And a charitable and impartial heathen may speak truth in a love to truth, and hatred of a lie; but ambitious malice and false religion will not stick to serve themselves on any thing. It is easy to trace the footsteps of veracity in the intelligence, impartiality, and ingenuity of a Thuanus, a Guicciardini, a Paulus Venetus⁶, though papists; and of Socrates and Sozomen, though accused by the factious of favouring the Novatians; and many Protestants, in a Melanethon, a Bucholtzer, and many more; and among physicians in such as Crato, Platerus, &c. But it is as easy to see the footsteps of partiality

⁶ *Paulus Venetus.*] Paolo Sarpi of Venice.

and faction and design, in a Genebrard, a Baronius, and a multitude of their companions; and to see reason of suspicion in many more. Therefore I confess I give but halting credit to most histories that are written, not only against the Albigenses and Waldenses, but against most of the ancient heretics, who have left us none of their own writings, in which they speak for themselves; and I heartily lament that the historical writings of the ancient schismatics, and heretics (as they were called) perished, and that partiality suffered them not to survive, that we might have had more light in the church affairs of those times, and been better able to judge between the fathers and them. And as I am prone to think that few of them were so bad as their adversaries made them, so I am apt to think that such as the Novatians, and Luciferians, and Indians, &c. whom their adversaries commend, were very good men, and more godly than most catholics, however mistaken in some one point. Sure I am, that as the lies of the papists, of Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, and Beza, are visibly malicious and impudent, by the common plenary contradicting evidence, and yet the multitude of their seduced ones believe them all in despite of truth and charity; so in this age there have been such things written against parties and persons whom the writers design to make odious, so notoriously false as you would think that the sense of their honour at least should have made it impossible for such men to write. My own eyes have read such words and actions asserted with most vehement iterated unblushing confidence, which abundance of ear-witnesses, even of their own parties must needs know to have been altogether false: and therefore having myself now written this history of myself, notwithstanding my protestation that I have not in any thing wilfully gone against the truth, I expect no more credit from the reader, than the self-evidencing light of the matter, with concurrent rational advantages from persons, and things, and other witnesses, shall constrain him to; if he be a person that is unacquainted with the author himself, and the other evidences of his veracity and credibility. And I have purposely omitted almost all the descriptions of any persons that ever opposed me, or that ever I or my brethren suffered by, because I know that the appearance of interest and partiality might give a fair excuse to the reader's incredulity (although indeed the true description of persons is much of the very life of history, and especially of the history of the age which I have lived in; yet to avoid the suspicion of partiality I have

left it out): except only when I speak of the Cromwellians and sectaries, where I am the more free, because none suspecteth my interest to have engaged me against them; but (with the rest of my brethren) I have opposed them in the obedience of my conscience, when by pleasing them I could have had almost any thing that they could have given me, and when before-hand I expected that the present governors should silence me, and deprive me of maintenance, house and home, as they have done by me and many hundreds more. Therefore I supposed that my descriptions and censures of those persons which would have enriched and honoured me, and of their actions against that party which hath silenced, impoverished and accused me, and which before hand I expected should do so, are beyond the suspicion of envy, self-interest or partiality: if not, I there also am content that the reader exercise his liberty, and believe no worse even of these men, than the evidence of fact constraineth him.

Thus much of the alterations of my soul, since my younger years, I thought best to give the reader, instead of all those experiences and actual motions and affections, which I suppose him rather to have expected an account of. And having transcribed thus much of a life which God hath read, and conscience hath read, and must further read, I humbly lament it, and beg pardon of it, as sinful and too unequal and unprofitable: and I warn the reader to amend that in his own, which he findeth to have been amiss in mine; confessing also that much hath been amiss which I have not here particularly mentioned, and that I have not lived according to the abundant mercies of the Lord. But what I have recorded, hath been especially to perform my vows, and declare his praise to all generations, who hath filled up my days with his unvaluable favours, and bound me to bless his name for ever: and also to prevent the defective performance of this task, by some overvaluing brethren, who I know intended it, and were unfitter to do it than myself: and for such reasons as Junius, Scultetus, Thuanus, and many others have done the like before me. The principal of which are these three: 1. As travellers and seamen use to do after great adventures and deliverances, I hereby satisfy my conscience, in praising the blessed author of all those undeserved mercies which have filled up my life. 2. Foreseeing by the attempts of bishop Morley, what prelatists and papists are like to say of me, when they have none to contradict them, and how possible it is that those that never

knew me may believe them, though they have lost their hopes with all the rest, I take it to be my duty to be so faithful to that stock of reputation which God hath intrusted me with, as to defend it at the rate of opening the truth. Such as have made the world believe that Luther consulted with the devil, that Calvin was a stigmatized Sodomite, that Beza turned Papist, &c. to blast their labours, I know are very like to say any thing by me, which their interest or malice tell them will any way advantage their cause, to make my writings unprofitable when I am dead. 3. That young Christians may be warned by the mistakes and failings of my unriper times, to learn in patience, and live in watchfulness, and not be fierce and proudly confident in their first conceptions; and to reverence ripe experienced age, and to take heed of taking such for their chief guides as have nothing but immature and unexperienced judgments, with fervent affections, and free and confident expressions; but to learn of them that have with holiness, study, time and trial, looked about them as well on one side as the other, and attained to clearness and impartiality in their judgments.

But having mentioned the changes which I think were for the better, I must add, that as I confessed many of my sins before, so since I have been guilty of many, which because materially they seemed small, have had the less resistance, and yet on the review do trouble more than if they had been greater, done in ignorance. It can be no small thing formally which is committed against knowledge and conscience and deliberation, whatever excuse it have. To have sinned while I preached and wrote against sin, and had such abundant and great obligations from God, and made so many promises against it, doth lay me very low: not so much in fear of hell, as in great displeasure against myself, and such self-abhorrence as would cause revenge upon myself, were it not forbidden. When God forgiveth me I cannot forgive myself; especially for any rash words or deeds, by which I have seemed injurious, and less tender and kind, than I should have been to my near and dear relations, whose love abundantly obliged me. When such are dead, though we never differed in points of interest, on any great matter, every sour or cross provoking word which I gave them, maketh me almost unreconcilable to myself; and tells me how repentance brought some of old, to pray to the dead whom they had wronged, in the hurry of their passion, to forgive them.

And though I before told the change of my judgment against provoking writings, I have had more will than skill since to avoid such. I must mention it by way of penitent confession, that I am too much inclined to such words in controversial writings, which are too keen, and apt to provoke the person whom I write against. Sometimes I suspect that age soureth my spirits, and sometimes I am apt to think that it is long thinking and speaking of such things that maketh me weary, and less patient with others that understand them not; and sometimes I am ready to think that it is out of a hatred of the flattering humour which now prevaieth so in the world, that few persons are able to hear the truth: and I am sure that I can not only hear myself such language as I use to others, but that I expect it. I think all these are partly causes; but I am sure the principal cause is a long custom of studying how to speak and write in the keenest manner to the common, ignorant, and ungodly people, without which keenness to them, no sermon, nor book does much good; which hath so habituated me to it, that I am still falling into the same with others; forgetting that many ministers, and professors of strictness do desire the greatest roughness to the vulgar, and to their adversaries, and the greatest lenity, and smoothness, and comfort, if not honour, to themselves. And I have a strong natural inclination to speak of every subject just as it is, and to call a spade, a spade, and *verba rebus aptare*, so as that the thing spoken of may be fullest known by the words, which methinks is part of our speaking truly. But I unfeignedly confess that it is faulty, because imprudent: (for that is not a good means which doth harm, because it is not fitted to the end;) and because whilst the readers think me angry, though I feel no passion at such times in myself, it is scandalous, and a hindrance to the usefulness of what I write: and especially because, though I feel no anger, yet, which is worse, I know that there is some want of honour and love or tenderness to others, or else I should not be apt to use such words as open their weakness and offend them: and therefore I repent of it, and wish all over sharp passages were expunged from my writings, and desire forgiveness of God and man. And yet I must say that I am oft afraid of the contrary extreme, lest when I speak against great and dangerous errors and sins, though of persons otherwise honest, I should encourage men to them, by speaking too easily of them, as Eli did to his sons, and lest I

should so favour the person, as may befriend the sin, and wrong the church. And I must say as the New England synodists in their defence against Mr. Davenport, page 2, pref. "We heartily desire that as much as may be, all expressions and reflexions may be foreborn, that tend to break the bond of love. Indeed such is our infirmity, that the naked discovery of the fallacy or invalidity of another's allegations or arguings is apt to provoke. This in disputes is unavoidable."

And therefore I am less for a disputing way than ever; believing that it tempteth men to bend their wits, to defend their errors, and oppose the truth, and hindereth usually their information. *And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all men, &c.* therefore I am most in judgment for a learning or a teaching way of converse. In all companies I will be glad, either to hear those speak that can teach me, or to be heard of those that have need to learn.

And that which I named before on the bye, is grown one of my great diseases; I have lost much of that zeal which I had, to propagate any truths to others, save the mere fundamentals. When I perceive people or ministers, which is too common, to think they know what indeed they do not, and to dispute those things which they never thoroughly studied, or expect I should debate the case with them, as if an hour's talk would serve instead of an acute understanding, and seven years' study, I have no zeal to make them of my opinion, but an impatience of continuing discourse with them on such subjects, and am apt to be silent, or turn to something else: which, (though there be some reason for it) I feel cometh from a want of zeal for the truth, and from an impatient temper of mind. I am ready to think that people should quickly understand all in a few words, and if they cannot, lazily to despair of them, and leave them to themselves. And I the more know that it is sinful in me, because it is partly so in other things; even about the faults of my servants or other inferiors, if three or four times' warning do no good on them, I am much tempted to despair of them, and turn them away, and leave them to themselves.

I mention all these distempers, that my faults may be a warning to others to take heed, as they call on myself for repentance and watchfulness.—O Lord, for the merits and sacrifice and intercession of Christ, be merciful to me a sinner, and forgive my known and unknown sins!

SIR MATTHEW HALE.

So natural is the union of religion with justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom religion doth not cause to be such, or they religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they, which employ their labour and travail about the public administration of justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that justice is God's own work, and themselves his agents in this business; the sentence of right God's own verdict, and themselves his priests to deliver it,—formalities of justice do but serve to smother right, and that, which was necessarily ordained for the common good, is through shameful abuse made the cause of common misery.

HOOKE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Account is reprinted intire, from *The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, Knt. sometime Lord Chief Justice of His Majesties Court of King's Bench ; written by Gilbert Burnett, D.D.* London, 1682. I have purposely forborne to insert at large the *additional Notes* to the *Life and Death*, &c. by Richard Baxter, in a Letter to Mr. Edward Stephens ; as being, I think, but of small value ; and have contented myself with two or three extracts, in the way of notes.



P R E F A C E.

No part of history is more instructive and delighting, than the lives of great and worthy men. The shortness of them invites many readers ; and there are such little, and yet remarkable passages in them, too inconsiderable to be put in a general history of the age in which they lived, that all people are very desirous to know them. This makes Plutarch's Lives be more generally read, than any of all the books which the ancient Greeks or Romans writ.

But the lives of heroes and princes are commonly filled with the account of the great things done by them, which do rather belong to a general, than a particular history ; and do rather amuse the reader's fancy with a splendid shew of greatness, than offer him what is really so useful to himself. And indeed the lives of princes are either writ with so much flattery, by those who intended to merit by it at their own hands, or others concerned in them : or with so much spite, by those who being ill used by them, have revenged themselves on their memory, that there is not much to be built on them : and though the ill nature of many makes what is satirically writ to be generally more read and believed, than when the flattery is visible and coarse ; yet certainly resentment may make the writer corrupt the truth of history, as much as interest. And since all men have their blind sides, and commit errors, he that will industriously lay these together, leaving out, or but slightly touching what should be set against them, to balance them, may make a very good man appear in bad colours. So, upon the whole matter, there is not that reason to expect either much truth, or great instruction, from what is written concerning heroes or princes ; for few have been able to imitate the patterns Suetonius set the world, in writing the lives of the Roman Emperors, with the same freedom

that they had led them.—But the lives of *private* men, though they seldom entertain the reader with such a variety of passages as the other do ; yet certainly they offer him things that are more imitable, and do present wisdom and virtue to him, not only in a fair idea, which is often looked on as a piece of the invention or fancy of the writer, but in such plain and familiar instances, as do both direct him better, and persuade him more ; and there are not such temptations to bias those who write them, so that we may generally depend more on the truth of such relations as are given in them.

In the age in which we live, religion and virtue have been proposed and defended with such advantages, with that great force of reason, and those persuasions, that they can hardly be matched in former times : yet after all this, there are but few much wrought on by them ; which perhaps flows from this, among other reasons, that there are not so many excellent patterns set out, as might both in a shorter, and more effectual manner recommend that to the world, which discourses do but coldly ; the wit and stile of the writer being more considered than the argument which they handle ; and therefore the proposing virtue and religion in such a model, may perhaps operate more than the perspective of it can do. And for the history of learning, nothing does so preserve and improve it, as the writing the lives of those who have been eminent in it.

There is no book the ancients have left us, which might have informed us more than Diogenes Laertius' Lives of the Philosophers, if he had had the art of writing equal to that great subject which he undertook ; for if he had given the world such an account of them, as Gassendus has done of Peiresk, how great a stock of knowledge might we have had, which, by his unskilfulness, is in a great measure lost ; since we must now depend only on him, because we have no other, or better author, that has written on that argument !

For many ages there were no lives writ but by monks ; through whose writings there runs such an incurable humour of telling incredible and inimitable passages, that little in them can be believed or proposed as a pattern. Sulpitius Severus and Jerome shewed too much credulity in the lives they writ, and raised Martin and Hilarion beyond what can be reasonably believed : after them, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Palladius, took a pleasure to tell uncouth stories of the monks of Thebais and Nitria ;

and those who came after them¹, scorned to fall short of them, but raised their saints above those of former ages; so that one would have thought that indecent way of writing could rise no higher: and this humour infected even those who had otherwise a good sense of things, and a just apprehension of mankind, as may appear in Matthew Paris; who, though he was a writer of great judgment and fidelity, yet he has corrupted his history with much of that alloy. But when emulation and envy rose among the several orders, or houses, then they improved in that art of making romances, instead of writing lives, to that pitch, that the world became generally much scandalized with them. The Franciscans and Dominicans tried who could say the most extravagant things of the founders, or other saints of their orders; and the Benedictines, who thought themselves possessed of the belief of the world, as well as of its wealth, endeavoured all that was possible still to keep up the dignity of their order, by outlying the others all they could; and whereas here or there, a miracle, a vision, or trance, might have occurred in the lives of former saints, now every page was full of those wonderful things.

Nor has the humour of writing in such a manner, been quite laid down in this age, though more awakened, and better enlightened; as appears in the life of Philip Neri², and a great many more: and the Jesuits at Antwerp, are now taking care to load the world with a vast and voluminous collection of all those lives that has already swelled into eleven volumes in folio, in a small print; and yet being digested according to the calendar,

¹ *After them.*] For the names and authors who are thus mentioned by Burnet, I need only to refer my readers to Cave's *Historia Literaria*, and to similar works. I may also here mention a small volume which the student will find very useful: *An Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History*, by F. G. Dowling, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Gloucester. London, Rivingtons, 1838. To many it will supply the place of more bulky and expensive works.

² *Philip Neri.*] Filippo Neri was an Italian of a noble family at Florence, and founder of the congregation of the Oratory, of which he was also the first general. He died in 1595, and after his death was canonised in due form as a saint. His life has been written at great length by Antonio Gallonio, and is founded upon the judicial examinations of the two hundred and fifty-three witnesses, who testified to the holiness of his life and the miracles which he wrought. Of all the more extraordinary facts Gallonio gravely says the witnesses were living when he wrote. It has been printed separately, and also in the *Acta Sanctorum* for May.

they have yet but ended the month of April³.—The life of Monsieur Renty is writ in another manner, where there are so many excellent passages, that he is justly to be reckoned amongst the greatest patterns that France has afforded in this age.

But while some have nourished infidelity, and a scorn of all

³ *Month of April.*] Burnet here alludes to the great work known as the *Acta Sanctorum*, a work which was projected as early as 1603 by Rosweyd, a Belgian Jesuit, and of which the first volume was published in 1643 by Bollandus, under whose name it is often cited: it was continued by Henschenius, Papebrochius, and others; volumes appearing at intervals until the year 1794, when its progress was stopped by the French revolution, the last volume then published being the *fifty-third*, which contains the saints of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth of October.

When Burnet wrote, a small portion only, as we perceive, had been published, and yet its vastness seems somewhat to alarm him. When the learned and industrious Cave compiled his *Historia Literaria*, twenty volumes had appeared, and he was frightened at the task of examining them: after mentioning several collected biographies, he says, “Qui omnibus palmam longe præripuerint, Bollandiani, qui incredibili labore, nec mediocri doctrinæ apparatu 20 ingentia volumina jam evulgarunt, et tamen paulo plusquam primum semestre absolverunt. Vastum hoc et plane stupendum opus parcius attingi, partim quod non ubique ad manum esset, partim quod ὡκεανὸς ἀπέραντος (ut Clementis Romani verbo utar) videbatur: et quis tam profundo, tam immenso mari se temere committeret? quis tot voluminibus recensendis incumberet, quibus legendis (modo ad umbilicum perducantur) vix unius hominis vita sufficeret? nec parum deterrebant plena, quibus undique scatent, fabularum et nugarum plaustra, ut operosa istius modi recensio forsitan ab emunctæ narvis viris censeretur *stultus labor ineptiarum*. Interim negari nequit, plures in his scriptoribus, nec contemnendas, sui præsertim temporis historias occurrere, quæ vix aliunde peti possunt; ut in ipso Ennio stercore aurum quandoque reperire licet, si quis tædium istud devoraverit.” This is an extreme opinion. The collection undoubtedly contains a great deal of valuable matter, and, whatever be its merits or demerits, its completion may now [1839] be looked for. Four Belgian Jesuits, J. B. Boone, J. Vandermoere, Prosper Coppens, and J. Van Hecke, have undertaken this gigantic task, for such it is, their proposals containing a list of some hundreds of saints who are registered in the Romish kalendar between Oct. 15 and Dec. 31, and whose lives are to be given.

Since the above was written, two out of the four named Jesuits are dead, and their places are supplied by father Bossue and others of the College of St. Michael, at Brussels. But the work has been commenced. In 1845 appeared vol. vii. of the month of October, in two parts, the first containing the saints of the 15th of October, the second the saints of the 16th. It is still in progress, and some idea of its vast extent may be gathered from the fact that the lives of more than two thousand saints remain to complete the year, and that fifty more volumes in folio may be expected to complete the work.

sacred things, by writing of those good men in such a strain, as makes not only what is so related to be disbelieved, but creates a distrust of the authentical writings of our most holy faith; others have fallen into another extreme in writing lives too jejune, swelling them up with trifling accounts of the childhood and education, and the domestic or private affairs of those persons of whom they write, in which the world is little concerned. By these they become so flat, that few care to read them; for certainly those transactions are only fit to be delivered to posterity, that may carry with them some useful piece of knowledge to aftertimes.

I have now an argument before me, which will afford indeed only a short history, but will contain in it as great a character, as perhaps can be given of any in this age; since there are few instances of more knowledge, and greater virtues meeting in one person. I am upon one account (beside many more) unfit to undertake it, because I was not at all known to him, so I can say nothing from my own observation: but upon second thoughts, I do not know whether this may not qualify me to write more impartially, though perhaps more defectively; for the knowledge of extraordinary persons does most commonly bias those, who were much wrought on by the tenderness of their friendship for them, to raise their stile a little too high when they write concerning them. I confess I knew him as much as the looking often upon him could amount to. The last year of his being in London, he came always on Sundays (when he could go abroad) to the chapel of the Rolls⁴, where I then preached. In my life I never saw so much gravity tempered with that sweetness, and set off with so much vivacity as appeared in his looks and behaviour, which disposed me to a veneration for him, which I never had for any, with whom I was not acquainted. I was seeking an opportunity of being admitted to his conversation; but I understood, that between a great want of health and a multiplicity of business, which his employment brought upon him, he was master of so little of his time, that I stood in doubt whether I might presume to rob him of any of it; and so he left the town, before I could resolve on desiring to be known to him.

My ignorance of the law of England, made me also unfit to write of a man, a great part of whose character, as to his learn-

⁴ *The Rolls.*] In Chancery-lane,

ing, is to be taken from his skill in the common law, and his performance in that. But I shall leave that to those of the same robe: since if I engage much in it, I must needs commit many errors, writing of a subject that is foreign to me.

The occasion of my undertaking this, was given me first by the earnest desires of some that have great power over me; who having been much obliged by him, and holding his memory in high estimation, thought I might do it some right by writing his life. I was then engaged in the history of the Reformation; so I promised that, as soon as that was over, I should make the best use I could of such informations and memorials as should be brought me.

This I have now performed in the best manner I could, and have brought into method all the parcels of his life, or the branches of his character, which I could either gather from the informations that were brought me, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with him, or from his writings. I have not applied any of the false colours, with which art, or some forced eloquence might furnish me, in writing concerning him; but have endeavoured to set him out in the same simplicity in which he lived. I have said little of his domestic concerns, since though in these he was a great example, yet it signifies nothing to the world, to know any particular exercises, that might be given to his patience; and therefore I shall draw a veil over all these, and shall avoid saying any thing of him, but what may afford the reader some profitable instruction. I am under no temptations of saying any thing, but what I am persuaded is exactly true; for where there is so much excellent truth to be told, it were an inexcusable fault to corrupt that, or prejudice the reader against it by the mixture of falsehoods with it.

In short; as he was a great example while he lived, so I wish the setting him thus out to posterity, in his own true and native colours, may have its due influence on all persons; but more particularly on those of that profession, whom it more immediately concerns, whether on the bench, or at the bar.

SIR MATTHEW HALE.

MATTHEW HALE, was born at Alderly in Gloucestershire, the first of November, 1609. His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier in Wotton-under-edge, in that county, where he and his ancestors had lived for many descents; and they had given several parcels of land for the use of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an estate of ten thousand pounds, which he divided almost equally amongst his five sons; besides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous posterity has sprung. His second son was Robert Hale, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn; he married Joan, the daughter of Matthew Poyntz, of Alderly, esq. who was descended from that noble family of the Poyntzes of Acton. Of this marriage there was no other issue but this one son. His grandfather by his mother was his godfather, and gave him his own name at his baptism. His father was a man of that strictness of conscience, that he gave over the practice of the law, because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lie¹; and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness of truth and justice which became a Christian, so that he withdrew himself from the Inns of Court to live on his estate in the country. Of this I was informed by an ancient gentleman, that lived in a friendship with his son for fifty years, and he heard judge Jones, that was Mr. Hale's contemporary, declare this in the King's Bench. But as the care he had to save his soul, made him abandon a profession in which he might have raised his family much higher, so his charity to his poor neighbours made

¹ To tell a lie.] See *Life of sir Thomas More* above, vol. ii. p. 56, n.

him not only deal his alms largely among them while he lived, but at his death he left (out of his small estate which was 100*l.* a year) 20*l.* a year to the poor of Wotton, which his son confirmed to them with some addition, and with this regulation, that it should be distributed among such poor house-keepers, as did not receive the alms of the parish ; for to give it to those, was only, as he used to say, to save so much money to the rich, who by law were bound to relieve the poor of the parish.

Thus he was descended rather from a good, than a noble family ; and yet what was wanting in the insignificant titles of high birth, and noble blood, was more than made up in the true worth of his ancestors. But he was soon deprived of the happiness of his father's care and instruction ; for as he lost his mother before he was three years old, so his father died before he was five : so early was he cast on the providence of God. But that unhappiness was in a great measure made up to him : for after some opposition made by Mr. Thomas Poyntz, his uncle by his mother, he was committed to the care of Anthony Kingscot, of Kingscot, esq. who was his next kinsman, after his uncles, by his mother.

Great care was taken of his education ; and his guardian intended to breed him to be a divine ; and being inclined to the way of those then called Puritans, put him to some schools that were taught by those of that party, and in the 17th year of his age, sent him to Magdalen Hall in Oxford, where Obadiah Sedgwick was his tutor. He was an extraordinary proficient at school, and for some time at Oxford. But the stage players coming thither, he was so much corrupted by seeing many plays, that he almost wholly forsook his studies. By this, he not only lost much time, but found that his head came to be thereby filled with such vain images of things², that they were at best unprofitable, if not hurtful to him ; and being afterwards sensible of the

² *Vain images of things.*] I borrow here a valuable and interesting note from bishop Jebb.

"A similar fact is related of the celebrated Brindley, the civil engineer. He was once prevailed upon to go to a play. Never before having been present at such an entertainment, it had a powerful effect ; and he complained, that, for several days, it so deranged his ideas, as to render him quite unfit for business. He determined, therefore, that he would never, on any account, visit the theatre again. (*Biographia Britannica.*)

"We learn from the interesting memoir of Felix Neff (1832), that, even in childhood, his chosen recreations were those long rambles which he was

mischievous of this, he resolved upon his coming to London, (where he knew the opportunities of such sights would be more frequent and inviting) never to see a play again; to which he constantly adhered³.

allowed to take, in the splendid mountain scenery of his native Switzerland. No amusement which the town of Geneva could afford, was, in his view, comparable with his own quiet, but invigorating pursuits, in the pure air of a delightful country, by the side of the stream, the torrent, or the lake. When twelve years old, a companion asked him to go along with him, to some favourite theatrical exhibition: on declining, he was asked, 'Do you think you will not be entertained?'—'Perhaps,' was the reply, sage beyond his years, 'Perhaps, I should be entertained *too much*.'

"A curious diversion, and consequent unsettlement, of mind, with the means employed for its counteraction, are instructively recorded by Mr. Boyle, in the sketch of his own early life.

"Here [at Eton], to divert his melancholy [owing to an aguish indisposition] they made him read the adventures of *Amadis de Gaule*, and other fabulous entertaining stories; which much more prejudiced him, by unsettling his thoughts, than they would have advantaged him, had they affected his recovery: for, meeting in him with a restless fancy, then made more susceptible of any impressions, by an unemployed pensiveness, they accustomed his thoughts to such a habitude of roving, that he has scarce ever been their master since.

"Long time after, he did, in a considerable measure, fix his volatile fancy, and restrain his thoughts, by the use of those expedients he thought likeliest to fetter, or, at least, to curb, the roving wildness of his wandering thoughts. Amongst all which, the most effectual way he found to be, *the extraction of the square and cube roots*, and especially those more laborious operations of algebra, which both accustom, and necessitate, the mind to attention, by so entirely exacting the whole man, that the smallest distraction, or heedlessness, constrains us *to renew our trouble, and re-begin the operation*." *Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle*, by Birch. *Works*, vol. i. p. xvii. edit. 1772.

"It cannot be reasonably doubted, that this remedy was suggested to the philosopher, by the sagacious counsel of his great predecessor:—

"'If a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics: for, in demonstration, if a man's wit be carried away never so little, *he must begin again*.'" Lord Bacon's *Essays*, 50. p. 168. Burnet's *Lives*, &c. p. 15, 6. n.

³ *He constantly adhered.*] "He told me, that he took up a resolution which he punctually observed ever since, that he would never more see a play, having spent all his money on them at Oxford, and having experienced that it was so great an alienation of mind from his studies, by the recurring of the speeches and actions into his thoughts, as well as the loss of time when he saw them. He said that he had often disputes (on the subject) with Mr. Selden, who was his great friend, and used to say, he found great refreshment by it: but my lord told him he had so much knowledge of the inconvenience of them, that he would not see one for 100*l*. But, he said, he

The corruption of a young man's mind in one particular generally draws on a great many more after it; so he being now taken off from following his studies, and from the gravity of his deportment, that was formerly eminent in him, far beyond his years, set himself to many of the vanities incident to youth, but still preserved his purity, and a great probity of mind. He loved fine clothes, and delighted much in company: and being of a strong robust body, he was a great master at all those exercises that required much strength. He also learned to fence, and handle his weapons, in which he became so expert, that he worsted many of the masters of those arts: but as he was exercising of himself in them, an instance appeared, that showed a good judgment, and gave some hopes of better things. One of his masters told him he could teach him no more, for he was now better at his own trade than himself was. This Mr. Hale looked on as flattery; so to make the master discover himself, he promised him the house he lived in, for he was his tenant, if he could hit him a blow on the head: and bade him do his best, for he would be as good as his word: so after a little engagement, his master being really superior to him, hit him on the head, and he performed his promise; for he gave him the house freely; and was not unwilling at that rate to learn so early to distinguish flattery from plain and simple truth.

He now was so taken up with martial matters, that instead of going on in his design of being a scholar, or a divine, he resolved to be a soldier: and his tutor Sedgwick going into the Low Countries, chaplain to the renowned lord Vere, he resolved to go along with him, and to trail a pike in the prince of Orange's army; but a happy stop was put to this resolution, which might have proved so fatal to himself, and have deprived the age of the great exam-

was not of Mr. Prynne's judgment (which I minded him of); for he did not think it unlawful, but very fit for gentlemen sometimes, but not for students." Seward's *Anecdotes of some distinguished Persons*, vol. xviii. p. 417. From a MS. in the possession of Bennet Langton, esq. (the friend of Dr. Johnson), written by Mr. B.'s great grandfather, who studied the law under the direction of sir Matthew Hale.

It is hardly necessary to mention, that the allusion in the last sentence of the extract, is to Prynne's *Histrio-mastix*, the *Players' Scourge*, or *Actors' Tragedy*, by William Prynne, 1633, 4to.

There are not a few of his zealous admirers, to whom probably it will appear an extraordinary circumstance, that the great and the grave Selden should have been a strenuous advocate for stage plays.

ple he gave, and the useful services he afterwards did his country. He was engaged in a suit of law with sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to some part of his estate; and his guardian being a man of a retired temper, and not made for business, he was forced to leave the university, after he had been three years in it, and go to London to solicit his own business. Being recommended to serjeant Glanvil for his counsellor, he observing in him a clear apprehension of things, and a solid judgment, and a great fitness for the study of the law, took pains upon him to persuade him to forsake his thoughts of being a soldier, and to apply himself to the study of the law⁴; and this had so good an effect on him, that on the 8th of November, 1629, when he was past the 20th year of his age, he was admitted into Lincoln's Inn; and being then deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and that idle and vain things had overrun and almost corrupted his mind, he resolved to redeem the time he had lost, and followed his studies with a diligence that could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain it credit. He studied for many years at the rate of sixteen hours⁵ a day. He threw aside all fine clothes⁶,

⁴ *The study of the law.*] "He told me that his father did order in his will, that he should follow the law; that he came from the university with some aversion for lawyers, and thought them a barbarous sort of people, unfit for any thing but their own trade; but having occasion to speak about business with serjeant Glanvil, he found him of such prudence and candour, that from that time he altered his apprehensions, and betook himself to the study of the law; and oft told serjeant Glanvil that he was the cause of his application to the law." Seward's *Anecdotes*, &c. vol. iv. p. 416. From Langton's MS. as above.

⁵ *Sixteen hours.*] "My respected friend, Mr. Langton, has shewn me, in the hand-writing of his grandfather, a curious account of a conversation he had with lord chief justice Hale, in which that great man tells him, 'that for two years after he came to the inn of court, he studied sixteen hours a day: however (his lordship added) that by this intense application he almost brought himself to his grave, though he were of a strong constitution, and after reduced himself to eight hours: but that he would not advise any body to so much: that he thought six hours a day, with attention and constancy, was sufficient.'" Boswell's *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 334. The conversation is printed, at large, in Seward's *Anecdotes*, and in *Moral, &c. Works of Sir Matthew Hale*, edited by the Rev. T. Thirlwall, vol. i. p. 151. A.D. 1805.

⁶ *Fine clothes.*] "His habit," (says his friend Richard Baxter, referring to his later years) "was so coarse and plain, that I who am thought guilty of a culpable neglect therein, have been bold to desire him to lay by some things which seemed too homely." Preface to a Letter to Mr. Edward

and betook himself to a plain fashion, which he continued to use in many points to his dying day.

But since the honour of reclaiming him from the idleness of his former course of life, is due to the memory of that eminent lawyer serjeant Glanvil, and since my design in writing is to propose a pattern of heroick virtue to the world, I shall mention one passage of the serjeant which ought never to be forgotten. His father had a fair estate, which he intended to settle on his elder brother ; but he being a vicious young man, and there appearing no hopes of his recovery, he settled it on him, that was his second son. Upon his death, his eldest son finding that what he had before looked on as the threatenings of an angry father, was now but too certain, became melancholy, and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his father could not prevail in while he lived, was now effected by the severity of his last will ; so that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of any estate that was gone from him. But his brother observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do. So he called him with many of his friends together to a feast, and after other dishes had been served up to the dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his brother, and desired him to uncover it ; which he doing, the company was surprised to find it full of writings. So he told them that he was now to do, what he was sure his father would have done, if he had lived to see that happy change, which they now all saw in his brother : and therefore he freely restored to him the whole estate. This is so great an instance of a generous and just disposition, that I hope the reader will easily pardon this digression ; and that the rather, since that worthy serjeant was so instrumental in the happy chance that followed in the course of Mr. Hale's life.

Yet he did not at first break off from keeping too much company with some vain people, till a sad accident drove him from it. For he with some other young students, being invited to be merry out of town, one of the company called for so much wine, that notwithstanding all that Mr. Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his excess till he fell down as dead before them, so that all that were present were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himself again. This did particularly

affect Mr. Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and shutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his friend, that he might be restored to life again, and that himself might be forgiven for giving such countenance to so much excess : and he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered and he most religiously observed his vow, till his dying day. And though he was afterwards pressed to drink healths^a, particularly the king's, which was set up by too many as a distinguishing mark of loyalty, and drew many into great excess after his majesty's happy restoration ; but he would never dispense with his vow, though he was sometimes roughly treated for this, which some hot and indiscreet men called obstinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him. Now he forsook all vain company, and divided himself between the duties of religion, and the studies of his profession. In the former he was so regular, that for six and thirty years time, he never once failed going to church on the Lord's day¹. This observation he made when an ague first interrupted that constant course, and he reflected on it, as an acknowledgment of God's great goodness to him, in so long a continuance of his health.

^a *Drink healths.*] See Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Time*, vol. i. p. 127, A.D. 1660, edit. 1809. 8vo.

¹ *On the Lord's day.*] "He told me once, how God brought him to a fixed honour and observation of the Lord's day : that when he was young, being in the West, the sickness or death of some relation at London, made some matter of estate to become his concernment, which required his hastening to London, from the West, and he was commanded to travel on the Lord's day : but I cannot well remember how many cross accidents befel him in his journey : one horse fell lame, another died, and much more ; which struck him with such a sense of divine rebuke as he never forgot." Richard Baxter's *Letter to Mr. Stephens*, p. 104. *Moral, &c. Works of Sir Matthew Hale*, vol. i.

The judge has imparted the following important and consolatory testimony, respecting his own experience of the interposition of divine agency. "This secret direction of Almighty God is principally seen in matters relating to the good of the soul ; yet it may also be found in the concerns of this life ; which a good man, that fears God, and begs his direction, shall very often, if not at all times, find.

"*I can call my own experience to witness, that even in the external actions of my whole life, I was never disappointed of the best guidance and direction, when I have, in humility and sincerity, implored the secret direction and guidance of the divine wisdom.*"

He took a strict account of his time, of which the reader will best judge, by the scheme he drew for a diary, which I shall insert copied from the original, but I am not certain when he made it. It is set down in the same simplicity in which he writ it for his own private use.

MORNING.

- I. To lift up the heart to God in thankfulness for renewing my life.
- II. To renew my covenant with God in Christ. 1. By renewed acts of faith receiving Christ, and rejoicing in the height of that relation. 2. Resolution of being one of his people doing him allegiance.
- III. Adoration and prayer.
- IV. Setting a watch over my own infirmities and passions, over the snares laid in our way. *Perimus licitis*⁸.

DAY EMPLOYMENT.

There must be in employment, two kinds :

- I. Our ordinary calling, to serve God in it. It is a service to Christ though never so mean. Colos. 3. Here faithfulness, diligence, cheerfulness. Not to overlay myself with more business than I can bear.
- II. Our spiritual employments. Mingle somewhat of God's immediate service in every day.

REFRESHMENTS.

- I. Meat and drink, moderation seasoned with somewhat of God.
- II. Recreations. 1. Not our business. 2. Suitable. No games, if given to covetousness or passion.

IF ALONE.

- I. Beware of wandering vain lustful thoughts: fly from thyself rather than entertain these.
- II. Let thy solitary thoughts be profitable; view the evidences of thy salvation, the state of thy soul, the coming of Christ, thy own mortality; it will make thee humble and watchful.

COMPANY.

Do good to them. Use God's name reverently. Beware of leaving an ill impression of ill example. Receive good from them, if more knowing.

EVENING.

Cast up the accompts of the day. If aught amiss, beg pardon. Gather resolution of more vigilance. If well, bless the mercy and grace of God that hath supported thee.

⁸ *Perimus licitis.*] "I have still chosen, to forbear what might be *probably* lawful, rather than to do that, which might be *possibly* unlawful: because, I could not err in the former; I might, in the latter. If things were disputable, *whether* they might be done, I rather chose to forbear; because the lawfulness of my *forbearance* was unquestionable." Hale's *Moral Works*, &c. vol. ii. p. 262.

These notes have an imperfection in the wording of them, which shews they were only intended for his privacies. No wonder a man who set such rules to himself, became quickly very eminent and remarkable.

Noy, the attorney-general, being then one of the greatest men of the profession, took early notice of him, and called often for him and directed him in his study, and grew to have such friendship for him, that he came to be called young Noy.

He passing from the extreme of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, was once taken when there was a press for the king's service, as a fit person for it; for he was a strong and well-built man: but some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the press-men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any superfluity or vanity in them.

Once as he was buying some cloth for a new suit, the draper, with whom he differed about the price, told him he should have it for nothing, if he would promise him an hundred pound when he came to be lord chief justice of England; to which he answered, that he could not with a good conscience wear any man's cloth, unless he paid for it; so he satisfied the draper, and carried away the cloth. Yet the same draper lived to see him advanced to that same dignity.

While he was thus improving himself in the study of the law, he not only kept the hours of the hall constantly in term time, but seldom put himself out of commons in vacation time, and continued then to follow his studies with an unwearied diligence; and not being satisfied with the books writ about it, or to take things upon trust, was very diligent in searching all records. Then did he make divers collections out of the books he had read, and mixing them with his own observations, digested them into a common place book; which he did with so much industry and judgment, that an eminent judge of the King's Bench, borrowed it of him when he was lord chief baron. He unwillingly lent it, because it had been writ by him before he was called to the bar, and had never been thoroughly revised by him since that time, only what alterations had been made in the law by subsequent statutes, and judgments, were added by him as they had happened: but the judge having perused it said, that though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himself would again set about it.

He was soon found out by that great and learned antiquary Mr. Selden, who though much superior to him in years, yet came to have such a liking of him, and of Mr. Vaughan, who was afterwards lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, that as he continued in a close friendship with them while he lived, so he left them at his death, two of his four executors.

It was this acquaintance that first set Mr. Hale on a more enlarged pursuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profession ; but becoming as great a master in it, as ever any was, very soon, he who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leisure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as comprehensive a manner as most men have done in any age.

He set himself much to the study of the Roman law, and though he liked the way of judicature in England by juries much better than that of the civil law, where so much was trusted to the judge ; yet he often said, that the true grounds and reasons of law were so well delivered in the Digests⁹, that a man could never understand law as a science so well as by seeking it there ; and therefore lamented much that it was so little studied in England.

He looked on readiness in arithmetic as a thing which might be useful to him in his own employment, and acquired it to such a degree, that he would often on the sudden, and afterwards on the bench, resolve very hard questions, which had puzzled the best accomptants about town. He rested not here, but studied the algebra both *speciosa* and *numerosa*, and went through all the other mathematical sciences, and made a great collection of very excellent instruments, sparing no cost to have them as exact as art could make them. He was also very conversant in philosophical learning, and in all the curious experiments and rare discoveries of this age : and had the new books written on those subjects sent from all parts, which he both read and examined so critically, that if the principles and hypotheses which he took first up, did any way prepossess him, yet those who have differed most from him, have acknowledged, that in what he has writ concerning the Torricellian experiment, and of the rarefaction and condensation of the air, he shews as great an exactness, and as much subtilty in the reasoning he builds on them, as these principles to which he adhered could bear. But indeed it will seem scarce

⁹ *Digests.*] The *Digesta* or *Pandectæ* of Justinian.

credible, that a man so much employed, and of so severe a temper of mind, could find leisure to read, observe and write so much of these subjects as he did. He called them his diversions; for he often said, when he was weary with the study of the law, or divinity, he used to recreate himself with philosophy or the mathematics. To these he added great skill in physic, anatomy and chirurgery: and he used to say, "no man could be absolutely a master in any profession, without having some skill in other sciences;" for besides the satisfaction he had in the knowledge of these things, he made use of them often in his employments. In some examinations he would put such questions to physicians or chirurgeons, that they have professed the college of physicians could not do it more exactly; by which he discovered great judgment, as well as much knowledge in these things. And in his sickness he used to argue with his doctors about his distempers, and the methods they took with them, like one of their own profession; which one of them told me he understood, as far as speculation without practice could carry him.

To this he added great searches into ancient history, and particularly into the roughest and least delightful part of it, chronology. He was well acquainted with the ancient Greek philosophers; but want of occasion to use it, wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue; and though he never studied the Hebrew tongue, yet by his great conversation with Selden, he understood the most curious things in the rabbinical learning.

But above all these he seemed to have made the study of divinity the chief of all others; to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that pitch in it, that those who have read what he has written on these subjects, will think they must have had most of his time and thoughts.

It may seem extravagant, and almost incredible, that one man, in no great compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of knowledge: and that in sciences, that require much leisure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehensions lively, his memory great, and his judgments strong; so his industry was almost indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the morning; was never idle; scarce ever held any discourse about news, except with some few in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no correspondence by letters, except about necessary business, or matters of learning, and spent very little time in eating or drinking; for as he never went to public feasts,

so he gave no entertainments but to the poor ; for he followed our Saviour's directions (of feasting none but these) literally : and in eating and drinking, he observed not only great plainness and moderation, but lived so philosophically, that he always ended his meal with an appetite¹⁰ ; so that he lost little time at it, (that being the only portion which he grudged himself) and was disposed to any exercise of his mind to which he thought fit to apply himself, immediately after he had dined. By these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted.

He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which disposed him for whatever studies he thought fit to turn himself to ; and some very uneasy things which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to, than distract him from his studies.

When he was called to the bar, and began to make a figure in the world, the late unhappy wars broke out, in which it was no easy thing for a man to preserve his integrity, and to live securely free from great danger and trouble. He had read the life of Pomponius Atticus, writ by Nepos ; and having observed, that he had passed through a time of as much distraction, as ever was in any age or state, from the wars of Marius and Sylla, to the beginning of Augustus's reign, without the least blemish on his reputation, and free from any considerable danger, being held in great esteem by all parties, and courted and favoured by them ; he set him as a pattern to himself : and observing, that besides those virtues which are necessary to all men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preserved Atticus ; the one was his engaging in no faction, and meddling in no public business ; the other was his constant favouring and relieving those that were lowest, which was ascribed by such as prevailed to the generosity of his temper, and procured him much kindness from those on whom he had exercised his bounty, when it came to their turn to govern : he resolved to guide himself by those rules as much as was possible for him to do.

He not only avoided all public employment, but the very talking of news, and was always both favourable and charitable to those who were depressed, and was sure never to provoke any in

¹⁰ *With an appetite.*] "This, sir," said an eminent physician to the present writer, "is the true rule of temperance and health." *Bishop Jebb, Burnet's Lives*, &c. p. 31, n.

particular, by censuring or reflecting on their actions ; for many that have conversed much with him, have told me they never heard him once speak ill of any person.

He was employed in his practice by all the king's party. He was assigned council to the earl of Strafford, and archbishop Laud, and afterwards to the blessed king himself, when brought to the infamous pageantry of a mock trial, and offered to plead for him with all the courage that so glorious a cause ought to have inspired him with ; but was not suffered to appear, because the king refusing, as he had good reason, to submit to the court, it was pretended none could be admitted to speak for him. He was also council for the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and the lord Capel. His plea for the former of these, I have published in the memoirs of that duke's life. Afterwards also being council for the lord Craven, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then attorney-general threatened him for appearing against the government : to whom he answered, "he was pleading in defence of those laws, which they declared they would maintain and preserve : and he was doing his duty to his client, so that he was not to be daunted with threatenings."

Upon all these occasions he had discharged himself with so much learning, fidelity, and courage, that he came to be generally employed for all that party. Nor was he satisfied to appear for their just defence in the way of his profession, but he also relieved them often in their necessities ; which he did in a way that was no less prudent than charitable, considering the dangers of that time : for he did often deposit considerable sums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the king's party, who knew their necessities well, and was to distribute his charity according to his own discretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himself any account to whom he had given it.

Cromwell seeing him possessed of so much practice, and he being one of the eminentest men of the law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in those critical times ; resolved to take him off from it, and raise him to the bench.

Mr. Hale saw well enough the snare laid for him ; and though he did not much consider the prejudice it would be to himself, to exchange the easy and safer profits he had by his practice, for a judge's place in the common-pleas, which he was required to accept of, yet he did deliberate more on the lawfulness of taking a commission from usurpers ; but having considered well of this,

he came to be of opinion, "that it being absolutely necessary, to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers, if he made no declaration of his acknowledging their authority;" which he never did. He was much urged to accept of it by some eminent men of his own profession, who were of the king's party; as sir Orlando Bridgeman, and sir Geoffery Palmer; and was also satisfied concerning the lawfulness of it¹, by the resolution of some famous divines, in particular Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Henchman, who were afterwards promoted to the sees of Canterbury and London.

To these were added the importunities of all his friends, who thought that in a time of so much danger and oppression, it might be no small security to the nation, to have a man of his integrity and abilities on the bench. And the usurpers themselves held him in that estimation, that they were glad to have him give a countenance to their courts, and by promoting one that was known to have different principles from them, affected the reputation of honouring and trusting men of eminent virtues, of what persuasion soever they might be, in relation to public matters.

But he had greater scruples concerning the proceeding against felons, and putting offenders to death, by that commission, since he thought, the sword of justice belonging only by right to the lawful prince, it seemed not warrantable to proceed to a capital sentence by an authority derived from usurpers; yet at first he made distinction between common and ordinary felonies, and offences against the state: for the last, he would never meddle in them; for he thought these might be often legal and warrantable actions, and that the putting men to death on that account was murder; but for the ordinary felonies, he at first was of opinion, that it was as necessary, even in times of usurpation, to execute justice in those cases, as in matters of property. But after the king was murdered, he laid by all his collections of the pleas of

¹ *The lawfulness of it.*] So we are informed by a very intelligent contemporary writer; "the judges, debating what to do, unanimously agreed to act: because there was a necessity that justice should be administered to the people, and the laws kept in force. They did not think it fit to demur and delay till the names of king and parliament should be put in their commission. They knew they were not essential to justice, or necessary, or so much as conducing to the administration thereof, as the case then was." *Politica sacra et civilis*, by George Lawson, rector of More in the county of Salop. 1689. 3d edit. p. 386.

the crown ; and that they might not fall into ill hands, he hid them behind the wainscotting of his study, for he said “there was no more occasion to use them, till the king should be again restored to his right ;” and so, upon his majesty’s restoration, he took them out, and went on in his design to perfect that great work.

Yet for some time, after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, he did sit on the crown-side, and judged criminals. But having considered farther of it, he came to think that it was at least better not to do it ; and so after the second or third circuit, he refused to sit any more on the crown-side, and told plainly the reason ; for in matters of blood, he was always to choose the safer side. And indeed he had so carried himself in some trials, that they were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them ; of which I shall give some instances.

Not long after he was made a judge, which was in the year 1653, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the king’s party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling-piece on his shoulder ; which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said, “it was contrary to an order which the protector had made, *that none who had been of the king’s party should carry arms ;*” and so he would have forced it from him. But as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him ; and lie in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun ; which he refusing, the soldier struck at him ; and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his body ; of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tried. Against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burnt on the hand ; but the other was found guilty of murder. And though colonel Whaley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged, “that the man was killed only for disobeying the protector’s order,” and “that the soldier was but doing his duty ;” yet the judge regarded both his reasons and threatenings very little ; and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done, that it might

not be possible to procure a reprieve; which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occasion was given him, of shewing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information, he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under-sheriff; and having next asked the under-sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell: upon which he shewed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff, or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause: upon which the protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit, he told him in anger, "he was not fit to be a judge;" to which all the answer he made was "that it was very true."

Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely. Some anabaptists had rushed into a church, and had disturbed a congregation, while they were receiving the sacrament, not without some violence. At this he was highly offended, for he said "it was intolerable for men, who pretended so highly to liberty of conscience, to go and disturb others; especially those who had the encouragement of the law on their side." But these were so supported by some great magistrates and officers, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would "meddle no more with the trials on the crown-side."

When Penruddock's trial was brought on, there was a special messenger sent to him, requiring him to assist at it. It was in vacation time, and he was at his country-house at Alderly. He plainly refused to go, and said, "the four terms, and two circuits, were enough, and the little interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs;" and so he excused himself. He thought it was not necessary to speak more clearly; but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it.

He was at that time chosen a parliament-man (for there being then no house of lords, judges might have been chosen to sit in the house of commons), and he went to it, on design to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then on foot, by two parties, that had very different principles and ends.

On the one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really brain-sick, designed they knew not what, being resolved to pull down a standing ministry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and set up in its room an indigested enthusiastical scheme, which they called the kingdom of Christ, or of his saints; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Christ would come down, and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation.

Others at the same time, taking advantages from the fears and apprehensions, that all the sober men of the nation were in, lest they should fall under the tyranny of a distracted sort of people, who to all their other ill principles, added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age, intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families. Amidst these, judge Hale steered a middle course; for as he would engage for neither side, so he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliaments, more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good; wisely foreseeing that the inclinations for the royal family were daily growing so much, that in time the disorders then in agitation, would ferment to that happy resolution, in which they determined in May, 1660: and therefore all that could be then done, was to oppose the ill designs of both parties, the enthusiasts as well as the usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was to destroy all the records in the Tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation: so he took this province to himself, to shew the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness, and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all sober persons (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopped even the mouths of the frantic people themselves.

Thus he continued administering justice till the protector died: but then he both refused the mournings that were sent to him and his servants for the funeral, and likewise to accept of the new commission that was offered him by Richard; and when the rest of the judges urged it upon him, and employed others to press him to accept of it, he rejected all their importunities, and said, "He could act no longer under such authority."

He lived a private man till the parliament met that called home the king, to which he was returned knight of the shire from the

county of Gloucester. It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and esteemed in his neighbourhood ; for though another, who stood in competition with him, had spent near a thousand pounds to procure voices, a great sum to be employed that way in those days, and he had been at no cost ; and was so far from soliciting it, that he had stood out long against those who pressed him to appear, and he did not promise to appear till three days before the election, yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almost by violence, by the lord (now earl of) Berkeley, who bore all the charge of the entertainments on the day of his election, which was considerable, and had engaged all his friends and interest for him. And whereas by the writ, the knight of a shire must be *miles gladio cinctus*, and he had no sword, that noble lord girt him with his own sword during the election ; but he was soon weary of it, for the embroidery of the belt did not suite well with the plainness of his clothes : and indeed the election did not hold long ; for as soon as ever he came into the field, he was chosen by much the greater number, though the poll continued for three or four days.

In that parliament he bore his share in the happy period then put to the confusions that threatened the utter ruin of the nation, which, contrary to the expectations of the most sanguine, settled in so serene and quiet a manner, that they who had formerly built so much on their success, calling it an answer from heaven to their solemn appeals to the providence of God, were now not a little confounded, to see all this turned against themselves, in an instance much more extraordinary than any of those were, upon which they had built so much. His great prudence and excellent temper led him to think, that the sooner an act of indemnity were passed, and the fuller it were of graces and favours, it would sooner settle the nation, and quiet the minds of the people ; and therefore he applied himself with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on : in which it was visible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the public that set him on to it.

Soon after this, when the courts in Westminster Hall came to be settled, he was made lord chief baron ; and when the earl of Clarendon (then lord chancellor) delivered him his commission, in the speech he made, according to the custom on such occasions, he expressed his esteem of him in a very singular manner, telling him, among other things, " That if the king could have found out an honester and fitter man for that employment, he would not

have advanced him to it ;” and “that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well.” It is ordinary for persons so promoted to be knighted, but he desired to avoid having that honour done him, and therefore for a considerable time declined all opportunities of waiting on the king ; which the lord chancellor observing, sent for him upon business one day, when the king was at his house, and told his majesty there was his modest chief baron ; upon which he was unexpectedly knighted.

He continued eleven years in that place, managing the court, and all proceedings in it, with singular justice. It was observed by the whole nation, how much he raised the reputation and practice of it : and those who held places, and offices in it, can all declare, not only the impartiality of his justice, for that is but a common virtue, but his generosity, his vast diligence, and his great exactness in trials. This gave occasion to the only complaint that ever was made of him, that he did not dispatch matters quick enough ; but the great care he used, to put suits to a final end, as it made him slower in deciding them, so it had this good effect, that causes tried before him, were seldom, if ever tried again.

Nor did his administration of justice lie only in that court. He was one of the principal judges that sat in Clifford’s-inn, about settling the differences between landlord and tenant, after the dreadful fire of London. He being the first that offered his service to the city, for accommodating all the differences that might have arisen about the re-building of it, in which he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all persons concerned ; so that the sudden and quiet building of the city, which is justly to be reckoned one of the wonders of the age, is in no small measure due to the great care, which he and sir Orlando Bridgeman (then lord chief justice of the common-pleas, afterwards lord keeper of the great seal of England) used, and to the judgment they shewed in that affair : since without the rules then laid down, there might have otherwise followed such an endless train of vexatious suits, as might have been little less chargeable than the fire itself had been. But without detracting from the labours of the other judges, it must be acknowledged that he was the most instrumental in that great work ; for he first, by way of scheme, contrived the rules, upon which he and the rest proceeded afterwards ; in which his readiness at arithmetic, and his skill in architecture, were of great use to him.

But it will not seem strange that a judge behaved himself as he did, who at the entry into his employment, set such excellent rules to himself, which will appear in the following paper, copied from the original under his own hand.

Things necessary to be continually had in remembrance.

- I. That in the administration of justice, I am entrusted for God, the king, and country ; and therefore,
- II. That it be done, 1. Uprightly, 2. Deliberately, 3. Resolutely.
- III. That I rest not upon my own understanding or strength, but implore and rest upon the direction and strength of God.
- IV. That in the execution of justice, I carefully lay aside my own passions, and not give way to them, however provoked.
- V. That I be wholly intent upon the business I am about, remitting all other cares and thoughts, as unseasonable, and interruptions.
- VI. That I suffer not myself to be prepossessed with any judgment at all, till the whole business and both parties be heard.
- VII. That I never engage myself in the beginning of any cause, but reserve myself unprejudiced till the whole be heard.
- VIII. That in business capital, though my nature prompt me to pity ; yet to consider that there is also a pity due to the country.
- IX. That I be not too rigid in matters purely conscientious, where all the harm is diversity of judgment.
- X. That I be not biassed with compassion to the poor, or favour to the rich, in point of justice.
- XI. That popular, or court-applause, or distaste, have no influence into any thing I do in point of distribution of justice.
- XII. Not to be solicitous what men will say or think, so long as I keep myself exactly according to the rules of justice.
- XIII. If in criminals it be a measuring cast, to incline to mercy and acquittal.
- XIV. In criminals that consist merely in words, when no more harm ensues, moderation is no injustice.
- XV. In criminals of blood, if the fact be evident, severity is justice.
- XVI. To abhor all private solicitations of what kind soever, and by whom soever, in matters depending.
- XVII. To charge my servants, 1. Not to interpose in any business whatsoever. 2. Not to take more than their known fees. 3. Not to give any undue precedence to causes. 4. Not to recommend counsel.
- XVIII. To be short and sparing at meals, that I may be the fitter for business.

He would never receive private addresses or recommendations from the greatest persons in any matter, in which justice was concerned. One of the first peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, "That having a suit in law to be tried before him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he

might the better understand it, when it should come to be heard in court." Upon which the lord chief baron interrupted him, and said, "He did not deal fairly to come to his chamber about such affairs, for he never received any information of causes but in open court, where both parties were to be heard alike;" so he would not suffer him to go on. Whereupon his grace (for he was a duke) went away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it to the king, as a rudeness that was not to be endured. But his majesty bid him content himself that he was no worse used, and said, he verily believed he would have used himself no better, if he had gone to solicit him in any of his own causes.

Another passage fell out in one of his circuits, which was somewhat censured as an affectation of an unreasonable strictness; but it flowed from his exactness to the rules he had set himself. A gentleman had sent him a buck for his table, that had a trial at the assizes; so when he heard his name, he asked if he was not the same person that had sent him venison? and finding he was the same, he told him, he could not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid him for his buck: to which the gentleman answered, that he never sold his venison, and that he had done nothing to him, which he did not do to every judge that had gone that circuit, which was confirmed by several gentlemen then present: but all would not do, for the lord chief baron had learned from Solomon, that *a gift perverteth the ways of judgment*; and therefore he would not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid for the present; upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And at Salisbury, the dean and chapter having, according to the custom, presented him with six sugar-loaves in his circuit, he made his servants pay for the sugar before he would try their cause.

It was not so easy for him to throw off the importunities of the poor, for whom his compassion wrought more powerfully than his regard to wealth and greatness; yet when justice was concerned, even that did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place for some ill behaviour, who urged the lord chief baron to set his hand to a certificate, to restore him to it, or provide him with another: but he told him plainly his fault was such, that he could not do it; the other pressed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many tears; but finding that could not prevail, he said, he should be utterly ruined if he did it not; and he

should curse him for it every day. But that having no effect, then he fell out into all the reproachful words, that passion and despair could inspire him with ; to which all the answer the lord chief baron made, was, that he could very well bear all his reproaches ; but he could not for all that set his hand to his certificate. He saw he was poor, so he gave him a large charity, and sent him away.

But now he was to go on after his pattern, Pomponius Atticus, still to favour and relieve them that were lowest. So, besides great charities to the nonconformists, who were then, as he thought, too hardly used ; he took great care to cover them all he could, from the severities some designed against them, and discouraged² those who were inclined to stretch the laws too much against them. He lamented the differences that were raised in this church very much, and according to the impartiality of his justice, he blamed some things on both sides, which I shall set down with the same freedom that he spake them. He thought many of the nonconformists had merited highly³ in the business of the king's restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of conformity should not have been made stricter, than they were before the war. There was not then that dreadful prospect of popery, that has appeared since. But that which afflicted him most, was, that he saw the heats and contentions which followed upon those different parties and interests, did take people off from the indispensable things of religion, and

² *And discouraged.*] "When I went out of the house," (says Richard Baxter, in the letter to Mr. Stephens, above referred to) "in which he succeeded me, I went into a greater over against the church door. The town having great need of help for their souls, I preached, between the public sermons, in my house, taking the people with me to the church (to common prayer and sermon) morning and evening, The judge told me, that he thought my course did the church much service; and would carry it so respectfully to me at my door, that all the people might perceive his approbation. But Dr. Reeves" (the rector of the parish, which was Acton) "could not bear it, but complained against me: and the bishop of London caused one Mr. Rosse, of Brainford, and Mr. Philips, two justices of the peace, to send their warrants to apprehend me. I told the judge of the warrant, but asked him no counsel, nor he gave me none; *but with tears showed his sorrow (the only time that ever I saw him weep).* So I was sent to the common gaol for six months, by these two justices." *Moral, &c. Works of Sir Mat. Hale*, vol. i. p. 105.

³ *Merited highly.*] See Baxter's *Narrative of his Life and Times*, part i. p. 105, 214, &c.

slackened the zeal of (otherwise) good men for the substance of it, so much being spent about external and indifferent things. It also gave advantages to atheists, to treat the most sacred points of our holy faith as ridiculous, when they saw the professors of it contend so fiercely, and with such bitterness, about lesser matters. He was much offended at all those books⁴ that were written, to expose the contrary sect to the scorn and contempt of the age, in a wanton and petulant style. He thought such writers wounded the Christian religion through the sides of those who differed from them; while a sort of lewd people, who having assumed to themselves the title of the wits (though but a very few of them have a right to it) took up from both hands what they had said to make one another shew ridiculous, and from thence persuaded the world to laugh at both, and at all religion for their sakes. And therefore he often wished there might be some law, to make all scurrility or bitterness in disputes about religion punishable. But as he lamented the proceeding too rigorously against the nonconformists, so he declared himself always of the side of the church of England; and said those of the separation were good men, but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the church, about such inconsiderable matters, as the points in difference were.

He scarce ever meddled in state intrigues; yet upon a proposition that was set on foot by the lord keeper Bridgeman, for a comprehension⁵ of the more moderate dissenters, and a limited indulgence towards such as could not be brought within the comprehension, he dispensed with his maxim, of avoiding to engage in matters of state. There were several meetings upon that occasion. The divine of the church of England, that appeared most considerably for it, was Dr. Wilkins, afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Chester, a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as good a soul, as any I ever knew. He being determined as well by his excellent temper,

⁴ *All those books*] “He had a great distaste” (Baxter assures us) “of the books called *A Friendly Debate*, &c.” (the work, and of great value, of Patrick, afterwards bishop of Ely) “and *Ecclesiastical Polity*,” (written by Mr. Samuel Parker, then chaplain to archbishop Sheldon, and who afterwards became a papist, and was made bishop of Oxford, &c. by James II.) Letter to Mr. Stephens, in Hale’s *Moral, &c. Works*, vol. i. p. 111.

⁵ *For a comprehension.*] Compare Baxter’s *Life and Times*, part 2. p. 433, &c. Part 3. p. 24, &c. p. 100. p. 157, &c. Birch’s *Life of Tillotson*, p. 42, &c. 52, &c. and 193, &c.

as by his foresight and prudence, by which he early perceived the great prejudices that religion received, and the vast dangers the reformation was like to fall under by those divisions; set about that project with the magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himself; for though he was much censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, yet he pushed it as far as he could. After several conferences with two of the eminentest of the presbyterian divines, heads were agreed on, some abatements were to be made, and explanations were to be accepted of. The particulars of that project being thus concerted, they were brought to the lord chief baron, who put them in form of a bill, to be presented to the next sessions of parliament.

But two parties appeared vigorously against this design; the one was of some zealous clergymen, who thought it below the dignity of the church to alter laws, and change settlements, for the sake of some whom they esteemed schismatics. They also believed, it was better to keep them out of the church, than bring them into it, since a faction upon that would arise in the church, which they thought might be more dangerous than the schism itself was. Besides they said if some things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a party as soon as that was done, another party might demand other concessions, and there might be as good reasons invented for these as for those. Many such concessions might also shake those of our own communion and tempt them to forsake us, and go over to the church of Rome, pretending that we changed so often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a church that was constant and true to herself. These were the reasons brought and chiefly insisted on against all comprehension; and they wrought upon the greater part of the house of commons, so that they passed a vote against the receiving of any bill for that effect.

There were others that opposed it upon very different ends: they designed to shelter the papists from the execution of the law and saw clearly that nothing could bring in popery so well as a toleration. But to tolerate popery bare-faced, would have startled the nation too much; so it was necessary to hinder all the propositions for union, since the keeping up the differences was the best colour they could find for getting the toleration to pass, only as a slackening the laws against dissenters, whose numbers and wealth made it adviseable to have some regard to them; and under this pretence popery might have crept in more

covered, and less regarded. So these counsels being more acceptable to some concealed papists than in great power, as has since appeared but too evidently, the whole project for comprehension was let fall, and those who had set it on foot, came to be looked on with an ill eye, as secret favourers of the dissenters, underminers of the church, and every thing else that jealousy and distaste could cast on them.

But upon this occasion the lord chief baron, and Dr. Wilkins, came to contract a firm and familiar friendship ; and the lord chief baron having much business, and little time to spare, did to enjoy the other the more, what he had scarce ever done before, he went sometimes to dine with him. And though he lived in great friendship with some other eminent clergymen, as Dr. Ward, bishop of Salisbury ; Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln ; Dr. Barrow, late master of Trinity college ; Dr. Tillotson, dean of Canterbury ; and Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, (men so well known, and so much esteemed, that as it was no wonder the lord chief baron valued their conversation highly, so those of them that are yet alive will think it no lessening of the character they are so deservedly in, that they are reckoned among judge Hale's friends) yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converse with bishop Wilkins, that was singular to him alone. He had during the late wars, lived in a long and entire friendship with the apostolical primate of Ireland, bishop Usher ; their curious searches into antiquity, and the sympathy of both their tempers led them to a great agreement almost in every thing. He held also great conversation with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour at Acton, on whom he looked as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very subtile and quick apprehension : their conversation lay most in metaphysical and abstracted ideas and schemes.

He looked with great sorrow on the impiety and atheism of the age, and so he set himself to oppose it, not only by the shining example of his own life, but by engaging in a cause, that indeed could hardly fall into better hands : and as he could not find a subject more worthy of himself, so there were few in the age that understood it so well, and could manage it more skilfully. The occasion that first led him to write about it was this. He was a strict observer of the Lord's day, in which, besides his constancy in the public worship of God, he used to call all his family together, and repeat to them the heads of the sermons, with some

additions of his own, which he fitted for their capacities and circumstances; and that being done, he had a custom of shutting himself up for two or three hours, which he either spent in his secret devotions, or on such profitable meditations as did then occur to his thoughts: he writ them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his mind, without any art, or so much as a thought to let them be published: he never corrected them, but laid them by, when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserve his own reflections in them; so that he used no sort of care to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his pen. These fell into the hands of a worthy person, and he judging, as well he might, that the communicating them to the world might be a publick service, printed two volumes of them in octavo a little before the author's death, containing his

CONTEMPLATIONS.

- I. Of our latter end.
- II. Of wisdom and the fear of God.
- III. Of the knowledge of Christ crucified.
- IV. The victory of faith over the world.
- V. Of humility.
- VI. Jacob's vow.
- VII. Of contentation.
- VIII. Of afflictions.
- IX. A good method to entertain unstable and troublesome times.
- X. Changes and troubles: a poem.
- XI. Of the redemption of time.
- XII. The great audit.
- XIII. Directions touching keeping the Lord's day: in a letter to his children.
- XIV. Poems written upon Christmas day.

In the second volume.

- I. An enquiry touching happiness.
- II. Of the chief end of man.
- III. Upon Eccles. 12. 1. Remember thy Creator.
- IV. Upon the 51 Psalm, v. 10. Create a clean heart in me: with a poem.
- V. The folly and mischief of sin.
- VI. Of self-denial.
- VII. Motives to watchfulness, in reference to the good and evil angels.
- VIII. Of moderation of the affections.
- IX. Of worldly hope and expectation.
- X. Upon 13 Heb. 14. We have here no continuing city.
- XI. Of contentedness and patience.
- XII. Of moderation of anger.

XIII. A preparative against afflictions.

XIV. Of submission, prayer, and thanksgiving.

XV. Of prayer and thanksgiving, on Psal. 116. 12.

XVI. Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, with a paraphrase upon it.

In them there appears a generous and true spirit of religion, mixed with most serious and fervent devotion ; and perhaps with the more advantage, that the stile wants some correction, which shews they were the genuine production of an excellent mind, entertaining itself in secret with such contemplations. The stile is clear and masculine, in a due temper between flatness and affectation, in which he expresses his thoughts both easily and decently.

In writing these discourses, having run over most of the subjects that his own circumstances led him chiefly to consider, he began to be in some pain to choose new arguments ; and therefore resolved to fix on a theme that should hold him longer.

He was soon determined in his choice, by the immoral and irreligious principles and practices that had so long vexed his righteous soul, and therefore began a great design against atheism, the first part of which is only printed, of *the Origination of Mankind*⁶, designed to prove the creation of the world, and the truth of the Mosaical history.

The second part was of the nature of the soul, and of a future state.

The third part was concerning the attributes of God, both from the abstracted ideas of him, and the light of nature ; the evidence of Providence ; the notions of morality, and the voice of conscience.

And the fourth part was concerning the truth and authority of the Scriptures, with answers to the objections against them. On writing these, he spent seven years. He wrote them with so much consideration, that one who perused the original under his own hand, which was the first draught of it, told me, he did not remember of any considerable alteration ; perhaps not of twenty words in the whole work.

The way of his writing them, only on the evenings of the

⁶ *Origination of mankind.*] A copy of the *second* part of this work, still unpublished, intitled "*Liber secundus de homine: de hominis secunda originatione sive generatione,*" is amongst the manuscripts in the British Museum. It is written partly in English, partly in Latin.

Lord's-day, when he was in town, and not much oftener when he was in the country, made, that they are not so contracted, as it is very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leisure to have brought his thoughts into a narrower compass, and fewer words.

But making some allowance for the largeness of the stile, that volume that is printed, is generally acknowledged to be one of the perfectest pieces, both of learning and reasoning, that has been writ on that subject: and he who read a great part of the other volumes, told me, they were all of a piece with the first.

When he had finished this work he sent it by an unknown hand to bishop Wilkins, to desire his judgment of it; but he that brought it, would give no other account of the author, but that he was not a clergyman. The bishop, and his worthy friend Dr. Tillotson, read a great deal of it with much pleasure, but could not imagine who could be the author; and how a man that was master of so much reason, and so great a variety of knowledge, should be so unknown to them, that they could not find him out, by those characters, which are so little common. At last Dr. Tillotson guessed it must be the lord chief baron; to which the other presently agreed, wondering he had been so long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the bishop thanking him for the entertainment he had received from his works, he blushed extremely, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the person he had trusted had discovered him. But the bishop soon cleared that, and told him, he had discovered himself; for the learning of that book was so various, that none but he could be the author of it. And that bishop having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and persons, which perhaps few ever managed, both with so much plainness and prudence, told him, there was nothing could be better said on these arguments, if he could bring it into a less compass; but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have it come out, though a little too large, than that the world should be deprived of the good which it must needs do. But our judge had never the opportunities of revising it; so, a little before his death, he sent the first part of it to the press.

In the beginning of it, he gives an essay of his excellent way of methodizing things; in which he was so great a master, that whatever he undertook, he would presently cast into so perfect a scheme, that he could never afterwards correct it. He runs out

copiously upon the argument of the impossibility of an eternal succession of time, to shew that time and eternity are inconsistent one with another ; and that therefore all duration that was past, and defined by time, could not be from eternity ; and he shews the difference between successive eternity already past, and one to come ; so that though the latter is possible, the former is not so ; for all the parts of the former have actually been ; and therefore being defined by time, cannot be eternal ; whereas the other are still future to all eternity ; so that this reasoning cannot be turned to prove the possibility of eternal successions that have been, as well as eternal successions that shall be. This he follows with a strength I never met with in any that managed it before him.

He brings next all those moral arguments, to prove, that the world had a beginning, agreeing to the account Moses gives of it ; as that no history rises higher, than near the time of the deluge ; and that the first foundation of kingdoms, the invention of arts, the beginnings of all religions, the gradual plantation of the world, and increase of mankind, and the consent of nations do agree with it. In managing these, as he shews profound skill both in historical and philosophical learning : so he gives a noble discovery of his great candour and probity, that he would not impose on the reader with a false shew of reasoning by arguments, that he knew had flaws in them ; and therefore upon every one of these, he adds such allays, as in a great measure lessened and took off their force, with as much exactness of judgment, and strictness of censure, as if he had been set to plead for the other side : and indeed sums up the whole evidence for religion, as impartially as ever he did in a trial for life or death to the jury ; which how equally and judicially he always did, the whole nation well knows.

After that, he examines the ancient opinions of the philosophers, and enlarges with a great variety of curious reflections in answering that only argument, that has any appearance of strength for the casual production of man, from the origination of insects out of putrified matter, as is commonly supposed ; and he concluded the book, shewing how rational and philosophical the account which Moses gives of it is. There is in it all a sagacity and quickness of thought, mixed with great and curious learning, that I confess I never met together in any other book on that subject. Among other conjectures, one he gives con-

cerning the deluge, is, that "he did not think the face of the earth, and the waters, were altogether the same before the universal deluge, and after : but possibly the face of the earth was more even than now it is : the seas possibly more dilated and extended, and not so deep as now." And a little after, "possibly the seas have undermined much of the appearing continent of earth." This I the rather take notice of, because it hath been, since his death, made out in a most ingenious, and most elegantly written book, by Mr. Burnet, of Christ's college, in Cambridge, who has given such an essay towards the proving the possibility of an universal deluge : and from thence has collected, with great sagacity, what paradise was before it, as has not been offered by any philosopher before him.

While the judge was thus employing his time, the lord chief justice Keyling dying, he was on the 18th of May, 1671, promoted to be lord chief justice of England. He had made the pleas of the crown one of his chief studies, and by much search, and long observation, had composed that great work concerning them, formerly mentioned ; he that holds the high office of judiciary in that court, being the chief trustee and assertor of the liberties of his country. All people applauded this choice, and thought their liberties could not be better deposited, than in the hands of one, that as he understood them well, so he had all the justice and courage that so sacred a trust required. One thing was much observed and commended in him, that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the counsellors that were to plead one against another ; he thought it became him, as the judge, to supply that ; so he would enforce what the weaker counsel managed but indifferently, and not suffer the more learned to carry the business by the advantage they had over the others, in their quickness and skill in law, and readiness in pleading till all things were cleared, in which the merits and strength of the ill-defended cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his judgment in causes ; but did, especially in all intricate ones, give such an account of the reasons that prevailed with him, that the counsel did not only acquiesce in his authority, but were so convinced by his reasons, that I have heard many profess that he brought them often to change their opinions ; so that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law : and which was yet more, the parties themselves, though interest does too commonly corrupt the judgment, were generally satisfied

with the justice of his decisions, even when they were made against them. His impartial justice, and great diligence, drew the chief practice after him, into whatsoever court he came. Since, though the courts of the Common Pleas, the Exchequer, and the King's Bench, are appointed for the trial of causes of different natures, yet it is easy to bring most causes into any of them, as the counsel or attornies please; so, as he had drawn the business much after him, both into the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, it now followed him into the King's Bench; and many causes that were depending in the Exchequer, and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the court, to which he was now removed. And here did he spend the rest of his public life and employment.

But about four years and a half after this advancement, he who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance, and the equality of his mind, did not a little conduce, was on a sudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff, which in two days time broke the constitution of his health to such a degree, that he never recovered it. He became so asthmatical, that with great difficulty he could fetch his breath, that determined in a dropsy, of which he afterwards died. He understood physic so well, that considering his age, he concluded his distemper must carry him off in a little time, and therefore he resolved to have some of the last months of his life reserved to himself, that being freed of all worldly cares, he might be preparing for his change. He was also so much disabled in his body, that he could hardly, though supported by his servants, walk through Westminster Hall, or endure the toil of business. He had been a long time wearied with the distractions that his employment had brought on him, and his profession was become ungrateful to him. He loved to apply himself wholly to better purposes, as will appear by a paper that he writ on this subject, which I shall here insert.

“First, If I consider the business of my profession, whether as an advocate, or as a judge, it is true, I do acknowledge by the institution of almighty God, and the dispensation of his providence, I am bound to industry and fidelity in it: and as it is an act of obedience unto his will, it carries with it some things of religious duty, and I may and do take comfort in it, and expect a reward of my obedience to him, and the good that I do to mankind therein, from the bounty and beneficence, and promise of almighty God; and it is true also, that without such employments, civil societies cannot be supported, and great good redounds to mankind from them; and in these

respects, the conscience of my own industry, fidelity, and integrity in them, is a great comfort and satisfaction to me. But yet this I must say concerning these employments, considered simply in themselves, that they are very full of cares, anxieties, and perturbations.

"Secondly, That though they are beneficial to others, yet they are of the least benefit to him that is employed in them.

"Thirdly, That they do necessarily involve the party, whose office it is, in great dangers, difficulties, and calumnies.

"Fourthly, That they only serve for the meridian of this life, which is short and uncertain.

"Fifthly, That though it be my duty, faithfully to serve in them, while I am called to them, and till I am duly called from them, yet they are great consumers of that little time we have here; which, as it seems to me, might be better spent in a pious contemplative life, and a due provision for eternity. I do not know a better temporal employment than Martha had, in testifying her love and duty to our Saviour, by making provision for him; yet our Lord tells her, *That though she was troubled about many things, there was only one thing necessary, and Mary had chosen the better part.*"

By this the reader will see, that he continued in his station upon no other consideration, but that being set in it by the providence of God, he judged he could not abandon that post which was assigned him without preferring his own private inclination to the choice God had made for him; but now that same providence having by this great distemper disengaged him from the obligation of holding a place, which he was no longer able to discharge, he resolved to resign it. This was no sooner surmised abroad, than it drew upon him the importunities of all his friends, and the clamour of the whole town to divert him from it; but all was to no purpose; there was but one argument that could move him, which was, "That he was obliged to continue in the employment God had put him in for the good of the public." But to this he had such an answer, that even those who were most concerned in his withdrawing, could not but see, that the reasons inducing him to it, were but too strong. So he made applications to his majesty for his writ of ease, which the king was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his place still, he doing what business he could in his chamber; but he said, he could not with a good conscience continue in it, since he was no longer able to discharge the duty belonging to it.

But yet such was the general satisfaction which all the kingdom received by his excellent administration of justice, that the king, though he could not well deny his request, yet he deferred the granting of it as long as was possible: nor could the lord chan-

cellor be prevailed with to move the king to hasten his discharge though the chief justice often pressed him to it.

At last having wearied himself, and all his friends, with his importunate desires; and growing sensibly weaker in body, he did upon the 21st day of February, 28 Car. 2. anno dom. 1675, 6, go before a master of the chancery, with a little parchment deed, drawn by himself and written all with his own hand, and there sealed and delivered it, and acknowledged it to be enrolled; and afterwards he brought the original deed to the lord chancellor, and did formally surrender his office in these words:

“Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptura pervenerit, Matthæus Hale, miles, capitalis justiciarius domini regis ad placita coram ipso rege tenenda assignatus, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis me præfatum Matthæum Hale, militem, jam senem factum, et variis corporis mei senilis morbis et infirmitatibus dire laborantem, et adhuc detentum, hac charta mea resignare et sursum reddere serenissimo domino nostro Carolo secundo Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, regi, fidei defensori, &c. predictum officium capitalis justiciarii ad placita coram ipso rege tenenda, humillime petens quod hoc scriptum irrotaletur de recordo. In cujus rei testimonium huic chartæ meæ resignationis sigillum meum apposui. Dat. vicesimo primo die Februarii anno regni dict. dom. regis nunc vicesimo octavo.”

He made this instrument, as he told the lord chancellor, for two ends; the one was to shew the world his own free concurrence to his removal: another was to obviate an objection heretofore made, that a chief justice, being placed by writ, was not removable at pleasure, as judges, by patent were; which opinion, as he said, was once held by his predecessor the lord chief justice Keyling; and though he himself were always of another opinion, yet he thought it reasonable to prevent such a scruple.

He had the day before surrendered to the king in person, who parted from him with great grace, wishing him most heartily the return of his health; and assuring him, “That he would still look upon him as one of his judges, and have recourse to his advice when his health would permit: and in the mean time would continue his pension during his life.”

The good man thought this bounty too great, and an ill precedent for the king; and therefore wrote a letter to the lord treasurer, earnestly desiring, that his pension might be only *during pleasure*⁷; but the king would grant it for life, and make it payable quarterly.

⁷ *Only during pleasure.*] And yet, may we not say, in the words of bishop

And yet, for a whole month together, he would not suffer his servant to sue out his patent for his pension ; and when the first payment was received, he ordered a great part of it to charitable uses ; and said, he intended most of it should be so employed as long as it was paid him.

At last he happened to die upon the quarter-day, which was Christmas day ; and though this might have given some occasion to a dispute, whether the pension for that quarter were recoverable, yet the king was pleased to decide that matter against himself, and ordered the pension to be paid to his executors.

As soon as he was discharged from his great place, he returned home with as much cheerfulness, as his want of health could admit of, being now eased of a burthen he had been of late groaning under, and so made more capable of enjoying that which he had much wished for, according to his elegant translation of, or rather paraphrase upon, those excellent lines in Seneca's *Thyestes*, act 2.

“ Stet quicunque volet potens,
Aulæ culmine lubrico ;
Me dulcis saturet quies.
Obscuro positus loco,
Leni perfruar otio :
Nullis nota Quiritibus,
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum transierint mei
Nullo cum strepitu dies,
Plebeius moriar senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi ⁸.”

“ Let him that will ascend the tottering seat
Of courtly grandeur, and become as great
As are his mounting wishes : As for me,
Let sweet repose and rest my portion be.
Give me some mean obscure recess ; a sphere
Out of the road of business, or the fear

Jebb, which he applies to another passage in this life, “ No improvement of later times is comparable to that legislative act, which gave judges their seat FOR LIFE ? ” Burnet's *Lives*, §c. p. 104. n.

⁸ *Ignotus moritur sibi.*] “ Certainly men in great fortunes are *strangers to themselves* ; and while they are in the puzzle of business, they have no time to attend to their health either of body or mind : *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui, notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* ” Bacon's *Essays*, xi. quoted by bishop Jebb, Burnet's *Lives*, §c. p. 72.

Of falling lower : where I sweetly may
Myself and dear retirement still enjoy.
Let not my life or name be known unto
The grandees of the time, tost to and fro
By censures or applause ; but let my age
Slide gently by, not overthwart the stage
Of public action, unheard, unseen,
And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I shall pass my silent days
In shady privacy, free from the noise
And bustles of the bad world, then shall I
A good old innocent plebeian die.
Death is a mere surprise, a very snare
To him, that makes it his life's greatest care
To be a public pageant, known to all,
But unacquainted with himself doth fall."

Having now attained to that privacy, which he had no less seriously than piously wished for, he called all his servants that had belonged to his office together, and told them, he had now laid down his place, and so their employments were determined ; upon that he advised them to see for themselves, and gave to some of them very considerable presents, and to every one of them a token, and so dismissed all those that were not his domestics. He was discharged the 15th of February, 1675-6, and lived till the Christmas following ; but all the while was in so ill a state of health that there was no hopes of his recovery. He continued still to retire often, both for his devotions and studies ; and as long as he could go, went constantly to his closet ; and when his infirmities increased on him, so that he was not able to go thither himself, he made his servants carry him thither in a chair. At last, as the winter came on, he saw, with great joy, his deliverance approaching ; for besides his being weary of the world, and his longings for the blessedness of another state, his pains increased so on him, that no patience inferior to his could have borne them without a great uneasiness of mind ; yet he expressed to the last such submission to the will of God, and so equal a temper under them, that it was visible then what mighty effects his philosophy and Christianity had on him, in supporting him under such a heavy load.

He could not lie down in bed above a year before his death, by reason of the asthma ; but sat, rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his sickness, by a pious and worthy divine, Mr. Evan Griffith, minister of the parish ; and it was

observed, that in all the extremities of his pain, whenever he prayed by him, he forbore all complaints or groans, but with his hands and eyes lifted up, was fixed in his devotion. Not long before his death, the minister told him, "there was to be sacrament next Sunday at church, but he believed he could not come and partake with the rest ; therefore he would give it to him in his own house : " but he answered, " no ; his heavenly Father had prepared a feast for him, and he would go to his Father's house to partake of it." So he made himself be carried thither in his chair, where he received the sacrament on his knees, with great devotion ; which it may be supposed was the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his last, and so took it as his *viaticum*, and provision for his journey. He had some secret unaccountable presages of his death ; for he said, "that if he did not die on such a day," (which fell to be the 25th of November) "he believed he should live a month longer ;" and he died that very day month. He continued to enjoy the free use of his reason and sense to the last moment, which he had often and earnestly prayed for, during his sickness : and when his voice was so sunk, that he could not be heard, they perceived by the almost constant lifting up of his eyes and hands, that he was still aspiring towards that blessed state, of which he was now speedily to be possessed.

He had for many years a particular devotion for Christmas-day ; and after he had received the sacrament, and been in the performance of the public worship of that day, he commonly wrote a copy of verses on the honour of his Saviour, as a fit expression of the joy he felt in his soul at the return of that glorious anniversary. There are seventeen of those copies printed, which he writ on seventeen several Christmas-days, by which the world has a taste of his poetical genius ; in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have excelled, he might have been eminent as well as in other things ; but he writ them rather to entertain himself than to merit the laurel.

I shall here add one which has not yet been printed, and it is not unlikely it was the last he writ ; it is a paraphrase on Simeon's Song, I take it from his blotted copy, not at all finished ; so the reader is to make allowance for any imperfection he may find in it.

Blessed Creator, who before the birth
Of time, or ere the pillars of the earth

Were fix'd or form'd, didst lay that great design
 Of man's redemption, and didst define
 In thine eternal counsels all the scene
 Of that stupendous business, and when
 It should appear; and though the very day
 Of its Epiphany, concealed lay
 Within thy mind, yet thou wert pleased to show
 Some glimpses of it, unto men below,
 In visions, types, and prophecies, as we
 Things at a distance in perspective see:
 But thou wert pleas'd to let thy servant know
 That that blest hour, that seem'd to move so slow
 Through former ages, should at last attain
 Its time, ere my few sands, that yet remain
 Are spent; and that these aged eyes
 Should see the day when Jacob's star should rise.
 And now thou hast fulfill'd it, blessed Lord,
 Dismiss me now, according to thy word;
 And let my aged body now return
 To rest, and dust, and drop into an urn.
 For I have liv'd enough, mine eyes have seen
 Thy much-desired salvation, that hath been
 So long, so dearly-wish'd, the joy, the hope
 Of all the ancient patriarchs, the scope
 Of all the prophecies, and mysteries,
 Of all the types unveil'd, the histories
 Of Jewish church unriddled, and the bright
 And orient sun arisen to give light
 To Gentiles, and the joy of Israel,
 The world's Redeemer, blest Emanuel.
 Let this sight close mine eyes; 'tis loss to see,
 After this vision, any sight but Thee.

Thus he used to sing on the former Christmas-days, but now he was to be admitted to bear his part in the new songs above; so that day, which he had spent in so much spiritual joy, proved to be indeed the day of his jubilee and deliverance; for between two and three in the afternoon, he breathed out his righteous and pious soul. His end was peace; he had no strugglings, nor seemed to be in any pangs in his last moments. He was buried on the 4th of January, Mr. Griffith preaching the funeral sermon. His text was the 57th of Isaiah, ver. 1:—*The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come.* Which how fitly it was applicable upon this occasion; all that consider the course of his life, will easily con-

clude. He was interred⁹ in the church-yard of Alderley, among his ancestors: he did not much approve of burying in churches, and used to say, "The churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead." His monument was like himself, decent and plain. The tomb-stone was black marble, and the sides were black and white marble; upon which he himself had ordered this bare and humble inscription to be made:

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
MATTHÆI HALE, MILITIS;
ROBERTI HALE, ET JOANNÆ,
UXORIS EJUS, FILII UNICI;
NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE
ALDERLY, PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. 1609.
DENATI VERO IBIDEM VICESIMO
QUINTO DIE DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. 1676.
ÆTATIS SUE, LXVII.

Having thus given an account of the most remarkable things of his life, I am now to present the reader with such a character of him, as the laying his several virtues together will amount to: in which I know how difficult a task I undertake; for to write defectively of him, were to injure him, and lessen the memory of one to whom I intend to do all the right that is in my power. On the other hand, there is so much here to be commended and proposed for the imitation of others, that I am afraid some may imagine, I am rather making a picture of him, from an abstracted idea of great virtues and perfections, than setting him out as he truly was. But there is great encouragement in this, that I write concerning a man so fresh in all people's remembrance, that is so lately dead, and was so much and so well known, that I shall have many vouchers, who will be ready to justify me in all that I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can say.

It has appeared in the account of his various learning, how great his capacities were, and how much they were improved by constant study. He rose always early in the morning; he loved to walk much abroad; not only for his health, but he thought it

⁹ *Was interred.*] "He went into the common church-yard, and there chose his grave, and died a few days after." *Baxter's Narrative of his Life and Times*, part 3, p. 181.

opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts to have the creation of God before his eyes. When he set himself to any study, he used to cast his design in a scheme, which he did with a great exactness of method; he took nothing on trust, but pursued his enquiries as far as they could go; and as he was humble enough to confess his ignorance, and submit to mysteries which he could not comprehend; so he was not easily imposed on, by any shews of reason or the bugbears of vulgar opinions. He brought all his knowledge as much to scientific principles, as he possibly could; which made him neglect the study of tongues, for the bent of his mind lay another way. Discoursing once of this to some, they said, "They looked on the common law, as a study that could not be brought into a scheme, nor formed into a rational science, by reason of the indigestedness of it, and the multiplicity of the cases in it, which rendered it very hard to be understood, or reduced into a method:" but he said, "He was not of their mind;" and so quickly after, he drew with his own hand, a scheme of the whole order and parts of it, in a large sheet of paper, to the great satisfaction of those to whom he sent it. Upon this hint, some pressed him to compile a body of the English law: it could hardly ever be done by a man who knew it better, and would with more judgment and industry have put it into method: but he said, "As it was a great and noble design, which would be of vast advantage to the nation; so it was too much for a private man to undertake. It was not to be entered upon, but by the command of a prince, and with the communicated endeavours of some of the most eminent of the profession."

He had great vivacity in his fancy, as may appear by his inclination to poetry, and the lively illustrations, and many tender strains in his contemplations; but he looked on eloquence and wit, as things to be used very chastely, in serious matters, which should come under a severer inquiry: therefore he was both, when at the bar, and on the bench, a great enemy to all eloquence or rhetoric in pleading. He said, "If the judge, or jury, had a right understanding, it signified nothing, but a waste of time, and loss of words; and if they were weak, and easily wrought on, it was a more decent way of corrupting them, by bribing their fancies, and biassing their affections;" and wondered much at that affectation of the French lawyers, in imitating the Roman orators in their pleadings: for the oratory of the Romans was

occasioned by their popular government, and the factions of the city; so that those who intended to excell in the pleading of causes, were trained up in the schools of the rhetors, till they became ready and expert in that luscious way of discourse. It is true, the composures of such a man as Tully was, who mixed an extraordinary quickness, an exact judgment, and a just decorum with his skill in rhetoric, do still entertain the readers of them with great pleasure: but at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that there is not that chastity of stile, that closeness of reasoning, nor that justness of figures in his orations, that is in his other writings; so that a great deal was said by him, rather because he knew it would be acceptable to his auditors, than that it was approved of by himself; and all who read them, will acknowledge, they are better pleased with them as essays of wit and stile, than as pleadings, by which such a judge as ours was, would not be much wrought on. And if there are such grounds to censure the performances of the greatest master in eloquence, we may easily infer what nauseous discourses the other orators made; since in oratory, as well as in poetry, none can do indifferently. So our judge wondered to find the French, that live under a monarchy, so fond of imitating that which was an ill effect of the popular government of Rome. He therefore pleaded himself always in few words, and home to the point: and when he was a judge, he held those that pleaded before him, to the main hinge of the business, and cut them short when they made excursions about circumstances of no moment, by which he saved much time, and made the chief difficulties be well stated and cleared.

There was another custom among the Romans, which he as much admired, as he despised their rhetoric, which was, that the *juris-consults* were the men of the highest quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief employment in the state, and became the great masters of their law. These gave their opinions of all cases that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any present for it; and indeed they were the only true lawyers among them, whose resolutions were of that authority, that they made one classis of those materials, out of which Trebonian compiled the digests under Justinian; for the orators, or *causidici*, that pleaded causes, knew little of the law, and only employed their mercenary tongues, to work on the affections of the people and senate, or the pretors: even in most of Tully's orations there

is little of law ; and that little which they might sprinkle in their declamations, they had not from their own knowledge, but the resolution of some *juris-consult* ; according to that famous story of Servius Sulpitius, who was a celebrated orator, and being to receive the resolution of one of those that were learned in the law, was so ignorant, that he could not understand it ; upon which the *juris-consult* reproached him, and said, “ It was a shame for him that was a nobleman, a senator, and a pleader of causes, to be thus ignorant of law.” This touched him so sensibly, that he set about the study of it, and became one of the most eminent *juris-consults* that ever were at Rome. Our judge thought it might become the greatness of a prince, to encourage such a sort of men, and of studies ; in which, none in the age he lived in was equal to the great Selden, who was truly in our English law, what the old Roman *juris-consults* were in theirs.

But where a decent eloquence was allowable, judge Hale knew how to have excelled as much as any, either in illustrating his reasonings, by proper and well pursued similies, or by such tender expressions, as might work most on the affections ; so that the present lord chancellor has often said of him, since his death, “ That he was the greatest orator he had known ;” for though his words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the most significant, and expressive, that the matter could bear¹. Of this sort there are many in his Contemplations made to quicken his own devotion, which have a life in them becoming him that used them, and a softness fit to melt even the harshest tempers, accommodated to the gravity of the subject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the readers ; that as they shew his excellent temper that brought them out, and applied them to himself ; so they are of great use to all, who would both inform and quicken their minds. Of his illustrations of things by proper similies, I shall give a large instance out of his book of the Origination of Mankind, designed to expose the several different hypotheses the philosophers fell on, concerning the eter-

¹ *The matter could bear.*] His demeanor and speaking as a judge, is thus described by one, no way partial to his merits.

“ He became the cushion exceedingly well. His manner of hearing was patient, his directions pertinent, and his discourses copious ; and, although he hesitated often, fluent. His stop for a word, by the produce, always paid for the delay : and on some occasions, he would utter sentences heroic.” *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*, by the Hon. Roger North, vol. i. p. 114. edit. 1808.

nity and original of the universe, and to prefer the account given by Moses, to all their conjectures; in which, if my taste does not misguide me, the reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture, both of fine wit, and solid learning and judgment².

“That which may illustrate my meaning, in this preference of the revealed light of the holy Scriptures, touching this matter, above the essays of a philosophical imagination, may be this. Suppose that Greece being unacquainted with the curiosity of mechanical engines, though known in some remote region of the world; and that an excellent artist had secretly brought and deposited in some field, or forest, some excellent watch, or clock, which had been so formed, that the original of its motion were hidden, and involved in some close contrived piece of mechanism; that this watch was so framed, that the motion thereof might have lasted a year, or some such time, as might give a reasonable period for their philosophical descanting concerning it; and that in the plain table there had been not only the description and indication of hours, but the configurations and indications of the various phases of the moon, the motion and place of the sun in the ecliptic, and divers other curious indications of celestial motions; and that the scholars of the several schools of Epicurus, of Aristotle, of Plato, and the rest of those philosophical sects, had casually in their walk, found this admirable automaton: what kind of work would there have been made by every sect, in giving an account of this phenomenon!—We should have had the Epicurean sect, have told the by-standers, according to their preconceived hypothesis, ‘that this was nothing else but an accidental concretion of atoms, that, happily fallen together, had made up the index, the wheels, and the balance; and that being happily fallen into this posture, they were put into motion.’ Then the Cartesian falls in with him, as to the main of their supposition; but tells him, ‘that he doth not sufficiently explicate how the engine is put into motion; and therefore to furnish this motion, there is a certain *materia subtilis* that pervades this engine, and the moveable parts, consisting of certain globular atoms, apt for motion; they are thereby, and by the mobility of the globular atoms, put into motion.’ A third, finding fault with the two former, ‘because those motions are so regular, and do

² *Learning and judgment.*] “The attentive reader cannot fail to observe, that Dr. Paley was largely indebted to this striking passage, in his *Natural Theology*.” Bishop Jebb in Burnet’s *Lives*, &c. p. 86.

express the various phenomena of the distribution of time, and the heavenly motions: therefore it seems to him, that this engine and motion also, so analogical to the motions of the heavens, was wrought by some admirable conjunction of the heavenly bodies, which formed this instrument and its motions, in such an admirable correspondency to its own existence.' A fourth, disliking the suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, 'that he hath a more plain and evident solution of the phenomenon, namely, the universal soul of the world, or spirit of nature, that formed so many sorts of insects with so many organs, faculties, and such congruity of their whole composition, and such curious and various motions, as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into motion this admirable automatum, and regulated and ordered it, with all these congruities we see in it.' Then steps in an Aristotelian; and being dissatisfied with all the former solutions, tells them, 'Gentlemen, you are all mistaken; your solutions are inexplicable and unsatisfactory; you have taken up certain precarious hypotheses; and being propossessed with these creatures of your own fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong, you form all your conceptions of things according to those fancied and preconceived imaginations. The short of the business is, this machina is eternal, and so are all the motions of it; and inasmuch as a circular motion hath no beginning or end, this motion that you see both in the wheels and index, and the successive indications of the celestial motions, is eternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expedite way of solving the phenomena, without so much ado as you have made about it.'

"And whilst all the masters were thus contriving the solution of the phenomenon, in the hearing of the artist that made it; and when they had all spent their philosophizing upon it, the artist that made this engine, and all this while listened to their admirable fancies, tells them, 'Gentlemen, you have discovered very much excellency of invention, touching this piece of work that is before you; but you are all miserably mistaken; for it was I that made this watch, and brought it hither, and I will shew you how I made it. First, I wrought the spring, and the fusee, and the wheels, and the balance, and the case and table; I fitted them one to another, and placed these several axes that are to direct the motions, of the index to discover the hour of the day, of the figure that discovers the phases of the moon, and the other various motions that you see; and then I put it together,

and wound up the spring, which hath given all these motions, that you see in this curious piece of work ; and that you may be sure, I tell you true, I will tell you the whole order and progress of my making, disposing and ordering of this piece of work ; the several materials of it ; the manner of the forming of every individual part of it, and how long I was about it.' This plain and evident discovery renders all these excogitated hypotheses of those philosophical enthusiasts vain and ridiculous, without any great help of rhetorical flourishes, or logical confutations. And much of the same nature is that disparity of the hypotheses of the learned philosophers, in relation to the origination of the world and man, after a great deal of dust raised, and fanciful explications, and unintelligible hypotheses. The plain, but divine narrative by the hand of Moses, full of sense, and congruity, and clearness, and reasonableness in itself, does at the same moment give us a true and clear discovery of this great mystery, and renders all the essays of the generality of the heathen philosophers to be vain, in-evident, and indeed inexplicable theories, the creatures of phantasy and imagination, and nothing else."

As for his virtues, they have appeared so conspicuous in all the several transactions, and turns of his life, that it may seem needless to add any more of them, than has been already related ; but there are many particular instances which I knew not how to fit to the several years of his life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He was a devout Christian, a sincere Protestant, and a true son of the church of England ; moderate towards dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most ; which appeared signally in the care he took, in a case of the quakers ; wherein he was very cautious in declaring their marriages void, and so bastarding their children ; but he considered marriage and succession as a right of nature, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under, in the points of revealed religion.

And therefore in a trial that was before him, when a quaker was sued for some debts owing by his wife before he married her, and the quaker's counsel pretended " that it was no marriage that had passed between them, since it was not solemnized according to the rules of the church of England," he declared, that he was not willing on his own opinion to make their children bastards, and gave directions to the jury to find it special, which they did.

It was a reflection on the whole party³, that one of them, to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen in, thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that if this judge had absolutely determined, must have made their whole issue bastards, and incapable of succession ; and for all their pretended friendship to one another, if this judge had not been more their friend, than one of those they so called, their posterity had been little beholden to them. But he governed himself indeed by the law of the Gospel, of *doing to others, what he would have others do to him* ; and therefore because he would have thought it a hardship not without a cruelty, if amongst papists all marriages were nulled which had not been made with all the ceremonies in the Roman ritual ; so he applying this to the case of the sectaries, thought all marriages made according to the several persuasions of men, ought to have their effects in law.

He used constantly to worship God in his family, performing it always himself if there was no clergyman present : but as to his private exercises in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did secret⁴, that this part of his character must be defective except it be acknowledged that his humility in covering it, commends him much more than the highest expressions of devotion could have done.

From the first time that the impressions of religion settled deeply in his mind he used great caution to conceal it ; not only in obedience to the rules given by our Saviour, of fasting, praying, and giving alms in secret, but from a particular distrust he had of himself ; for he said he was afraid he should at some time or other, do some enormous thing, which if he were looked on as a

³ *On the whole party.*] “This reflection is neither creditable to Burnet himself, nor at all warrantable from the general conduct of the quakers. The bishop was a good logician : and ought to have recollected that, ‘Argumentum non valet, a *particulari*, ad *universalem*.’” Bp. Jebb, in Burnet’s *Lives*, &c. p. 91. n.

⁴ *What he did secret.*] “I had but one fear or suspicion concerning him, which since, I am assured, was groundless. I was afraid lest he had been too little for the practical part of religion, as to the working of the soul towards God, in prayer, meditation, &c. because he seldom spake to me of such subjects, nor of practical books, or sermons ; but was still speaking of philosophy, or of spirits, souls, the future state, and the nature of God. But, at last, I understood, that *his averseness to hypocrisy* made him purposely conceal the most of such of his practical thoughts and works ; as the world now findeth by his *Contemplations*, and other writings.” Baxter’s *Letter to Stephens*.

very religious man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious men to blaspheme the name of God. But a tree is known by its fruits; and he lived not only free of blemishes, or scandal, but shined in all the parts of his conversation. And perhaps the distrust he was in of himself, contributed not a little to the purity of his life; for he being thereby obliged to be more watchful over himself, and to depend more on the aids of the spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced those excellent effects in him.

He had a soul enlarged and raised above that mean appetite of loving money, which is generally *the root of all evil*. He did not take the profits that he might have had by his practice; for in common cases, when those who came to ask his counsel gave him a piece, he used to give back the half, and so made ten shillings his fee in ordinary matters, that did not require much time or study. If he saw a cause was unjust, he, for a great while, would not meddle further in it, but to give his advice that it was so: if the parties, after that, would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice: if he found the cause doubtful, or weak in point of law, he always advised his clients to agree their business: yet afterwards he abated much of the scrupulosity he had about causes that appeared at first view unjust, upon this occasion: There were two causes brought to him, which by the ignorance of the party, or their attorney, were so ill represented to him that they seemed to be very bad; but he enquiring more narrowly into them, found they were really very good and just: so after this he slackened much⁵ of his former strictness, of refusing to meddle in causes upon the ill circumstances that appeared in them at first.

In his pleading he abhorred those too common faults of misreciting evidences, quoting precedents, or books falsely, or asserting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often wrought on. He pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life, and used to

⁵ *He slackened much.*] Compare above, p. 531. "Judge Hale would tell me that bishop Usher was much prejudiced against lawyers, *because the worst causes find their advocates*; but that he and Mr. Selden had convinced him of the reasons of it, to his satisfaction." Baxter's *Letter to Mr. Stephens*. See Hale's *Moral, &c. Works*, vol. i. p. 106. See Index, art. *Barristers*.

say, "it was as great a dishonour as a man was capable of, that for a little money he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than as he thought." All this he ascribed to the unmeasurable desire of heaping up wealth, which corrupted the souls of some that seemed to be otherwise born and made for great things.

When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him which he settled; but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made; for he said, "in those cases he was made a judge, and a judge ought to take no money." If they told him, "he lost much of his time in considering their business, and so ought to be acknowledged for it," his answer was, (as one that heard it told me,) "can I spend my time better than to make people friends? must I have no time allowed me to do good in?"

He was naturally a quick man, yet by much practice on himself, he subdued that to such a degree, that he would never run suddenly into any conclusion concerning any matter of importance. *Festina lente* was his beloved motto, which he ordered to be engraven on the head of his staff: and was often heard say, "that he had observed many witty men run into great errors, because they did not give themselves time to think; but the heat of imagination making some notions appear in good colours to them, they without staying till that cooled, were violently led by the impulses it made on them; whereas calm and slow men who pass for dull in the common estimation, could search after truth, and find it out, as with more deliberation, so with greater certainty."

He laid aside the tenth penny of all he got for the poor, and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities; and after he was a judge, many of the perquisites of his place, as his dividend of the rule and box-money, were sent by him to the jails, to discharge poor prisoners, who never knew from whose hands their relief came. It is also a custom for the marshal of the king's bench to present the judges of that court with a piece of plate for a new-year's-gift, that for the chief justice being larger than the rest; this he intended to have refused, but the other judges told him it belonged to his office, and the refusing it would be a prejudice to his successors, so he was persuaded to take it, but he sent word to the marshal, that

instead of plate, he should bring him the value of it in money ; and when he received it, he immediately sent it to the prisons, for the relief and discharge of the poor there. He usually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them sit at table with himself : and if any of them were sick, so that they could not come he would send meat warm to them from his table : and he did not only relieve the poor in his own parish, but sent supplies to the neighbouring parishes, as there was occasion for it : and he treated them all with the tenderness and familiarity that became one who considered they were of the same nature with himself, and were reduced to no other necessities but such as he himself might be brought to. But for common beggars, if any of these came to him as he was in his walks, when he lived in the country, he would ask such as were capable of working, " why they went about so idly ? " If they answered, " it was because they could find no work," he often sent them to some field, to gather all the stones in it, and lay them on a heap, and then would pay them liberally for their pains : this being done, he used to send his carts, and caused them to be carried to such places of the highway as needed mending.

But when he was in town, he dealt his charities very liberally, even among the street-beggars ; and when some told him, " that he thereby encouraged idleness, and that most of these were notorious cheats," he used to answer, " that he believed most of them were such ; but among them there were some that were great objects of charity, and pressed with grievous necessities ; and that he had rather give his alms to twenty, who might be perhaps rogues, than that one of the other sort should perish for want of that small relief which he gave them."

He loved building much, which he affected chiefly, because it employed many poor people : but one thing was observed in all his buildings, that the changes he made in his houses, were always from magnificence to usefulness, for he avoided every thing that looked like pomp, or vanity, even in the walls of his houses. He had good judgment in architecture, and an excellent faculty in contriving well.

He was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready upon any reasonable complaints, to make abatements ; for he was merciful as well as righteous. One instance of this was, of a widow that lived in London, and had a small estate near his house in the country, from which her rents were ill returned to

her, and at a cost which she could not well bear : so she bemoaned herself to him ; and he, according to his readiness to assist all poor people, told her, “ he would order his steward to take up her rents, and the returning them should cost her nothing.” But after that, when there was a falling of rents in that country, so that it was necessary to make abatements to the tenant, yet he would have it to lie on himself, and made the widow be paid her rent as formerly.

Another remarkable instance of his justice and goodness was, that when he found ill money had been put into his hands, he would never suffer it to be vented again ; for he thought it was no excuse for him to put false money in other people’s hands, because some had put it in his. A great heap of this he had gathered together, for many had so far abused his goodness, as to mix base money among the fees that were given him. It is like he intended to have destroyed it, but some thieves who had observed it, broke into his chamber and stole it, thinking they had got a prize, which he used to tell with some pleasure, imagining how they found themselves deceived, when they perceived what sort of booty they had fallen on ⁶.

After he was made a judge, he would needs pay more for every purchase he made than it was worth. If it had been but a horse he was to buy, he would have outbid the price : and when some represented to him, that he made ill bargains, he said, it became judges to pay more for what they bought than the true value, that so those with whom they dealt might not think they had any right to their favour, by having sold such things to them at an easy rate : and said it was suitable to the reputation which a judge ought to preserve, to make such bargains, that the world might see they were not too well used upon some secret account.

In sum, his estate did shew how little he had minded the raising a great fortune ; for from a hundred pound a year, he raised it not quite to nine hundred, and of this a very considerable part came in by his share of Mr. Selden’s estate ; yet this,

⁶ *They had fallen on.*] “This,” (says bishop Jebb, in the notes to his edition of Burnet’s *Lives, Characters, &c.* 1833. 8vo. p. 98.) “which Burnet mentions as a ‘remarkable instance’ of integrity, even in such a person as sir Matthew Hale, is now regarded as the ordinary habit of any one that pretends to the rank, or name of a gentleman” (or a Christian).

considering his great practice while a counsellor, and his constant, frugal, and modest way of living, was but a small fortune⁷. In the share that fell to him by Mr. Selden's will, one memorable thing was done by him, with the other executors, by which they both shewed their regard to their dead friend, and their love of the public. His library was valued at some thousands of pounds, and was believed to be one of the most curious collections in Europe: so they resolved to keep this intire, for the honour of Selden's memory, and gave it to the university of Oxford, where a noble room was added to the former library for its reception, and all due respects have been since shewed by that great and learned body to those their worthy benefactors, who not only parted so generously with this great treasure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without crossing the will of their dead friend. Mr. Selden had once intended to give his library to that university, and had left it so by his will; but having occasion for a manuscript, which belonged to their library, they asked of him a bond of a thousand pound for its restitution; this he took so ill at their hands, that he struck out that part of his will by which he had given them his library, and with some passion declared "they should never have it." The executors stuck at this a little, but having considered better of it, came to this resolution; that they were to be the executors of Mr. Selden's will, and not of his passion; so they made good what he had intended in cold blood, and passed over what his passion had suggested to him.

The parting with so many excellent books would have been as uneasy to our judge, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friend's memory had not prevailed over him; for he valued books and manuscripts above all things in the world. He himself had made a great and rare collection of manuscripts belonging to the law of England; he was forty years in gathering it: he himself said it cost him about fifteen hundred pounds, and calls it in his will, "a treasure worth having and keeping, and not fit for every man's view." These all he left to Lincoln's-Inn, and for the information of those who are curious

⁷ *But a small fortune.*] "I wondered, when he told me how small his estate was, after such ways of getting as were before him: but as he had little, and desired little, so he was content with little; and suited his dwelling, table, and retinue thereto." *Baxter's Letter to Mr. Stephens.*

to search into such things, there shall be a catalogue of them added at the end of this book.

By all these instances it does appear, how much he was raised above the world, or the love of it. But having thus mastered things without him, his next study was to overcome his own inclinations. He was, as he said himself, naturally passionate ; I add, *as he said himself*, for that appeared by no other evidence, save that sometimes his colour would rise a little ; but he so governed himself, that they who lived long about him, have told me they never saw him disordered with anger, though he met with some trials, that the nature of man is as little able to bear, as any whatsoever. There was one who did him a great injury, which it is not necessary to mention, who coming afterwards to him for his advice in the settlement of his estate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no fee for it, and thereby shewed both that he could forgive as a Christian, and that he had the soul of a gentleman in him, not to take money of one that had wronged him so heinously. And when he was asked by one, "how he could use a man so kindly, that had wronged him so much ;" his answer was, "he thanked God he had learned to forget injuries." And besides the great temper he expressed in all his public employments, in his family he was a very gentle master. He was tender of all his servants : he never turned any away, except they were so faulty, that there was no hope of reclaiming them. When any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their duty, he would not see them at their first coming home, and sometimes not till the next day, lest when his displeasure was quick upon him, he might have chid them indecently ; and when he did reprove them, he did it with that sweetness and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having done a fault, than for the offence given by it to himself. But if they became immoral or unruly, then he turned them away, for he said, "he that by his place ought to punish disorders in other people, must by no means suffer them in his own house." He advanced his servants according to the time they had been about him, and would never give occasion to envy amongst them, by raising the younger clerks above those who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a friend, than a master, giving them often good advice and instruction. He made those who had good places under him, give some of their profits to the

other servants, who had nothing but their wages. When he made his will, he left legacies to every one of them; but he expressed a more particular kindness for one of them, Robert Gibbon, of the Middle Temple, Esq. in whom he had that confidence, that he left him one of his executors. I the rather mention him, because of his noble gratitude to his worthy benefactor and master: for he has been so careful to preserve his memory, that as he set those on me, at whose desire I undertook to write his life, so he has procured for me a great part of those memorials and informations, out of which I have composed it.

The judge was of a most tender and compassionate nature. This did eminently appear in his trying and giving sentence upon criminals, in which he was strictly careful, that not a circumstance should be neglected, which might any way clear the fact. He behaved himself with that regard to the prisoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the pity that was due to men, whose lives lay at stake, so that nothing of jeering or unreasonable severity fell from him. He also examined the witnesses in the softest manner, taking care that they should be put under no confusion, which might disorder their memory: and he summed all the evidence so equally when he charged the jury, that the criminals themselves never complained of him. When it came to him to give sentence, he did it with that composedness and decency, and his speeches to the prisoners directing them to prepare for death, were so weighty, so free of all affectation, and so serious and devout, that many loved to go to the trials when he sat judge, to be edified by his speeches, and behaviour in them, and used to say, "they heard very few such sermons."

But though the pronouncing the sentence of death was the piece of his employment that went most against the grain with him; yet in that he could never be mollified to any tenderness which hindered justice. When he was once pressed to recommend some (whom he had condemned) to his majesty's mercy and pardon; he answered, "he could not think they deserved a pardon, whom he himself adjudged to die:" so that all he would do in that kind was to give the king a true account of the circumstances of the fact, after which his majesty was to consider whether he would interpose his mercy, or let justice take place.

His mercifulness extended even to his beasts; for when the horses that he had kept long grew old, he would not suffer them to be sold, or much wrought, but ordered his men to turn

them loose on his grounds, and put them only to easy work, such as going to market and the like : he used old dogs also with the same care. His shepherd having one that was become blind with age, he intended to have killed or lost him, but the judge coming to hear of it, made one of his servants bring him home, and fed him till he died. And he was scarce ever seen more angry than with one of his servants for neglecting a bird that he kept, so that it died for want of food.

He was a great encourager of all young persons that he saw followed their books diligently, to whom he used to give directions concerning the method of their study, with a humanity and sweetness, that wrought much on all that came near him : and in a smiling pleasant way, he would admonish them, if he saw any thing amiss in them : particularly if they went too fine in their clothes, he would tell them, "it did not become their profession." He was not pleased to see students wear long perriwigs, or attorneys go with swords ; so that such young men as would not be persuaded to part with those vanities, when they went to him laid them aside, and went as plain as they could, to avoid the reproof which they knew they might otherwise expect.

He was very free and communicate in his discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful subject, and loved for an hour or two at night to be visited by some of his friends. He neither said nor did any thing with affectation, but used a simplicity, that was both natural to himself, and very easy to others : and though he never studied the modes of civility, or court breeding, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or harsh with any, except he were impertinently addressed to in matters of justice ; then he would raise his voice a little, and so shake off those importunities.

In his furniture, and the service of his table, and way of living, he liked the old plainness so well, that as he would set up none of the new fashions, so he rather affected a coarseness in the use of the old ones : which was more the effect of his philosophy than disposition, for he loved fine things too much at first. He was always of an equal temper, rather cheerful than merry. Many wondered to see the evenness of his deportment, in some very sad passages of his life.

Having lost one of his sons, the manner of whose death had some grievous circumstances in it, one coming to see him and

condole, he said to him, "those were the effects of living long; such must look to see many sad and unacceptable things;" and having said that, he went to other discourses, with his ordinary freedom of mind; for though he had a temper so tender, that sad things were apt enough to make deep impressions upon him, yet the regard he had to the wisdom and providence of God, and the just estimate he made of external things, did to admiration maintain the tranquillity of his mind, and he gave no occasion, by idleness, to melancholy to corrupt his spirit, but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts, he knew well how to divert them from being oppressed with the excesses of sorrow.

He had a generous and noble idea of God in his mind, and this he found did above all other considerations preserve his quiet. And indeed that was so well established in him, that no accidents, how sudden soever, were observed to discompose him: of which an eminent man of that profession gave me this instance. In the year 1666, an opinion did run through the nation, that the end of the world^a would come that year. This, whether set on by astrologers, or advanced by those who thought it might have some relation to the number of the beast in the Revelation, or promoted by men of ill design, to disturb the public peace, had spread mightily among the people; and judge Hale going that year the western circuit, it happened, that as he was on the bench at the assizes, a most terrible storm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with such flashes of lightning, and claps of thunder, that the like will hardly fall out in an age; upon which a whisper or a rumour ran through the crowd, that now was the world to end, and the day of judgment to begin, and at this there followed a general consternation in the whole assembly, and all men forgot the business they were met about, and betook themselves to their prayers: this, added to the horror raised by the storm, looked very dismally; in so much that my author, a man of no ordinary

^a *End of the world.*] In Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 146, is inserted, what is called "a prophetic observation, copied from the dean's own hand," (Dr. Christopher Wren, dean of Windsor,) "in a small note-book of his, written, as it should seem, in the year 1623. He died in 1658, viz. eight years before the fire of London."—*Latinæ literæ numerales nullæ sunt præter has septem nobis adhuc in usu quotidiano,*

"*Note.* That all the numeral letters in the Latin tongue can make up but 1666; so that when the odd 666 are completed in the years of Christ, it may bode some ominous matter, and perhaps the last end."

resolution, and firmness of mind, confessed it made a great impression on himself. But he told me, that he did observe the judge was not a whit affected, and was going on with the business of the court in his ordinary manner; from which he made this conclusion, that his thoughts were so well fixed, that he believed if the world had been really to end, it would have given him no considerable disturbance.

But I shall now conclude all that I shall say concerning him, with what one of the greatest men of the profession of the law sent me as an abstract of the character he had made of him, upon long observation, and much converse with him. It was sent me, that from thence, with the other materials, I might make such a representation of him to the world, as he indeed deserved; but I resolved not to shred it out in parcels, but to set it down entirely as it was sent me, hoping that as the reader will be much delighted with it, so the noble person that sent it, will not be offended with me for keeping it entire, and setting it in the best light I could. It begins abruptly, being designed to supply the defects of others, from whom I had earlier and more copious informations.

“He would never be brought to discourse of public matters in private conversation; but in questions of law, when any young lawyer put a case to him, he was very communicative; especially while he was at the bar: but when he came to the bench, he grew more reserved, and would never suffer his opinion in any case to be known, till he was obliged to declare it judicially; and he concealed his opinion in great cases so carefully, that the rest of the judges in the same court could never perceive it: his reason was, because every judge ought to give sentence according to his own persuasion and conscience, and not to be swayed by any respect or deference to another man’s opinion: and by this means it happened sometimes, that when all the barons of the exchequer had delivered their opinions, and agreed in their reasons and arguments, yet he coming to speak last, and differing in judgment from them, hath expressed himself with so much weight and solidity, that the barons have immediately retracted their votes, and concurred with him. He hath sat as a judge in all the courts of law, and in two of them as chief; but still wherever he sat, all business of consequence followed him, and no man was content to sit down by the judgment of any other court, till the case was brought before him, to see whether he were of the same mind: and his opinion being once known, men did readily acquiesce in it;

and it was very rarely seen, that any man attempted to bring it about again, and he that did so, did it upon great disadvantages, and was always looked upon as a very contentious person ; so that what Cicero says of Brutus, did very often happen to him, *Etiam quos contra statuit æquos placatosque dimisit.*

“ Nor did men reverence his judgment and opinion in courts of law only, but his authority was as great in courts of equity, and the same respect and submission was paid him there too. And this appeared not only in his own court of equity in the Exchequer chamber, but in the Chancery too ; for thither he was often called to advise and assist the lord chancellor, or lord keeper for the time being ; and if the cause were of difficult examination, or intricate and entangled with variety of settlements, no man ever shewed a more clear and discerning judgment : if it were of great value, and great persons interested in it, no man shewed greater courage and integrity in laying aside all respect of persons. When he came to deliver his opinion, he always put his discourse into such a method, that one part of it gave light to the other ; and where the proceedings of Chancery might prove inconvenient to the subject, he never spared to observe and reprove them. And from his observations and discourses the Chancery hath taken occasion to establish many of those rules, by which it governs itself at this day.

“ He did look upon equity as a part of the common law, and one of the grounds of it ; and therefore, as near as he could, he did always reduce it to certain rules and principles, that men might study it as a science, and not think the administration of it had any thing arbitrary in it. Thus eminent was this man in every station, and into what court soever he was called, he quickly made it appear that he deserved the chief seat there.

“ As great a lawyer as he was, he would never suffer the strictness of law to prevail against conscience ; as great a chancellor as he was, he would make use of all the niceties and subtilties in law, when it tended to support right and equity. But nothing was more admirable in him, than his patience : he did not affect the reputation of quickness and dispatch, by a hasty and captious hearing of the counsel : he would bear with the meanest, and gave every man his full scope, thinking it much better to lose time than patience. In summing up of an evidence to a jury, he would always require the bar to interrupt him if he did mistake, and to put him in mind of it, if he did forget the least circumstance ;

some judges have been disturbed at this as a rudeness, which he always looked upon as a service and respect done to him.

“His whole life was nothing else but a continual course of labour and industry; and when he could borrow any time from the public service, it was wholly employed either in philosophical or divine meditations, and even that was a public service too as it hath proved; for they have occasioned his writing of such treatises, as are become the choicest entertainment of wise and good men, and the world hath reason to wish that more of them were printed. He that considers the active part of his life, and with what unwearied diligence and application of mind he dispatched all men’s business which came under his care, will wonder how he could find any time for contemplation: he that considers again the various studies he passed through, and the many collections and observations he hath made, may as justly wonder how he could find any time for action: but no man can wonder at the exemplary piety and innocence of such a life so spent as this was, wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so it is manifest he never spent an idle day. They who came far short of this great man, will be apt enough to think that this is a panegyric, which indeed is a history, and but a little part of that history which was with great truth to be related of him. Men who despair of attaining such perfection, are not willing to believe that any man else did ever arrive at such a height.

“He was the greatest lawyer of the age, and might have had what practice he pleased, but though he did most conscientiously affect the labours of his profession, yet, at the same time, he despised the gain of it; and of those profits which he would allow himself to receive, he always set apart a tenth penny for the poor, which he ever dispensed with that secrecy, that they who were relieved, seldom or never knew their benefactor. He took more pains to avoid the honours and preferments of the gown, than others do to compass them. His modesty was beyond all example; for where some men who never attained to half his knowledge, have been puffed up with a high conceit of themselves, and have affected all occasions of raising their own esteem by depreciating other men; he on the contrary was the most obliging man that ever practised: if a young gentleman happened to be retained to argue a point in law, where he was on the contrary side, he would very often mend the objections when he came to repeat them, and always commended the gentleman if there were

room for it ; and one good word of his was of more advantage to a young man, than all the favour of the court could be."

Having thus far pursued his history and character, in the public and exemplary parts of his life, without interrupting the thread of the relation, with what was private and domestic, I shall conclude with a short account of these.

He was twice married. His first wife was Anne, daughter of sir Henry Moor, of Faly, in Berkshire, grandchild to sir Fr. Moor, serjeant at law ; by her he had ten children ; the four first died young, the other six lived to be all married, and he outlived them all, except his eldest daughter, and his youngest son, who are yet alive.

His eldest son Robert, married Frances, the daughter of sir Francis Chock, of Avington, in Berkshire ; and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five children, two sons, Matthew and Gabriel, and three daughters, Anne, Mary, and Frances ; and by the judge's advice, they both made him their executor ; so he took his grand-children into his own care, and among them he left his estate.

His second son Matthew, married Anne, the daughter of Mr. Matt. Simmond, of Hilsley, in Glocestershire, who died soon after, and left one son behind him, named Matthew.

His third son Thomas married Rebekah, the daughter of Christian le Brune, a Dutch merchant, and died without issue.

His fourth son Edward, married Mary, the daughter of Edmund Goodyere, esq. of Heythorp, in Oxfordshire, and still lives ; he has two sons, and three daughters.

His eldest daughter Mary, was married to Edward Alderly, of Innishannon in the county of Cork, in Ireland, who dying, left her with two sons, and three daughters ; she is since married to Edward Stephens, son to Edward Stephens, esq. of Cherington, in Glocestershire. His youngest daughter Elizabeth, was married to Edward Webb, esq. barrister at law ; she died, leaving two children, a son and a daughter.

His second wife was Anne, the daughter of Mr. Joseph Bishop, of Faly, in Berkshire, by whom he had no children. He gives her a great character in his will, as a most dutiful, faithful, and loving wife, and therefore trusted⁹ the breeding of his grand-

⁹ *And therefore trusted.*] " Many censured him for choosing his last wife below his quality : but the good man more regarded his own daily comfort,

children to her care, and left her one of his executors, to whom he joined sir Robert Jenkinson and Mr. Gibbon. So much may suffice of those descended from him.

In after-times, it is not to be doubted but it will be reckoned no small honor to derive from him: and this has made me more particular in reckoning up his issue.—I shall next give an account of the issues of his mind, his books, that are either printed, or remain in manuscript.—For the last of these, by his will he has forbid the printing of any of them after his death, except such as he should give order for in his life: but he seems to have changed his mind afterwards, and to have left it to the discretion of his executors, which of them might be printed; for though he does not express that, yet he ordered by a codicil, “that if any book of his writing, as well touching the common law, as other subjects, should be printed; then what should be given for the consideration of the copy, should be divided into ten shares, of which he appointed seven to go among his servants¹, and three to those who had copied them out, and were to look after the impression.” The reason, as I have understood it, that made him so unwilling to have any of his works printed after his death, was, that he apprehended in the licensing them, (which was necessary before any book could be lawfully printed, by a law then in force, but since his death determined) some things might have been struck out, or altered, which he had observed not without some indignation, had been done to a part of the Reports of one whom he had much esteemed.

This in matters of law, he said, might prove to be of such mischievous consequence, that he thereupon resolved none of his writings should be at the mercy of licensers; and therefore, because he was not sure that they should be published without expurgations or interpolations, he forbid the printing any of them,

than men’s thoughts and talk. As far as I could discern, he chose one very suitable to his ends; one of his own judgment and temper, prudent, and loving, and fit to please him; and that would not draw on him the trouble of much acquaintance and relations.” Baxter’s *Letter to Mr. Stephens*.

¹ *Among his servants.*] “It showed his mean estate as to riches, that, in his will, he is put to distribute the profits of a book or two when printed, among his friends and servants. Alas! *we that are great losers by printing*, know that it must be a small gain, that must thus accrue to them.” Baxter’s *Letter to Mr. Stephens*.

in which he afterwards made some alteration, at least he gave occasion by his codicil, to infer, that he altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his last will may be no way misunderstood, and that his worthy executors, and his hopeful grand-children, may not conclude themselves to be under an indispensable obligation, of depriving the public of his excellent writings.

A Catalogue of all his Books that are printed, and are to be sold by William Shrowsbery, at the sign of the Bible, in Duke-lane.

1. The Primitive Origination of Mankind, considered and examined according to the Light of Nature. Fol.
2. Contemplations, Moral and Divine. Part I. Octavo.
3. Contemplations, Moral and Divine. Part II.
4. *Difficiles Nugæ*, or Observations touching the Torricellian Experiment, and the various Solutions of the same, especially touching the Weight and Elasticity of the Air. Octavo.
5. An Essay touching the Gravitation, or Non-Gravitation of Fluid Bodies, and the Reasons thereof. Octavo.
6. Observations touching the Principles of Natural Motions, and especially touching Rarefaction and Condensation; together with a Reply to certain Remarks, touching the Gravitation of Fluids. Octavo.
7. The Life and Death of Pomponius Atticus, written by his Contemporary and Acquaintance, Cornelius Nepos, translated out of his Fragments; together with Observations, political and moral, thereupon. Octavo.
8. Pleas of the Crown, or a Methodical Summary of the Principal Matters relating to that Subject. Octavo.

Manuscripts of his not yet published.

1. Concerning the Secondary Origination of Mankind². Fol.
2. Concerning Religion, 5 vols. in fol. viz.
 1. De Deo, Vox Metaphysica, Pars I. and II.
 2. Pars III. Vox Naturæ, Providentiæ, Ethicæ, Conscientiæ.
 3. Liber sextus, septimus, octavus.
 4. Pars IX. Concerning the Holy Scriptures, their Evidence and Authority.
 5. Concerning the Truth of the Holy Scripture, and the Evidences thereof.
3. Of Policy in Matters of Religion. Fol.
4. De Anima, to Mr. B. Fol.

² *Origination of mankind.*] See note at p. 557.

5. De Anima, Transactions between him and Mr. B. Fol.
6. Tentamina, de Ortu, Natura et Immortalitate Animæ. Fol.
7. Magnetismus Magneticus. Fol.
8. Magnetismus Physicus. Fol.
9. Magnetismus Divinus.
10. De Generatione Animalium et Vegetabilium. Fol. Lat.
11. Of the Law of Nature. Fol.
12. A Letter of Advice³ to his Grand-children. Quarto.
13. Placita Coronæ. 7 vols. fol.
14. Preparatory Notes concerning the Rights of the Crown. Fol.
15. Incepta de Juribus Coronæ. Fol.
16. De Prerogativa Regis. Fol.
17. Preparatory Notes touching Parliamentary Proceedings. 2 vols. quarto.
18. Of the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords. Quarto.
19. Of the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty.
20. Touching Ports and Customs. Fol.
21. Of the Right of the Sea, and the Arms thereof, and Custom. Fol.
22. Concerning the Advancement of Trade. Quarto.
23. Of Sheriffs' Accounts. Fol.
24. Copies of Evidences. Fol.
25. Mr. Selden's Discourses. Octavo.
26. Excerpta ex Schedis Seldenianis.
27. Journal of the 18 and 21 Jacobi Regis. Quarto.
28. Great Common-place Book of Reports or Cases in the Law, in Law French. Fol.

In Bundles.

On Quod tibi fieri, &c. Matt. vii. 12.
 Touching Punishments, in relation to the Socinian Controversy.
 Policies of the Church of Rome.
 Concerning the Laws of England.
 Of the Amendment of the Laws of England.
 Touching Provision for the Poor.
 Upon Mr. Hobbs's Manuscript.
 Concerning the Time of the Abolition of the Jewish Laws.

In Quarto.

Quod sit Deus.
 Of the State and Condition of the Soul and Body after Death.
 Notes concerning Matters of Law.

³ *Letter of Advice.*] This has been printed since Burnet wrote, and probably others have appeared: but it is better to give the list in Burnet's words.

To these I shall add the Catalogue of the Manuscripts, which he left to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn, with that part of his Will that concerns them.

"Item, As a testimony of my honour and respect to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn, where I had the greatest part of my education; I give and bequeath to that honourable society the several manuscript books, contained in a schedule annexed to my will: they are a treasure worth having and keeping, which I have been near forty years in gathering, with very great industry and expense. My desire is, that they be kept safe, and all together, in remembrance of me. They were fit be bound in leather, and chained, and kept in Archives. I desire they may not be lent out, or disposed of: only if I happen hereafter to have any of my posterity of that society, that desires to transcribe any book, and give very good caution to restore it again in a prefixed time, such as the benchers of that society in council shall approve of; then, and not otherwise, only one book at one time may be lent out to them by the society; so that there be no more but one book of those books abroad out of the library at one time. They are a treasure that are not fit for every man's view; nor is every man capable of making use of them: only I would have nothing of these books printed, but entirely preserved together, for the use of the industrious learned members of that society."

A Catalogue of the Books given by him to Lincoln's-Inn, according to the Schedule⁴ annexed to his Will.

Placita de tempore Regis Johannis. 1 vol. stitched.

Placita coram Rege E. 1. 2 vols.

Placita coram Rege E. 2. 1 vol.

Placita coram Rege E. 3. 3 vols.

Placita coram Rege R. 2. 1 vol.

Placita coram Rege H. 4. H. 5. 1 vol.

Placita de Banco, E. 1. ab anno 1. ad annum 21. 1 vol.

Transcripts of many Pleas, coram Rege et de Banco E. 1. 1 vol.

The Pleas in the Exchequer, stiled Communia, From 1 E. 3 to 46 E. 5. 3 vols.

Close Rolls of King John, verbatim of the most material things. 1 vol.

The principal matters in the Close and Patent Rolls, of H. 3. Transcribed, verbatim, from 9 H. 3. to 56 H. 3. 5 vols. Vellum, marked K. L.

The principal matters in the close and patent Rolls, E. 1. with several copies and abstracts of Records. 1 vol. marked F.

A long book of abstracts of Records, by me.

Close and Patent Rolls, from 1 to 10 E. 3. and other Records of the Time of H. 3. 1 vol. marked W.

⁴ *The Schedule.*] A somewhat fuller catalogue of the MSS. in Lincoln's-Inn Library, compiled by Philip Stubbs, is published in Bernard's *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, A. D. 1697, but it is very incorrect. A better catalogue, compiled by Mr. Joseph Hunter, will be found in the Report of the Commissioners of Public Records, presented to William IV. in 1837, p. 352.

- Close Rolls of 15 E. 3. with other Records. 1 vol. marked N.
- Close Rolls from 17 to 38 E. 3. 2 vols.
- Close and Patent Rolls, from 40 E. 3. to 50 E. 3. 1 vol. marked B.
- Close Rolls of E. 2. with other Records. 1 vol. R.
- Close and Patent Rolls, and Charter Rolls in the time of King John, for the Clergy. 1 vol.
- A great volume of Records of several natures, G.
- The Leagues of the Kings of England, tempore E. 1. E. 2. E. 3. 1 vol.
- A Book of ancient Leagues and Military Provisions. 1 vol.
- The Reports of Iters of Derby, Nottingham and Bedford, transcribed. 1 vol.
- Itinera Forest. de Pickering et Lancaster, transcript. ex originali. 1 vol.
- An ancient Reading, very large, upon Charta de Forestæ, and of the Forest Laws.
- The Transcript of the Iter Forestæ de Dean. 1 vol.
- Quo Warranto and Liberties of the County of Gloucester, with the Pleas of the Chace of Kingswood. 1 vol.
- Transcript of the Black Book of the Admiralty, Laws of the Army, Impositions and several Honours. 1 vol.
- Records of Patents, Inquisitions, &c. of the county of Leicester. 1 vol.
- Muster and Military Provisions of all sorts, extracted from the Records. 1 vol.
- Gervasius Tilburiensis, or the Black Book of the Exchequer. 1 vol.
- The King's Title to the Pre-emption of Tin. A thin vol.
- Calender of the Records in the Tower. A small vol.
- A Miscellany of divers Records, Orders, and other things of various Natures, marked E. 1 vol.
- Another of the like nature, in leather cover. 1 vol.
- A Book of divers Records and things relating to the Chancery. 1 vol.
- Titles of Honour and Pedigrees, especially touching Clifford. 1 vol.
- History of the Marches of Wales, collected by me. 1 vol.
- Certain Collections touching Titles of Honour. 1 vol.
- Copies of several Records touching Premunire. 1 vol.
- Extract of Commissions, tempore H. 7. H. 8. R. and the Proceedings in the Court Military, between Ray and Ramsay. 1 vol.
- Petitions in Parliament, tempore E. 1. E. 2. E. 3. H. 4. 3 vols.
- Summons of Parliament, from 49 H. 3. to 22 E. 4. 3 vols.
- The Parliament Rolls, from the beginning of E 1. to the End of R. 3. In 19 vols. viz. One of E. 1. One of E. 2. with the Ordinations; Two of E. 3. Three of R. 2. Two of H. 4. Two of H. 5. Four of H. 6. Three of E. 4. One of R. 3. all transcribed at large.
- Mr. Elsing's book touching Proceedings in Parliament. 1 vol.
- Noy's Collection touching the King's Supplies. 1 vol. stitched.
- A Book of various Collections out of Records and the Register of Canterbury, and Claymes at the Coronation of R. 2. 1 vol.
- Transcript of Bishop Ussher's Notes, principally concerning Chronology. 3 large vols.
- A Transcript out of Dooms-Day Book, of Gloucestershire and Hertfordshire, and of some Pipe-Rolls, and old Accompts of the Customs. 1 vol.

- Extracts and Collections out of Records, touching Titles of Honour. 1 vol.
 Extracts of Pleas, Patents, and Close Rolls, tempore H. 3. E. 1. E. 2. E. 3.
 and some old Antiquities of England. 1 vol.
 Collections and Memorials of many Records and Antiquities. 1 vol.
 Seldeni.
 Calender of Charters and Records in the Tower, touching Gloucestershire.
 Collection of Notes and Records of various natures, marked M. 1 vol.
 Seldeni.
 Transcript of the Iters of London, Kent, Cornwall. 1 vol.
 Extracts out of the Leiger-Books of Battell, Evesham, Winton, &c. 1 vol.
 Seldeni.
 Copies of the principal Records in the Red-Book in the Exchequer. 1 vol.
 Extracts of Records and Treatises, relating to Sea-Affairs. 1 vol.
 Records touching Customs, Ports, Partition of the Lands of Gil. De Clare, &c.
 Extract of Pleas in the Time of R. 1. King John, E. 1, &c. 1 vol.
 Cartæ Antiquæ in the Tower, transcribed, in 2 vols.
 Chronological remembrances, extracted out of the Notes of Bishop Ussher.
 1 vol. stitched.
 Inquisitiones de Legibus Walliæ. 1 vol.
 Collections, or Records, touching Knighthood.
 Titles of Honour. Seldeni. 1 vol.
 Mathematics and Fortifications. 1 vol.
 Processus Curiae Militaris. 1 vol.
 A Book of Honour, stitched. 1 vol.
 Extracts out of the Registry of Canterbury.
 Copies of several Records, touching Proceedings in the Military-Court.
 1 vol.
 Abstracts of Summons and Rolls of Parliament, out of the Book of Dunelm,
 and some Records, alphabetically digested. 1 vol.
 Abstracts of divers Records in the Office of First Fruits. 1 vol. stitched.
 Mathematical and Astrological Calculations. 1 vol.
 A Book of Divinity.
 Two large Repositories of Records, marked A. and B.

(All those above are in Folio.)

The Proceedings of the Forests of Windsor, Dean, and Essex. In Quarto,
 1 vol.

(Those that follow, are most of them in Vellum, or Parchment.)

- Two Books of old Statutes, one ending H. 7. the other 2 H. 5. with the sums.
 2 vols.
 Five last Years E. 2. 1 vol.
 Reports tempore E. 2. 1 vol.
 The Year-Book of R. 2. and some others. 1 vol.
 An old Chronicle, from the Creation, to E. 3. 1 vol.
 A Mathematical Book, especially of Optiques. 1 vol.

A Dutch Book of Geometry and Fortification.

Marci Beneventani Geometrica. 1 vol.

Reports, tempore E. 1. under titles. 1 vol.

An Old Register, and some Pleas. 1 vol.

Bernardi Breidenbach Peregrinatio. 1 vol.

Iter Cantii and London, and some Reports, tempore E. 2. 1 vol.

Reports, tempore E. 1. & E. 2. 1 vol.

Leiger-Book Abbatiae De Bello.

Isidori Opera.

Liber altercationis et Christianae Philosophiae, contra Paganos.

Historia Petri Manducatoris.

Horicii Astronomica.

Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis.

Holandi Chymica.

De Alchymiae Scriptoribus.

The Black Book of the New Law collected by me, and digested into alphabetical Titles, written with my own Hand which is the Original Copy.

MATTHEW HALE.

CONCLUSION.

Thus lived and died sir Matthew Hale, the renowned lord chief justice of England. He had one of the blessings of virtue in the highest measure of any of the age, that does not always follow it, which was, that he was universally much valued and admired by men of all sides and persuasions: for as none could hate him but for his justice and virtues, so the great estimation he was generally in, made, that few durst undertake to defend so ingrateful a paradox, as any thing said to lessen him would have appeared to be. His name is scarce ever mentioned since his death, without particular accents of singular respect. His opinion in points of law generally passes as an uncontrollable authority, and is often pleaded in all the courts of justice: and all that knew him well, do still speak of him as one of the perfectest patterns of religion and virtue they ever saw.

The commendations given him by all sorts of people, are such, that I can hardly come under the censures of this age, for any thing I have said concerning him; yet if this book lives to after-times, it will be looked on perhaps as a picture, drawn more according to fancy and invention, than after the life: if it were not that those who knew him well, establishing its credit in the

present age, will make it pass down to the next with a clearer authority.

I shall pursue his praise no further in my own words, but shall add what the present lord chancellor of England⁵ said concerning him, when he delivered the commission to the lord chief justice Rainsford, who succeeded him in that office, which he began in this manner :

“The vacancy of the seat of the chief justice of this court, and that by a way and means so unusual, as the resignation of him, that lately held it ; and this too proceeding from so deplorable a cause, as the infirmity of that body, which began to forsake the ablest mind that ever presided here, hath filled the kingdom with lamentations, and given the king many and pensive thoughts, how to supply that vacancy again.” And a little after, speaking to his successor, he said, “the very labours of the place, and that weight and fatigue of business which attends it, are no small discouragements ; for what shoulders may not justly fear that burthen which made him stoop that went before you ? Yet, I confess, you have a greater discouragement than the mere burthen of your place, and that is the unimitable example of your last predecessor : *onerosum est succedere bono principi*, was the saying of him in the panegyric : and you will find it so too, that are to succeed such a chief justice, of so indefatigable an industry, so invincible a patience, so exemplary an integrity, and so magnanimous a contempt of worldly things, without which no man can be truly great ; and to all this a man that was so absolute a master of the science of the law, and even of the most abstruse and hidden parts of it, that one may truly say of his knowledge in the law, what St. Austin said of St. Hierome’s knowledge in divinity, *Quod Hieronimus nescivit, nullus mortalium unquam scivit*. And therefore the king would not suffer himself to part with so great a man, till he had placed upon him all the marks of bounty and esteem, which his retired and weak condition was capable of.”

To this high character, in which the expressions, as they become the eloquence of him who pronounced them, so they do agree exactly to the subject, without the abatements that are often to be made for rhetoric, I shall add that part of the lord chief justice’s answer, in which he speaks of his predecessor.

⁵ *Lord chancellor of England.*] Sir Heneage Finch.

“——A person in whom his eminent virtues, and deep learning, have long managed a contest for the superiority, which is not decided to this day; nor will it ever be determined, I suppose, which shall get the upper hand. A person that has sat in this court these many years, of whose actions there I have been an eye and ear-witness, that by the greatness of his learning always charmed his auditors to reverence and attention: a person of whom I think I may boldly say, that as former times cannot shew any superior to him, so I am confident succeeding and future time will never shew any equal. These considerations, heightened by what I have heard from your lordship concerning him, made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to a stand, how I should succeed so able, so good, and so great a man. It doth very much trouble me, that I, who in comparison of him, am but like a candle lighted in the sun-shine, or like a glow-worm at mid-day, should succeed so great a person, that is and will be so eminently famous to all posterity: and I must ever wear this motto in my breast to comfort me, and in my actions to excuse me:

‘*Sequitur, quamvis non passibus æquis.*’”

Thus were panegyrics made upon him while yet alive, in that same court of justice which he had so worthily governed. As he was honoured while he lived, so he was much lamented when he died: and this will still be acknowledged as a just inscription for his memory, though his modesty forbid any such to be put on his tombstone:

THAT HE WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST PATTERNS THIS AGE HAS AFFORDED, WHETHER IN HIS PRIVATE DEPARTMENT AS A CHRISTIAN, OR IN HIS PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS, EITHER AT THE BAR OR ON THE BENCH.

EARL OF ROCHESTER.

It must be confessed, that the credit of religion hath much suffered, in the age we live in, through the vain pretences of many to it, who have only acted a part in it for the sake of some private interests of their own. And it is the usual logic of Atheists, *Crimine ab uno, disce omnes*, if there be *any* hypocrites, *all* who make shew of religion are such; on which account, *the Hypocrisy of one age makes way for the Atheism of the next.*

BISHOP STILLINGFLEET.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Narrative is reprinted intire from *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Hon. John Earl of Rochester, who died the 26th of July, 1680: written by his own direction on his death-bed, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D.* London, 1680; a volume, which Doctor Johnson has declared in his *Lives of the Poets*, that “the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety.”

P R E F A C E.

THE celebrating the praises of the dead, is an argument so worn out by long and frequent use, and now becomes so nauseous, by the flattery that usually attends it, that it is no wonder if funeral orations, or panegyrics, are more considered for the elegance of style, and fineness of wit, than for the authority they carry with them as to the truth of matters of fact. And yet I am not hereby deterred from meddling with this kind of argument, nor from handling it with all the plainness I can; delivering only what I myself heard and saw, without any borrowed ornament. I do easily foresee how many will be engaged, for the support of their impious maxims, and immoral practices, to disparage what I am to write. Others will censure it, because it comes from one of my profession, too many supposing us to be induced to frame such discourses, for carrying on what they are pleased to call *our trade*. Some will think I dress it up too artificially, and others, that I present it too plain and naked.

But being resolved to govern myself by the exact rules of truth, I shall be less concerned in the censures I may fall under. It may seem liable to great exception, that I should disclose so many things, that were discovered to me, if not under the seal of confession, yet under the confidence of friendship; but this noble lord himself not only released me from all obligation of this kind, when I waited on him in his last sickness, a few days before he died, but gave it me in charge not to spare him in any thing which I thought might be of use to the living; and was not ill pleased to be laid open, as well in the worst, as in the best and last part of his life; being so sincere in his repentance, that he was not unwilling to take shame to himself, by suffering his faults to be exposed for the benefit of others.

I write with one great disadvantage, that I cannot reach his chief design, without mentioning some of his faults: but I have touched them as tenderly as the occasion would bear: and I am sure with much more softness than he desired, or would have consented unto, had I told him how I intended to manage this part. I have related nothing with personal reflections on any others, concerned with him; wishing rather that they themselves reflecting on the sense he had of his former disorders, may be thereby led to forsake their own, than that they should be any ways reproached by what I write: and therefore though he used very few reserves with me, as to his course of life, yet since others had a share in most parts of it, I shall relate nothing but what more immediately concerned himself: and shall say no more of his faults, than is necessary to illustrate his repentance.

The occasion that led me into so particular a knowledge of him, was an intimation given me by a gentleman of his acquaintance, of his desire to see me. This was some time in October, 1679, when he was slowly recovering out of a great disease. He had understood that I often attended on one well known to him, that died the summer before. He was also then entertaining himself, in that low state of his health, with the first part of *the History of the Reformation*, then newly come out, with which he seemed not ill pleased; and we had accidentally met in two or three places some time before. These were the motives that led him to call for my company. After I had waited on him once or twice, he grew into that freedom with me, as to open to me all his thoughts, both of religion and morality; and to give me a full view of his past life; and seemed not uneasy at my frequent visits. So till he went from London, which was in the beginning of April, I waited on him often. As soon as I heard how ill he was, and how much he was touched with the sense of his former life, I writ to him, and received from him an answer, that without my knowledge, was printed since his death; from a copy which one of his servants conveyed to the press. In it there is so undeserved a value put on me, that it had been very indecent for me to have published it; yet that must be attributed to his civility and way of breeding: and indeed he was particularly known to so few of the clergy, that the good opinion he had of me, is to be imputed only to his unacquaintance with others.

My end of writing is so to discharge the last commands this lord left on me, as that it may be effectual to awaken those who

run on to all the excesses of riot ; and that in the midst of those heats, which their lusts and passions raise in them, they may be a little wrought on by so great an instance, of one who had run round the whole circle of luxury ; and as Solomon says of himself, *Whatsoever his eyes desired, he kept it not from them ; and withheld his heart from no joy.* But when he looked back on all that on which he had wasted his time and strength, he esteemed it *vanity and vexation of spirit.* Though he had both as much natural wit, and as much acquired by learning, and both as much improved with thinking and study, as perhaps any libertine of the age ; yet when he reflected on all his former courses, even before his mind was illuminated with better thoughts, he counted them madness and folly. But when the powers of religion came to operate on him, then he added a detestation to the contempt he formerly had of them, suitable to what became a sincere penitent ; and expressed himself in so clear and calm a manner, so sensible of his failings towards his Maker and his Redeemer, that as it wrought not a little on those that were about him, so, I hope the making it public may have a more general influence, chiefly on those on whom his former conversation might have had ill effects.

I have endeavoured to give his character as fully as I could take it : for I who saw him only in one light, in a sedate and quiet temper, when he was under a great decay of strength and loss of spirits, cannot give this picture with that life and advantage that others may, who knew him when his parts were more bright and lively : yet the composure he was then in, may perhaps be supposed to balance any abatement of his usual vigour which the declination of his health brought him under. I have written this discourse with as much care, and have considered it as narrowly as I could. I am sure I have said nothing but truth ; I have done it slowly, and often used my second thoughts¹ in it, not being so much concerned in the censures which might fall on myself, as cautious that nothing should pass, that might obstruct my only

¹ *Second thoughts.*] The book was probably revised also by his friend Tillotson, when Dean of Canterbury. "The Dean appears to have revised and improved that book, since it concludes almost in the exact words of his letter to Mr. Nelson, of the 2d of August, 'that God took pity on the earl, and seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation, perhaps too hard for human frailty.'" Birch's *Life of Abp. Tillotson*, p. 73.

design of writing, which is the doing what I can towards the reforming a loose and lewd age. And if such a signal instance concurring with all the evidence that we have for our most holy faith, has no effect on those who are running the same course, it is much to be feared they are given up to a reprobate sense.

EARL OF ROCHESTER.

JOHN WILMOT, earl of Rochester, was born in April *anno Dom.* 1648. His father ¹ was Henry, earl of Rochester, but best known by the title of the lord Wilmot, who bore so great a part in all the late wars, that mention is often made of him in the history; and had the chief share in the honour of the preservation of his majesty that now reigns, after Worcester fight, and the conveying him from place to place, till he happily escaped into France: but dying before the king's return, he left his son little other inheritance ², but the honour and title derived to him, with the pretensions such eminent services gave him to the king's favour. These were carefully managed by the great prudence and discretion of his mother ³, a daughter of that noble and ancient family of the St.

¹ *His father.*] Henry, second viscount Wilmot of Athlone in Ireland, son of Charles the first viscount, by Mary, daughter of sir Henry Colley, widow of Gerald Moore, viscount Drogheda. He was created lord Wilmot of Adderbury in Oxfordshire, by Charles I. 29th June, 1643; and by Charles II. 13th Dec. 1652, he was made earl of Rochester. He died in 1659.

² *Inheritance.*] The estate at Adderbury, from which the English barony of Wilmot was derived, near Banbury in Oxfordshire, certainly descended to the subject of this memoir.

³ *His mother.*] Anne, daughter of sir John St. John, bart. (by Anne, daughter of sir Thomas Leighton): at lord Rochester's birth she was *forty-seven* years of age. She was the widow of sir Francis Henry Lee, of Quaren-don and Ditchley, bart. son of sir Henry Lee, the first baronet, by Eleanor, daughter of sir Richard Wortley of Wortley (afterwards fourth wife of Edward, second earl of Manchester, the Parliamentary general). By sir F. H. Lee she had had two sons: i. Sir Henry Lee, third baronet, who married Anne, a daughter of sir John Danvers of Cornbury, *the regicide*, (see *Life of Herbert*, p. 8,) and whose daughter and heir married James Bertie, first earl of Abingdon. ii. Sir Francis Henry Lee, fourth baronet, who married lady Elizabeth Pope, heiress of Thomas, earl of Downe (afterwards third wife of Robert Bertie, third earl of Lindsey), and whose son, sir Edward Henry Lee, the fifth baronet, married lady Charlotte Fitzroy, a natural daughter of Charles II. (by

Johns, of Wiltshire ; so that his education was carried on in all things suitably to his quality.

When he was at school he was an extraordinary proficient at his book : and those shining parts which have since appeared with so much lustre, began then to shew themselves. He acquired the Latin to such perfection, that to his dying day he retained a great relish of the fineness and beauty of that tongue, and was exactly versed in the incomparable authors that writ about Augustus's time, whom he read often with that peculiar delight which the greatest wits have ever found in those studies.

When he went to the university the general joy which over-ran the whole nation upon his majesty's restoration, but was not regulated with that sobriety and temperance, that became a serious gratitude to God for so great a blessing, produced some of its ill effects on him. He began to love these disorders too much. His tutor was that eminent and pious divine, Dr. [Walter] Blandford, afterwards promoted to the sees of Oxford and Worcester ; and under his inspection he was committed to the more immediate care of Mr. Phineas Berry [or Bury], a fellow of Wadham college, a very learned and good-natured man ; whom he afterwards ever used with much respect, and rewarded him as became a great man. But the humour of that time wrought so much on him, that he broke off the course of his studies ; to which no means could ever effectually recall him ; till when he was in Italy, his governor, Dr. Balfour, a learned and worthy man, now a celebrated physician in Scotland, his native country, drew him to read such books as were most likely to bring him back to love learning and study : and he often acknowledged to me, in particular three days before his death, how much he was obliged to love and honour this his governor, to whom he thought he owed more than to all the world, next after his parents, for his great fidelity and care of him,

the Duchess of Cleveland) and sister of the first Duke of Grafton. Sir Edward Henry Lee was created earl of Lichfield in 1674, and after the death of his uncle lord Rochester (the subject of this memoir) he was appointed comptroller of Woodstock Park, an office which had previously been held by his other uncle, sir Henry Lee. This statement serves to shew with how much caution fiction, purporting to be historical, should be read. The sir Henry Lee whom, in his novel of "Woodstock," sir Walter Scott represents as a staunch loyalist, an old man (a revivification of the sir Henry Lee of Elizabeth's time), was in fact a young man,—was married to the daughter of a regicide,—and was half brother of the earl of Rochester, whose very person is represented in the novel, as unknown to the Lee family.

while he was under his trust. But no part of it affected him more sensibly, than that he engaged him by many tricks (so he expressed it) to delight in books and reading; so that ever after he took occasion in the intervals of those woeful extravagancies that consumed most of his time, to read much: and though the time was generally but indifferently employed, for the choice of the subjects of his studies was not always good, yet the habitual love of knowledge, together with these fits of study, had much awakened his understanding, and prepared him for better things, when his mind should be so far changed as to relish them.

He came from his travels in the eighteenth year of his age, and appeared at court⁴ with as great advantages as most ever had. He was a graceful and well-shaped person, tall and well made, if not a little too slender. He was exactly well bred, and what by a modest behaviour natural to him, what by a civility become almost as natural, his conversation was easy and obliging. He had a strange vivacity of thought, and vigour of expression: his wit had a subtilty and sublimity both, that were scarce imitable. His style was clear and strong: when he used figures they were very lively, and yet far enough out of the common road. He had made himself master of the ancient and modern wit, and of the modern French and Italian, as well as the English. He loved to talk and write of speculative matters, and did it with so fine a thread, that even they who hated the subjects that his fancy ran upon, yet could not but be charmed with his way of treating of them. Boileau among the French, and Cowley among the English wits, were those he admired most. Sometimes other men's thoughts mixed with his composures, but that flowed rather from the impressions they made on him when he read them, by which they came to return upon him as his own thoughts, than that he

⁴ *At court.*] It ought to be remembered that at this time, whilst lord Rochester was a mere youth in the eighteenth year of his age, Charles II., whose pernicious example he followed, was of the mature age of thirty-five, an age to which Rochester never attained. The duke of Buckingham was still older, having passed his thirty-seventh year. From them the stripling earl imbibed much evil. "He was naturally modest," says Burnet, elsewhere, "till the court corrupted him." How guilty soever may have been his life, he has been unfairly treated. Many have believed Hamilton's fictions to be history. Fielding uses his name as a by-word. At the time when sir Walter Scott speaks of him as a "gay young nobleman," lord Rochester was not four years old. It is to be wished that his penitence were as well known as his sinful life has been widely blazoned.

servilely copied from any: for few men ever had a bolder flight of fancy, more steadily governed by judgment, than he had. No wonder a young man so made, and so improved, was very acceptable in a court.

Soon after his coming thither he laid hold on the first occasion that offered to shew his readiness⁵ to hazard his live in the defence and service of his country. In winter 1665, he went with the earl of Sandwich to sea, when he was sent to lie for the Dutch East-India fleet; and was in the *Revenge*, commanded by sir Thomas Tiddiman, when the attack was made on the port of Bergen, in Norway, the Dutch ships having got into that port. It was as desperate⁶ an attempt as ever was made. During the whole action, the earl of Rochester shewed as brave and as reso-

⁵ *His readiness.*] Other reasons probably actuated him. He was, outwardly at least, in disgrace at court. In May 1665, when scarcely passed seventeen years of age, an age now considered early for entrance into college, lord Rochester was not only "very acceptable in a court," but had carried off by force the lady who afterwards became his wife: may we not suppose that he was *prompted* to this act? Pepys says (28th May 1665)—"to my lady Sandwich's, where, to my shame, I had not been a great while. Here upon my telling her a story of my lord Rochester's running away on Friday night last with Mrs. Mallet, the great beauty and fortune of the north (*south?*), who had supped at Whitehall with Mrs. Stewart, and was going home to her lodgings with her grandfather, my lord Haley, by coach: and was at Charing Cross, seized on by both horse and footmen, and forcibly taken from him, and put into a coach with six horses, and two women provided to receive her, and carried away. Upon immediate pursuit, my lord Rochester, *for whom the king had spoke to the lady often, but with no success*, was taken at Uxbridge: but the lady is not yet heard of, the king mighty angry, and the lord sent to the Tower. Hereupon my lady did confess to me as a great secret, her being concerned in this story: for if this match breaks between my lord Rochester and her, then, by the consent of all friends, my lord Hinchingbrooke stands fair, and is invited. She is worth, and will be at her mother's death, who keeps but a little from her, 2500*l.* per annum. Pray God give a good success to it! But my poor lady, who is afraid of the sickness [*the plague, then raging in London*], and resolved to be gone into the country, is forced to stay in town a day or two, or three, about it, to see the event of it." *Diary*, vol. iii. p. 18. Lady Sandwich, whose anxiety for this match with the heiress overcame her fears of the plague, did not live to see her grandson Edward, the third earl of Sandwich (son of "my lord Hinchingbrooke" mentioned by Pepys), married to lord Rochester's daughter by that lady.

⁶ *As desperate.*] Lord Sandwich described the port to Pepys as "being a place just wide enough, and not so much hardly, for ships to go through to it, the yard-arnes sticking in the very rocks."—Pepys' *Diary*, iii. 89.

lute a courage as was possible. A person of honour told me he heard the lord Clifford, who was in the same ship, often magnify his courage⁷ at that time very highly. Nor did the rigours of the

⁷ *Magnify his courage.*] Lord Rochester has left an account of this action in a letter addressed to his mother: it is now first printed, from the autograph:

“From the coast of Norway, amongst the rocks, aboard the *Revenge*.

August 3rd.

“MADAM

“I hope it will not be hard for your ladyship to believe that it hath been want of opportunity, and not neglect in me, the not writing to your ladyship all this while. I know nobody hath more reason to shew and express their duty to you than I have, and certainly I will never be so imprudent as to omit the occasions of doing it. There have many things past since I writ last to your ladyship: we had many reports of De Ruyter and the East-India fleet, but none true till towards the 26th of the last month; we had certain intelligence then of thirty sail in Bergen, in Norway, a haven belonging to the king of Denmark; but the port was found to be so little that it was impossible for the great ships to get in, so that my lord Sandwich ordered twenty sail of fourth and fifth rate frigates to go in and take them: they were commanded by sir Thomas Teddeman, one of the vice-admirals: it was not fit for me to see any occasion of service to the king without offering myself, so I desired and obtained leave of my lord Sandwich to go with them, and accordingly, the 30th of this month, we set sail at six o'clock at night, and the next day we made the haven Cruchfort (on this side of the town 15 leagues,) not without much hazard of shipwreck, for (besides the danger of rocks, which according to the seamens judgment, was greater than ever was seen by any of them), we found the harbour where twenty ships were to anchor not big enough for seven, so that in a moment we were all together, one upon another, ready to dash in pieces, having nothing but bare rocks to save ourselves in case we had been lost, but it was God's great mercy we got clear; and, only for that, we had no human probability of safety: there we lay all night, and by twelve o'clock next day got off and sailed to Bergen, full of hopes and expectations, having already shared amongst us the rich lading of the East-India merchants, some for diamonds, some for spices, others for rich silks, and I for shirts and gold, which I had most need of; but reckoning without our host we were fain to reckon twice, however we came bravely into the harbour, in the midst of the town and castles, and there anchored close by the Dutchmen. We had immediately a message from the governor, full of civility and offers of service, which was returned by us, Mr. Montague being the messenger: that night we had 7 or 10 more, which signified nothing but mere empty delays. It grew dark, and we were fain to lie still until morning: all the night the Dutch carried above 200 pieces of cannon into the Danish castles and forts, and we were by morn drawn into a very fair half-moon, ready for both town and ships: we received several messages, from break of day until four o'clock, much like those of the over-night, intending

season, the hardness of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like on the very next occasion: for, the summer following, he went to sea again, without communicating his design to his nearest relations. He went aboard the ship commanded by sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great sea fight⁸ of that year. Almost all the volunteers that were in the same ship were killed. Mr. Middleton (brother to sir Hugh Middleton) was shot in his arms. During the action, sir Edward Spragge not being satisfied with the behaviour of one of the captains, could not easily find a person that would cheerfully venture through so much danger, to carry his commands to that captain. This lord offered himself to the service; and went in a little boat, through all the shot, and delivered his message, and returned back to sir Edward: which was much commended by all that saw it. He thought it necessary to begin his life⁹

nothing but delay that they might fortify themselves the more, which being perceived, we delayed no more, but, just upon the stroke of five, we let fly our fighting colours, and immediately fired upon the ships, who answered us immediately, and were seconded by the castles and forts of the town: upon which we shot at all, and in a short time beat, from one of their greatest forts, some three or four thousand men that were placed with small shot upon us. But the castles were not to be for, besides the strength of their walls, they had so many of the Dutch guns (with their own) which played in the hulls and decks of our ships, that in three hours time we lost some 500 men, six captains, our cables were cut, and we were driven out by the wind, which was so directly against us that we could not use our fireships, which otherwise had infallibly done our business: so we came off, having beat the town all to pieces without losing one ship. We now lie off a little, still expecting a wind, that we may send in fireships to make an end of the rest. Mr. Montague and Thom. Windham's brother were both killed, with one shot, just by me; but God Almighty was pleased to preserve me from any kind of hurt. Madam I have been tedious, but beg your Ladyship's pardon, who am

"Your most obedient

"ROCHESTER."

"I have been as good a husband as I could, but, in spite of my teeth, have been fain to borrow money."

⁸ *Great sea fight.*] The action was fought, between Dunkirk, Ostend, and Southwold Bay, on the first and second of June 1666. The English were commanded by the Duke of Albemarle, the Dutch by De Ruyter.

⁹ *To begin his life.*] Lord Rochester was as yet unmarried. He did not obtain the hand of the lady, whom he had "run away with," until the end of 1666, or the beginning of 1667. This great heiress was Elizabeth, daughter of John Malet of Enmore in Somersetshire, by Unton, daughter of sir Francis Hawley of Buckland, in the same county, who had been created in 1646 an Irish peer, by the title of lord Hawley of Donamore. Count Anthony Ha-

with these demonstrations of his courage in an element and way of fighting, which is acknowledged to be the greatest trial of clear and undaunted valour.

He had so intirely laid down the intemperance that was growing on him before his travels, that at his return he hated nothing more. But falling into company that loved these excesses, he was, though not without difficulty, and by many steps, brought back to it again. And the natural heat of his fancy, being inflamed by wine, made him so extravagantly pleasant, that many, to be more diverted by that humour, studied to engage him deeper and deeper in intemperance; which at length did so entirely subdue him, that, as he told me, for five years together he was continually drunk: not all the while under the visible effect of it, but his blood was so inflamed, that he was not in all that time cool enough to be perfectly master of himself. This led him to say and do many wild and unaccountable things. By this, he said, he had broke the firm constitution of his health, that seemed so strong, that nothing was too hard for it; and he had suffered so much in his reputation, that he almost despaired to recover it. There were two principles in his natural temper, that being heightened by that heat, carried him to great excesses: a violent love of pleasure, and a disposition to extravagant mirth. The one involved him in great sensuality: the other led him to many odd adventures and frolics, in which he was oft in hazard of his life: the one being the same irregular appetite in his mind, that the other was in his body, which made him think nothing diverting that was not extravagant. And though in cold blood he was a generous and good-natured man, yet he would go far in his heats, after any thing that might turn to a jest or matter of diversion. He said to me he never improved his interest at court, to do a premeditate mischief to other persons. Yet he laid out his wit very freely in libels and satires, in which he had a peculiar talent of mixing his wit with his malice, and fitting both with such apt words, that men were tempted to be pleased with them. From thence his composures came to be easily known; for few had such a way of tempering these together as he had; so that when any thing extraordinary that way came out, as a child is

milton calls her "*une triste héritière*," words which, flowing from his pen, may be considered praise, as signifying that she took no part in the profligate gaieties of Charles's court. A portrait, purporting to be that of Lady Rochester, has been engraved under the title given to her by Hamilton, but it is known to be not genuine.

fathered sometimes by its resemblance, so was it laid at his door as its parent and author.

These exercises in the course of his life were not always equally pleasant to him. He had often sad intervals and severe reflections on them: and though then he had not these awakened in him from any deep principle of religion, yet the horror that nature raised in him, especially in some sicknesses¹, made him too easy to receive some ill principles, which others endeavoured to possess him with; so that he was too soon brought to set himself to secure, and fortify his mind against that, by dispossessing it all he could of the belief or apprehensions of religion. The licentiousness of his temper, with the briskness of his wit, disposed him to love the conversation of those who divided their time between lewd actions and irregular mirth; and so he came to bend his wit, and direct his studies and endeavours, to support and strengthen these ill principles both in himself and others².

¹ *In some sicknesses.*] It was in one of these, that he thus concludes a letter to one of his nearest friends, the hon. Henry Savile, eldest son of the first lord Halifax. The autograph is in the British Museum.

"But it is a *miraculous thing* (as *the wise* have it) when a man, half in the grave, cannot leave off playing the fool and the buffoon. But so it falls out to my comfort. For at this moment I am in a damned relapse, brought by a fever, the stone, and some ten diseases more, which have deprived me of the power of crawling, which I happily enjoyed some days ago: and now, I fear, I must fall: that it may be fulfilled which was long since written for instruction, in a good old ballad:

‘But he who lives not wise and sober,
Falls with the leaf still in October.’

About which time, in all probability, there may be a period added to the ridiculous being of your humble servant,

“ROCHESTER.”

Familiar letters written by the Right Hon. John, late earl of Rochester and several other persons of honour, A. D. 1697. p. 13.—Unhappy man! Let the reader be consoled and instructed in contrasting with the above an extract from the letter of another individual, written in destitution and imprisonment, to one of his nearest friends,—“I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight: I have finished my course; I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.” (2 Tim. iv. 6, &c.)

² *In himself and others.*] “As he” (Dr. Assheton) “had his convincing little books ready upon all occasions, so he told me, particularly, where he fell in accidentally with daring heretics, atheists, &c., he gave them undeniable confutations, though their bold assertions might strike his modesty dumb, as their hellish blasphemies make good men tremblingly silent: like the late

An accident fell out after this, which confirmed him more in these courses. When he went to sea in 1665, there happened to be in the same ship with him Mr. Montague³ and another gentleman⁴ of quality. These two, the former especially, seemed persuaded that they should never return into England. Mr. Montague said, "he was sure of it:" the other was not so positive. The earl of Rochester, and the last of these, entered into a formal engagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that if either of them died, he should appear, and give the other notice of the future state if there was any. But Mr. Montague would not enter into the bond. When the day came that they thought to have taken the Dutch fleet in the port of Bergen, Mr. Montague, though he had such a strong presage in his mind of his approaching death, yet he generously staid all the while in the place of greatest danger. The other gentleman signalized his courage in a most undaunted manner, till near the end of the action; when he fell on a sudden into such a trembling that he

pious and learned bishop Stillingfleet, his friend, of whom he told me this passage very remarkable:

"That he once met the mad earl of Rochester; who had afterwards wonderful grace and time for repentance, a miracle not to be expected by all wilful presumptuous sinners: he met him at the doctor's patron's table, sir Walter St. John's, [*maternal uncle to lord Rochester*], whom he ever honoured. There did the vicious, witty earl, so boldly assault that great divine, as to confound and silence him with atheistical rant, and made him withdraw sorrowful and weeping.—So timorous and compassionate are modest, humble Christians; as so, happily, was that earl humbled himself at last."—*The Christian indeed; or, the exemplary Life of Wm. Assheton, D.D. Rector of Beckenham, Kent*, by Thomas Watts, A.M. p. 180. 8vo.

³ *Mr. Montague*.] Edward, eldest son of Edward lord Montague of Boughton, and brother of Ralph first duke of Montague. He had been master of the horse to Katharine of Braganza, queen of Charles II., but was dismissed in May 1664. He took the command of a ship under his cousin the earl of Sandwich, and, as Denham says,

"by court disaster,

Dwindled into the wooden horse's master."

⁴ *Another gentleman*.] "Thom. Windham's brother," (see lord Rochester's letter, p. 612, n.) Which brother this was is uncertain. John, eldest son of sir John Wyndham of Orchard in Somersetshire, of Silferton in Devonshire, and of Felbrigge in Norfolk, married Catharine, daughter of Robert Hopton, of Witham in Somersetshire, and sister and co-heir of Ralph lord Hopton, the royalist general. He died in 1649, and was father of sir Wm. Wyndham, bart., of Thomas Wyndham of Witham, and of *three other sons* that died unmarried. One of his daughters, Florence, was wife of sir John Malet, knt., a relation of lord Rochester's wife.

could scarce stand: and Mr. Montague going to him to hold him up, as they were in each other's arms, a cannon-ball killed him outright, and carried away Mr. Montague's belly, so that he died within an hour after. The earl of Rochester told me that these presages they had in their minds made some impression on him that there were separated beings: and that the soul, either by a natural sagacity, or some secret notice communicated to it, had a sort of divination: but that gentleman's never appearing was a great snare to him, during the rest of his life. Though when he told me this, he could not but acknowledge, it was an unreasonable thing for him, to think that beings in another state were not under such laws and limits, that they could not command their own motions, but as the supreme power should order them: and that one who had so corrupted the natural principles of truth as he had, had no reason to expect that such an extraordinary thing should be done for his conviction.

He told me of another odd presage that one had of his approaching death in the lady Warre⁵, his mother-in-law's house. The chaplain had dreamt that such a day he should die; but being by all the family put out of the belief of it, he had almost forgot it: till the evening before, at supper, there being thirteen at table⁶, according to a fond conceit that one of these must soon die, one of the young ladies pointed to him, that he was to die. He, remembering his dream, fell into some disorder: and the lady Warre reproving him for his superstition, he said, "he was confident he was to die before morning;" but he being in perfect health, it was not much minded. It was Saturday night, and he was to preach next day. He went to his chamber and sat up late, as appeared by the candle, and he had been preparing his notes for his sermon; but was found dead in his bed the next morning.

These things, he said, made him inclined to believe, the soul was a substance distinct from matter: and this often returned into his thoughts. But that which perfected his persuasion about it, was, that in the sickness which brought him so near death, before I first knew him, when his spirits were so low and spent, that he could not move nor stir, and he did not think to live an

⁵ *The lady Warre, his mother-in-law.*] After the death of her first husband (John Malet), lady Rochester's mother married sir Francis Warre, knt., of Hestercombe, M.P. for Somersetshire, who died in 1669.

⁶ *Thirteen at table.*] A superstitious feeling, still very common. It took its origin from the number present at the Last Supper of Our Lord.

hour ; he said, his reason and judgment were so clear and strong⁷, that, from thence, he was fully persuaded, that death was not the spending or dissolution of the soul ; but only the separation of it from matter. He had in that sickness great remorse for his past life, but he afterwards told me, they were rather general and dark horrors, than any convictions of sinning against God. He was sorry he had lived so as to waste his strength so soon ; or that he had brought such an ill name upon himself ; and had an agony in his mind about it, which he knew not well how to express : but at such times, though he complied with his friends in suffering divines to be sent for, he said, he had no great mind to it : and that it was but a piece of his breeding, to desire them to pray by him, in which he joined little himself.

As to the Supreme Being, he had always some impression of one : and professed often to me, that he had never known an entire atheist, who fully believed there was no God. Yet when he explained his notion of this Being, it amounted to no more than a vast power, that had none of the attributes of goodness or justice, we ascribe to the Deity. These were his thoughts about *religion*, as himself told me.

For *morality*, he freely owned to me, that though he talked of it, as a fine thing, yet this was only because he thought it a decent way of speaking ; and that as they went always in cloaths, though in their frolics they would have chosen sometimes to have gone naked, if they had not feared the people ; so though some of them found it necessary for human life to talk of morality, yet he confessed they cared not for it, further than the reputation of it was necessary for their credit, and affairs ; of which he gave me many instances ; as their professing and swearing friendship, where they hated mortally ; their oaths and imprecations in their addresses to women, which they intended never to make good ; the pleasure they took in defaming innocent

⁷ *Clear and strong.*] “There are instances of mortal diseases, in which persons, the moment before death, appear to be in the highest vigour of life. They discover apprehension, memory, reason,—all entire; with the utmost force of affection; sense of a character, of shame, and honour; and the highest mental enjoyments and sufferings even to the last gasp: and these surely prove even greater vigour of life, than *bodily strength* does. Now, what pretence is there for thinking, that a progressive disease, when arrived to such a degree, I mean that degree which is mortal, will *destroy* those powers, which were not *impaired*, which were not *affected* by it, during its whole progress quite up to that degree?”—Butler’s *Analogy*, part i. chap. i.

persons ; and spreading false reports of some, perhaps in revenge, because they could not engage them to comply with their ill designs. The delight they had in making people quarrel ; their unjust usage of their creditors, and putting them off by any deceitful promise they could invent, that might deliver them from present importunity. So that in detestation of these courses he would often break forth into such hard expressions concerning himself, as would be indecent for another to repeat.

Such had been his principles and practices in a course of many years, which had almost quite extinguished the natural propensities in him to justice and virtue. He would often go into the country, and be for some months wholly employed in study, or the sallies of his wit ; which he came to direct chiefly to satire. And this he often defended to me ; by saying there were some people that could not be kept in order, or admonished but in this way. I replied, that it might be granted that a grave way of satire was sometimes no unprofitable way of reproof. Yet they who used it only out of spite, and mixed lies with truth, sparing nothing that might adorn their poems, or gratify their revenge, could not excuse that way of reproach, by which the innocent often suffer : since the most malicious things, if wittily expressed, might stick to and blemish the best men in the world ; and the malice of a libel could hardly consist with the charity of an admonition. To this he answered, a man could not write with life, unless he were heated by revenge : for to make a satire without resentments, upon the cold notions of philosophy, was as if a man would in cold blood, cut men's throats who had never offended him : and he said, the lies in these libels came often in as ornaments that could not be spared without spoiling the beauty of the poem.

For his other studies, they were divided between the comical and witty writings of the ancients and moderns, the Roman authors, and books of physic, which the ill state of health he was fallen into, made more necessary to himself, and which qualified him for an odd adventure, which I shall but just mention. Being under an unlucky accident, which obliged him to keep out of the way, he disguised himself, so that his nearest friends could not have known him, and set up in Tower-street for an Italian mountebank, where he practised physic for some weeks not without success. In his latter years, he read books of history more. He took pleasure to disguise himself, as a *porter*, or as a *beggar* ;

sometimes to follow some mean amours, which, for the variety of them, he affected: at other times, merely for diversion, he would go about in odd shapes, in which he acted his part so naturally, that even those who were in the secret, and saw him in these shapes, could perceive nothing by which he might be discovered.

I have now made the description of his former life, and principles, as fully as I thought necessary, to answer my end in writing; and yet with those reserves, that I hope I have given no just cause of offence to any. I have said nothing but what I had from his own mouth, and have avoided the mentioning of the more particular passages of his life, of which he told me not a few: but since others were concerned in them, whose good only I design, I will say nothing that may either provoke or blemish them. It is their reformation, and not their disgrace, I desire. This tender consideration of others has made me suppress many remarkable and useful things, he told me: but, finding that, though I should name none, yet I must at least relate such circumstances, as would give too great occasion for the reader to conjecture concerning the persons intended, right or wrong, either of which were inconvenient enough, I have chosen to pass them quite over. But I hope those that know how much they were engaged with him in his ill courses, will be somewhat touched with this tenderness I express towards them; and be thereby the rather induced to reflect on their ways, and to consider without prejudice or passion what sense this noble lord had of *their* case, when he came at last seriously to reflect upon *his own*.

I now turn to those parts of this narrative, wherein I myself bore some share, and which I am to deliver upon the observations I made, after a long and free conversation with him for some months. I was not long in his company, when he told me, he should treat me with more freedom than he had ever used to men of my profession. He would conceal none of his principles from me, but lay his thoughts open without any disguise; nor would he do it to maintain debate, or shew his wit, but plainly tell me what stuck with him; and he protested to me, that he was not so engaged to his old maxims, as to resolve not to change, but that if he could be convinced, he would choose rather to be of another mind. He said, he would impartially weigh what I should lay before him, and tell me freely when it did convince, and when it did not. He expressed this disposition

of mind to me in a manner so frank, that I could not but believe him, and be much taken with his way of discourse: so we entered into almost all the parts of natural and revealed religion, and of morality. He seemed pleased, and in a great measure satisfied, with what I said upon many of these heads: and though our freest conversation was when we were alone, yet upon several occasions, other persons were witnesses to it. I understood from many hands that my company was not distasteful to him, and that the subjects about which we talked most were not unacceptable: and he expressed himself often not ill pleased with many things I said to him, and particularly when I visited him in his last sickness, so that I hope it may not be altogether unprofitable to publish the substance of those matters about which we argued so freely, with our reasoning upon them: and perhaps what had some effects on him, may be not altogether ineffectual upon others. I followed him with such arguments as I saw were most likely to prevail with him: and my not urging other reasons, proceeded not from any distrust I had of their force, but from the necessity of using those that were most proper for him. He was then in a low state of health, and seemed to be slowly recovering of a great disease. He was in the milk-diet^a, and apt to fall into hectic fits^a; any accident weakened him; so that he thought he could not live long; and when he went from London, he said, he believed he should never come to town more. Yet during his being in town he was so well, that he went often abroad, and had great vivacity of spirit. So that he was under no such decay, as either darkened or weakened his understanding; nor was he any way troubled with the spleen, or vapours, or under the power of melancholy. What he was then, compared to what he had been formerly, I could not so well judge, who had seen him but twice before. Others have told me they perceived no difference in his parts. This I mention more particularly, that it may not be thought that melancholy, or the want of spirits, made him more inclined to receive any impressions: for indeed I never discovered any such thing in him.

Having thus opened the way to the heads of our discourse, I shall next mention them. The *three* chief things we talked about, were *morality, natural religion, and revealed religion, Christianity* in particular.

^a *Milk diet . . . hectic fits.*] See the second letter of the dowager lady Rochester, p. 668, *post*.

For *morality* he confessed, he saw the necessity of it, both for the government of the world, and for the preservation of health, life and friendship: and was very much ashamed of his former practices, rather because he had made himself a beast, and brought pain and sickness on his body, and had suffered much in his reputation, than from any deep sense of a Supreme Being, or another state: but so far this went with him, that he resolved firmly to change the course of his life; which he thought he should effect by the study of *philosophy*, and had not a few no less solid than pleasant notions concerning the folly and madness of vice: but he confessed he had no remorse for his past actions, as offences against God, but only as injuries to himself and to mankind.

Upon this subject, I shewed him the defects of *philosophy*, for reforming the world: that it was a matter of speculation, which but few either had the leisure, or the capacity to enquire into. But the principle that must reform mankind, must be obvious to every man's understanding. That philosophy in matters of morality, beyond the great lines of our duty, had no very certain fixed rule, but in the lesser offices and instances of our duty went much by the fancies of men and customs of nations, and consequently could not have authority enough to bear down the propensities of nature, appetite or passion: for which I instanced in these two points; the *one* was, about that maxim of the Stoics, to extirpate all sort of passion and concern for any thing. That, take it by one hand, seemed desirable, because if it could be accomplished, it would make all the accidents of life easy; but I think it cannot, because nature after all our striving against it, will still return to itself; yet, on the other hand, it dissolved the bond of nature and friendship, and slackened industry, which will move but dully, without an inward heat: and if it delivered a man from many troubles, it deprived him of the chief pleasures of life, which rise from friendship.—The *other* was, concerning the restraint of pleasure, how far that was to go. Upon this he told me the two maxims of his morality then were, that he should do nothing to the hurt of any other, or that might prejudice his own health: and he thought that all pleasure, when it did not interfere with these, was to be indulged, as the gratification of our natural appetites. It seemed unreasonable to imagine these were put into a man only to be restrained, or curbed to such a narrowness. This he applied to the free use of wine and women.

To this I answered, that if appetites being natural, was an argument for the indulging them, then the revengeful might as well allege it for murder, and the covetous for stealing; whose appetites are no less keen on those objects; and yet it is acknowledged that these appetites ought to be curbed. If the difference is urged from the injury that another person receives, the injury is as great, if a man's wife is defiled, or his daughter corrupted: and it is impossible for a man to let his appetites loose to vagrant lusts, and not to transgress in these particulars: so there was no curing the disorders, that must arise from thence, but by regulating these appetites. And why should we not as well think that God intended our brutish and sensual appetites should be governed by our reason, as that the fierceness of beasts should be managed and tamed¹, by the wisdom, and for the use of man? so that it is no real absurdity to grant that appetites were put into men, on purpose to exercise their reason in the restraint and government of them: which to be able to do, ministers a higher and more lasting pleasure to a man, than to give them their full scope and range. And if other rules of philosophy be observed, such as the avoiding those objects that stir passion, nothing raises higher passions than ungoverned lust; nothing darkens the understanding, and depresses a man's mind more; nor is any thing managed with more frequent returns of other immoralities, such as oaths and imprecations, which are only intended to compass what is desired. The expence that is necessary to maintain these irregularities makes a man false in his other dealings.

All this he freely confessed was true.

Upon which I urged, that if it was reasonable for a man to regulate his appetite in things which he knew were hurtful to him; was it not as reasonable for God to prescribe a regulating of those appetites, whose unrestrained course did produce such mischievous effects! That it could not be denied, but *doing to others what we would have others do unto us*, was a just rule. Those men then that knew how extreme sensible they themselves would be of the dishonour of their families in the case of their wives or daughters, must needs condemn themselves, for doing that which they could not bear from another. And if the peace of mankind, and the entire satisfaction of our whole life, ought to be one of the chief measures of our actions, then let all the world judge, whether a man that confines his appetite, and lives con-

¹ *And tamed.*] James iii. 7.

tented at home, is not much happier, than those that let their desires run after forbidden objects. The thing being granted to be better in itself, then the question falls between the restraint of appetite in some instances, and the freedom of a man's thoughts, the soundness of his health, his application to affairs, with the easiness of his whole life, whether the one is not to be done before the other? As to the difficulty of such a restraint, though it is not easy to be done when a man allows himself many liberties, in which it is not possible to stop; yet those who avoid the occasions that may kindle these impure flames, and keep themselves well employed, find the victory and dominion over them no such impossible, or hard matter, as may seem at first view. So that though the philosophy and morality of this point were plain; yet there is not strength enough in that principle to subdue nature, and appetite. Upon this I urged, that morality could not be a strong thing, unless a man were determined by a law within himself; for if he only measured himself by decency, or the laws of the land, this would teach him only to use such caution in his ill practices, that they should not break out too visibly; but would never carry him to an inward and universal probity: that virtue was of so complicated a nature, that unless a man came entirely within its discipline, he could not adhere stedfastly to any one precept: for vices are often made necessary supports to one another. That this cannot be done, either steadily, or with any satisfaction, unless the mind does inwardly comply with, and delight in the dictates of virtue; and that could not be effected, except a man's nature were internally regenerated, and changed by a higher principle: till that came about corrupt nature would be strong, and philosophy but feeble: especially when it struggled with such appetites or passions as were much kindled, or deeply rooted in the constitution of one's body. This, he said, sounded to him like enthusiasm, or canting: he had no notion of it, and so could not understand it. He comprehended the dictates of reason and philosophy, in which as the mind became much conversant, there would soon follow, as he believed, a greater easiness in obeying its precepts. I told him on the other hand, that all his speculations of philosophy would not serve him in any stead, to the reforming of his nature and life, till he applied himself to God for inward assistances. It was certain, that the impressions made in his reason governed him, as they were lively presented to him; but these are so apt to slip

out of our memory, and we so apt to turn our thoughts from them, and at some times the contrary impressions are so strong, that let a man set up a reasoning in his mind against them, he finds that celebrated saying of the poet²:

—————Video meliora, proboque:
Deteriora sequor.

—————I see what is better, and approve it;
But follow what is worse,

to be all that philosophy will amount to. Whereas those who upon such occasions apply themselves to God, by earnest prayer, feel a disengagement from such impressions, and themselves endued with a power to resist them. So that those bonds which formerly held them, fall off.

This he said must be the effect of a heat in nature: it was only the strong diversion of the thoughts, that gave the seeming victory, and he did not doubt but if one could turn to a problem in Euclid, or to write a copy of verses, it would have the same effect.

To this I answered, that if such methods did only divert the thoughts, there might be some force in what he said: but if they not only drove out such inclinations, but begat impressions contrary to them, and brought men into a new disposition and habit of mind; then he must confess there was somewhat more than a diversion, in these changes, which were brought on our minds by true devotion. I added, that reason and experience were the things that determined our persuasions: that as experience without reason may be thought the delusion of our fancy, so reason without experience had not so convincing an operation: but these two meeting together, must needs give a man all the satisfaction he can desire. He could not say, it was unreasonable to believe that the Supreme Being *might* make some thoughts stir in our minds with more or less force, as He pleased: especially the force of these motions being, for the most part according to the impression that was made on our brains: which, that power, that directed the whole frame of nature, could make grow deeper as it pleased. It was also reasonable to suppose God a being of such goodness that he would give his assistance to such as desired it. For though he might upon some greater occasions in an extraordinary manner turn some people's minds; yet since he had endued man with a faculty of reason, it

² *The poet.*] Ovid. *Metamorph.* vii. 15.

is fit that men should employ that, as far as they could ; and beg his assistance : which certainly they can do. All this seemed reasonable, and at least probable. Now good men who felt upon their frequent applications to God in prayer, a freedom from those ill impressions, that formerly subdued them ; an inward love to virtue and true goodness ; an easiness and delight in all the parts of holiness, which was fed and cherished in them by a seriousness in prayer, and did languish as that went off ; had as real a perception of an inward strength in their minds, that did rise and fall with true devotion, as they perceived the strength of their bodies increased or abated, according as they had or wanted good nourishment.

After many discourses upon this subject he still continued to think all was the effect of fancy. He said, that he understood nothing of it, but acknowledged that he thought they were very happy whose fancies were under the power of such impressions ; since they had somewhat on which their thoughts rested and centered. But when I saw him in his last sickness, he then told me, he had another sense of what we had talked concerning prayer and inward assistances.

This subject led us to discourse of God, and of the notion of *religion in general*. He believed there was a Supreme Being. He could not think the world was made by chance, and the regular course of nature seemed to demonstrate the eternal power of its author. This, he said, he could never shake off ; but when he came to explain his notion of the Deity, he said, he looked on it as a vast power that wrought every thing by the necessity of its nature ; and thought that God had none of those affections of love or hatred, which breed perturbation in us, and by consequence he could not see that there was to be either reward or punishment. He thought our conceptions of God were so low, that we had better not think much of him : and to love God seemed to him a presumptuous thing, and the heat of fanciful men. Therefore he believed there should be no other religious worship, but a general celebration of that Being, in some short hymn : all the other parts of worship he esteemed the inventions of priests, to make the world believe they had a secret of incensing and appeasing God as they pleased. In a word, he was neither persuaded that there was a special providence about human affairs, nor that prayers were of much use, since that was to look on God as a weak being, that would be overcome with importunities.

And for the state after death, though he thought the soul did not dissolve at death; yet he doubted much of rewards or punishments. The one he thought too high for us to attain, by our slight services; and the other was too extreme to be inflicted for sin³. This was the substance of his speculations about God and religion.

I told him his notion of God was so low, that the Supreme Being seemed to be nothing but nature. For if that Being had no freedom, nor choice of its own actions, nor operated by wisdom or goodness, all those reasons which led him to acknowledge a God, were contrary to this conceit; for if the order of the universe persuaded him to think there was a God, he must at the same time conceive him to be both wise and good, as well as powerful, since these all appeared equally in the creation; though his wisdom and goodness had ways of exerting themselves, that were far beyond our notions or measures. If God was wise and good, he would naturally love, and be pleased with those that resembled him in these perfections, and dislike those that were opposite to him. Every rational being naturally loves itself, and is delighted in others like itself, and is averse from what is not so. Truth is a rational nature's acting in conformity to itself in all things; and goodness is an inclination to promote the happiness of other beings: so truth and goodness were the essential perfections of every reasonable being, and certainly most eminently in the Deity. Nor does his mercy or love raise passion or perturbation in him; for we feel that to be a weakness in ourselves, which indeed only flows from our want of power, or skill to do what we wish or desire. It is also reasonable to believe God would assist the endeavour of the good, with some helps suitable to their nature. And that it could not be imagined, that those who imitated him, should not be especially favoured by him: and therefore since this did not appear in this state, it was most reasonable to think it should be in another, where the rewards shall be an admission to a more perfect state of conformity to God, with the felicity that follows it; and the punishments should be a total exclusion from him, with all the horror and darkness that

³ *To be inflicted for sin.*] “King Charles II. said once to myself, he was no atheist; but he could not think God would make a man miserable, only for taking a little pleasure out of the way.”—Burnet’s *Hist. of his Own Time*, vol. i. p. 93.

must follow that. These seemed to be the natural results of such several courses of life, as well as the effects of divine justice, rewarding or punishing. For since he believed the soul had a distinct subsistence, separated from the body ; upon its dissolution there was no reason to think it passed into a state of utter oblivion of what it had been in formerly ; but that as the reflections on the good or evil it had done, must raise joy or horror in it ; so those good or evil dispositions accompanying the departed souls, they must either rise up to a higher perfection, or sink to a more depraved and miserable state. In this life, variety of affairs and objects do much cool and divert our minds ; and are, on the one hand, often great temptations to the good, and give the bad some ease in their trouble ; but in a state wherein the soul shall be separated from sensible things, and employed in a more quick and sublime way of operation, this must very much exalt the joys and improvements of the good, and as much heighten the horror and rage of the wicked. So that it seemed a vain thing to pretend to believe a Supreme Being, that is wise and good, as well as great, and not to think a discrimination will be made between the good and bad, which it is manifest, is not fully done in this life.

As for the *government* of the world, if we believe the Supreme Power made it, there is no reason to think he does not govern it : far all that we can fancy against it, is the distraction which that infinite variety of *second* causes, and the care of their concerns, must give to the *first*, if it inspects them all. But as among men those of weaker capacities are wholly taken up with some one thing, whereas those with more enlarged powers can, without distraction, have many things within their care, as the eye can at one view receive a great variety of objects, in that narrow compass, without confusion ; so if we conceive the divine understanding to be as far above ours, as his power of creating and framing the whole universe is above our limited activity : we will no more think the government of the world a distraction to him : and if we have once overcome this prejudice, we shall be ready to acknowledge a providence directing all affairs ; a care well becoming the great Creator.

As for *worshipping* him, if we imagine our worship is a thing that adds to his happiness, or gives him such a fond pleasure as weak people have to hear themselves commended ; or that our repeated addresses do overcome him through our mere importu-

nity we have certainly very unworthy thoughts of him. The true ends of worship come within another consideration, which is this ; a man is never entirely reformed, till a new principle governs his thoughts. Nothing makes that principle so strong, as deep and frequent meditations of God ; whose nature, though it be far above our comprehension, yet his goodness and wisdom are such perfections as fall within our imagination : and he that thinks often of God, and considers him as governing the world, and as ever observing all his actions, will feel a very sensible effect of such meditations, as they grow more lively and frequent with him ; so the end of religious worship, either public or private, is to make the apprehensions of God have a deeper root and a stronger influence on us. The frequent returns of these are necessary : lest if we allow of too long intervals between them, these impressions may grow feebler, and other suggestions may come in their room. And the returns of prayer are not to be considered as favours extorted by mere importunity, but as rewards conferred on men so well disposed, and prepared for them : according to the promises that God has made, for answering our prayers : thereby to engage and nourish a devout temper in us, which is the chief root of all true holiness and virtue.

It is true, we cannot have suitable notions of the divine essence ; as indeed we have no just idea of any essence whatsoever : since we commonly consider all things, either by their outward figure, or by their effects : and from thence make inferences what their nature must be. So though we cannot frame any perfect image in our minds of the divinity ; yet we may, from the discoveries God has made of himself, form such conceptions of him, as may possess our minds with great reverence for him, and beget in us such a love of those perfections as to engage us to imitate them. For when we say we love God ; the meaning is, we love that being that is holy, just, good, wise, and infinitely perfect : and loving these attributes in that object, will certainly carry us to desire them in ourselves. For whatever we love in another, we naturally, according to the degree of our love, endeavour to resemble it. In sum, the loving and worshipping God, though they are just and reasonable returns and expressions of the sense we have of his goodness to us ; yet they are exacted of us not only as a tribute to God, but as a mean to beget in us a conformity to his nature, which is the chief end of pure and undefiled religion.

If some men have at several times found out inventions to corrupt this, and cheat the world, it is nothing but what occurs in every sort of employment, to which men betake themselves. Mountebanks corrupt physic; petty-foggers have entangled the matters of property; and all professions have been vitiated by the knaveries of a number of their calling.

With all these discourses he was not equally satisfied. He seemed convinced that the impressions of God being much in men's minds, would be a powerful means to reform the world: and did not seem determined against providence. But for the next state, he thought it more likely that the soul began anew, and that her sense of what she had done in this body, lying in the figures that are made in the brain, as soon as she dislodged, all these perished, and that the soul went into some other state to begin a new course.

But I said on this head, that this was at best a conjecture, raised in him by his fancy; for he could give no reason to prove it true: nor was all the remembrance our souls had of past things seated in some material figures lodged in the brain: though it could not be denied but a great deal of it lay in the brain. That we have many abstracted notions and ideas of immaterial things, which depend not on bodily figures. Some sins, such as falsehood and ill nature, were seated in the mind, as lust and appetite were in the body: and as the whole body was the receptacle of the soul, and the eyes and ears were the organs of seeing and hearing, so was the brain the seat of memory: yet the power and faculty of memory, as well as of seeing and hearing, lay in the mind: and so it was no unconceivable thing that either the soul, by its own strength, or by the means of some subtler organs, which might be fitted for it in another state, should still remember as well as think. But indeed we know so little of the nature of our souls, that it is a vain thing for us to raise an hypothesis out of the conjectures we have about it, or to reject one, because of some difficulties that occur to us: since it is as hard to understand how we remember things now, as how we shall do it in another state; only we are sure we do it now; and so we shall be then, when we do it.

When I pressed him with the secret joys that a good man felt, particularly as he drew near death, and the horrors of ill men, especially at that time; he was willing to ascribe it to the impressions they had from their education.

But he often confessed, that whether the business of religion was true or not, he thought those who had the persuasions of it, and lived so, that they had quiet in their consciences, and believed God governed the world, and acquiesced in his providence, and had the hope of an endless blessedness in another state,—the happiest men in the world: and said, he would give all that he was master of, to be under those persuasions, and to have the supports and joys that must needs flow from them.

I told him the main root of all corruptions in men's principles was their ill life; which, as it darkened their minds, and disabled them from discerning better things; so it made it necessary for them to seek out such opinions as might give them ease from those clamours, that would otherwise have been raised within them.

He did not deny but that after the doing of some things, he felt great and severe challenges within himself: but he said, he felt not these after some others which I would perhaps call far greater sins, than those that affected him more sensibly.

This, I said, might flow from the disorders he had cast himself into, which had corrupted his judgment, and vitiated his taste of things: and by his long continuance in, and frequent repeating of some immoralities, he had made them so familiar to him, that they were become as it were natural: and then it was no wonder if he had not so exact a sense of what was good or evil; as a feverish man cannot judge of tastes.

He did acknowledge the whole system of religion, if believed, was a greater foundation of quiet than any other thing whatsoever: for all the quiet he had in his mind, was, that he could not think so good a being as the Deity would make him miserable.

I asked if, when by the ill course of his life he had brought so many diseases on his body, he could blame God for it; or expect that he should deliver him from them by a miracle.

He confessed there was no reason for that.

I then urged, that if sin should cast the mind by a natural effect into endless horrors and agonies, which being seated in a being not subject to death, must last for ever, unless some miraculous power interposed, could he accuse God for that which was the effect of his own choice and ill life?

He said they were happy that believed; for it was not in every man's power.

And upon this we discoursed long about *revealed religion*.

He said, he did not understand that business of inspiration. He

believed the penmen of the Scriptures had heats and honesty, and so writ ; but could not comprehend how God should reveal his secrets to mankind. Why was not man made a creature more disposed for religion, and better illuminated ? He could not apprehend how there should be any corruption in the nature of man, or a lapse derived from Adam. God's communicating his mind to one man, was the putting it in his power to cheat the world. For prophesies and miracles, the world had been always full of strange stories : for the boldness and cunning of contrivers meeting with the simplicity and credulity of the people, things were easily received ; and being once received, passed down without contradiction. The incoherences of style in the Scriptures, the odd transitions, the seeming contradictions, chiefly about the order of time, the cruelties enjoined the Israelites in destroying the Canaanites, circumcision, and many other rites of the Jewish worship, seemed to him unsuitable to the divine nature : and the first three chapters of Genesis, he thought, could not be true, unless they were parables.

This was the substance of what he excepted to *revealed religion* in general ; and to the *Old Testament* in particular.

I answered to all this, that believing a thing upon the testimony of another, in other matters where there was no reason to suspect the testimony, chiefly where it was confirmed by other circumstances, was not only a reasonable thing, but it was the hinge on which all the government and justice in the world depended ; since all courts of justice proceed upon the evidence given by witnesses ; for the use of writings is but a thing more lately brought into the world. So then if the credibility of the thing, the innocence and disinterestedness of the witnesses, the number of them, and the publicest confirmations that could possibly be given, do concur to persuade us of any matter of fact, it is a vain thing to say, because it is *possible* for so many men to agree in a lie, that therefore these *have* done it. In all other things a man gives his assent when the credibility is strong on the one side, and there appears nothing on the other side to balance it. So such numbers agreeing in their testimony to these miracles ; for instance, of our Saviour's calling Lazarus out of the grave, the fourth day after he was buried, and his own rising again, after he was certainly dead ; if there had been never so many impostures in the world, no man can with any reasonable colour pretend this was one. We find both by the Jewish and

Roman writers that lived in that time, that our Saviour was crucified: and that all his disciples and followers believed certainly that he rose again. They believed this upon the testimony of the apostles, and of many hundreds who saw it, and died confirming it. They went about to persuade the world of it, with great zeal, though they knew they were to get nothing by it, but reproach and sufferings: and, by many wonders which they wrought, they confirmed their testimony. Now to avoid all this, by saying it is *possible* this might be a contrivance, and to give no presumption to make it so much as probable, that it was so, is in plain English to say, *we are resolved, let the evidence be what it will, we will not believe it.*

He said, if a man says he cannot believe, what help is there? for he was not master of his own belief, and believing was at highest but a probable opinion.

To this I answered that if a man will let a wanton conceit possess his fancy against these things, and never consider the evidence for religion on the other hand, but reject it upon a slight view of it, he ought not to say he *cannot*, but he *will not* believe: and while a man lives an ill course of life, he is not fitly qualified to examine the matter aright. Let him grow calm and virtuous, and upon due application examine things fairly, and then let him pronounce according to his conscience, if, to take it at its lowest, the reasons on the one hand are not much stronger than they are on the other. For I found he was so possessed with the general conceit, that a mixture of knaves and fools had made all extraordinary things be easily believed, that it carried him away to determine the matter, without so much as looking on the historical evidence for the truth of Christianity, which he had not inquired into, but had bent all his wit and study to the support of the other side. As for that, that believing is at best but an opinion; if the evidence be but probable, it is so: but if it be such that it cannot be questioned, it grows as certain as knowledge: for we are no less certain that there is a great town called Constantinople, the seat of the Ottoman empire, than that there is another called London. We as little doubt that queen Elizabeth once reigned, as that king Charles now reigns in England. So that believing may be as certain, and as little subject to doubting, as seeing or knowing.

There are two sorts of believing divine matters; the one is wrought in us by our comparing all the evidences of matter of

fact, for the confirmation of revealed religion, with the prophecies in the scripture; where things were punctually predicted, some ages before their completion; not in dark and doubtful words, uttered like oracles, which might bend to any event, but in plain terms; as the foretelling that Cyrus by name should send the Jews back from the captivity, after the fixed period of seventy years; the history of the Syrian and Egyptian kings so punctually foretold by Daniel; and the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, with many circumstances relating to it, made by our Saviour; joining these to the excellent rule and design of the scripture in matters of morality, it is at least as reasonable to believe this as any thing else in the world. Yet such a believing as this, is only a general persuasion in the mind, which has not that effect, till a man, applying himself to the directions set down in the Scriptures (which upon such evidence cannot be denied, to be as reasonable, as for a man to follow the prescriptions of a learned physician, and when the rules are both good and easy, to submit to them for the recovering of his health), and by following these, finds a power entering within him, that frees him from the slavery of his appetites and passions, that exalts his mind above the accidents of life, and spreads an inward purity in his heart, from which a serene and calm joy arises within him: and good men by the efficacy these methods have upon them, and from the returns of their prayers, and other endeavours, grow assured that these things are true, and answerable to the promises they find registered in Scripture.

All this, he said, might be fancy.

But to this I answered, that as it were unreasonable to tell a man that is abroad, and knows he is awake, that perhaps he is in a dream, and in his bed, and only thinks he is abroad, or that as some go about in their sleep, so he may be asleep still: so good and religious men know, though others may be abused by their fancies, that they are under no such deception; and find they are neither hot nor enthusiastical, but under the power of calm and clear principles.

All this he said he did not understand, and that it was to assert or beg the thing in question, which he could not comprehend.

As for the *possibility* of revelation, it was a vain thing to deny it. For as God gives us the sense of seeing material objects by our eyes, and opened in some a capacity of apprehending high and sublime things, of which other men seemed utterly incapable; so

it was a weak assertion that God cannot awaken a power in some men's minds, to apprehend and know some things, in such a manner that others are not capable of it. This is not half so incredible to us as sight is to a blind man, who yet may be convinced there is a strange power of seeing that governs men, of which he finds himself deprived. As for the capacity put into such men's hands to deceive the world, we are at the same time to consider that besides the probity of their tempers, it cannot be thought but God can so forcibly bind up a man in some things that it should not be in his power to deliver them otherwise than as he gives him in commission: besides the confirmations of miracles are a divine credential to warrant such persons in what they deliver to the world: which cannot be imagined can be joined to a lie, since this were to put the omnipotence of God to attest that which no honest man will do.

For the business of the fall of man, and other things of which we cannot perhaps give ourselves a perfect account; we who cannot fathom the secrets of the counsel of God, do very unreasonably take on us to reject an excellent system of good and holy rules, because we cannot satisfy ourselves about some difficulties in them. Common experience tells us, there is a great disorder in our natures, which is not easily rectified: all philosophers were sensible of it, and every man that designs to govern himself by reason, feels the struggle between it and nature: so that it is plain, there is a lapse of the high powers of the soul.

But why, said he, could not this be rectified by some plain rules given; but men must come and shew a trick to persuade the world they speak to them in the name of God?

I answered, that religion being a design to recover and save mankind, was to be so opened as to awaken and work upon all sorts of people: and generally men of a simplicity of mind were those that were the fittest objects for God to shew his favour to; therefore it was necessary that messengers sent from heaven should appear with such alarming evidences, as might awaken the world, and prepare them by some astonishing signs, to listen to the doctrine they were to deliver. Philosophy, that was only a matter of fine speculation, had few votaries: and as there was no authority in it to bind the world to believe its dictates, so they were only received by some of nobler and refined natures, who could apply themselves to and delight in such notions. But true

religion was to be built on a foundation, that should carry more weight on it, and to have such convictions, as might not only reach those who were already disposed to receive them, but rouse up such as without great and sensible excitation would have otherwise slept on in their ill courses.

Upon this and some such occasions, I told him, I saw the ill use he made of his wit, by which he slurred the gravest things with a slight dash of his fancy : and the pleasure he found in such wanton expressions, as calling the doing of miracles, *the shewing of a trick*, did really keep him from examining them with that care which such things required.

For the *Old Testament*, we are so remote from that time, we have so little knowledge of the language in which it was writ, have so imperfect an account of the history of those ages, know nothing of their customs, forms of speech, and the several periods they might have by which they reckoned their time, that it is rather a wonder we should understand so much of it, than that many passages in it should be so dark to us. The chief use it has to us Christians, is, that, from writings which the Jews acknowledge to be divinely inspired, it is manifest the Messiah was promised before the destruction of their temple : which being done long ago ; and these prophecies agreeing to our Saviour, and to no other, here is a great confirmation given to the Gospel. But, though many things in these books could not be understood by us, who live above three thousand years after the chief of them were written, it is no such extraordinary matter.

For that of the destruction of the Canaanites by the Israelites, it is to be considered, that if God had sent a plague among them all, that could not have been found fault with. If then God had a right to take away their lives, without injustice or cruelty, he had a right to appoint others to do it, as well as to execute it by a more immediate way : and the taking away people by the sword, is a much gentler way of dying, than to be smitten with a plague or a famine. And for the children that were innocent of their fathers' faults, God could in another state make that up to them. So all the difficulty is, why were the Israelites commanded to execute a thing of such barbarity ? But this will not seem so hard, if we consider that this was to be no precedent for future times : since they did not do it but upon special warrant and commission from heaven, evidenced to all the world by such mighty miracles as did plainly shew, that they were particularly

designed by God to be the executioners of his justice. And God by employing them in so severe a service, intended to possess them with great horror of idolatry, which was punished in so extreme a manner.

For the rites of their religion, we can ill judge of them, except we perfectly understood the idolatries round about them; to which we find they were much inclined: so they were to be bent by other rites to an extreme aversion from them: and yet by the pomp of many of their ceremonies and sacrifices, great indulgences were given to a people naturally fond of a visible splendor in religious worship. In all which, if we cannot descend to such satisfactory answers in every particular, as a curious man would desire, it is no wonder. The long interval of time, and other accidents, have worn out those things which were necessary to give us a clearer light into the meaning of them. And for the story of the *creation*, how far some things in it may be parabolical, and how far historical, has been much disputed: there is nothing in it that *may not* be historically true. For if it be acknowledged that spirits can form voices in the air, for which we have as good authority as for any thing in history; then it is no wonder that Eve being so lately created, might be deceived, and think a serpent spake to her when the evil spirit framed the voice.

But in all these things I told him he was in the wrong way, when he examined the business of religion, by some dark parts of Scripture: therefore I desired him to consider the whole contexture of the Christian religion, the rules it gives, and the methods it prescribes. Nothing can conduce more to the peace, order and happiness of the world, than to be governed by its rules. Nothing is more for the interest of every man in particular. The rules of sobriety, temperance, and moderation, were the best preservers of life, and which was perhaps more, of health. Humility, contempt of the vanities of the world, and the being well employed, raises a man's mind to a freedom from the follies and temptations that haunted the greatest part. Nothing was so generous and great as to supply the necessities of the poor, and to forgive injuries. Nothing raised and maintained a man's reputation so much, as to be exactly just, and merciful, kind, charitable, and compassionate. Nothing opened the powers of a man's soul so much as a calm temper, a serene mind, free of passion and disorder. Nothing made societies, families, and

neighbourhoods so happy, as when these rules which the gospel prescribes, took place, *of doing as we would have others do to us, and loving our neighbours as ourselves.*

The *Christian worship* was also plain and simple; suitable to so pure a doctrine. The ceremonies of it were few and significant; as the admission to it by a washing with water, and the memorial of our Saviour's death in bread and wine. The motives in it to persuade to this purity, were strong. That God sees us, and will judge us for all our actions; that we shall be for ever happy or miserable, as we pass our lives here. The example of our Saviour's life, and the great expressions of his love in dying for us, are mighty engagements to obey and imitate him. The plain way of expression used by our Saviour and his apostles, shews there was no artifice, where there was so much simplicity used: there were no secrets kept only among the priests, but every thing was open to all Christians. The rewards of holiness are not entirely put over to another state, but good men are specially blest with peace in their consciences, great joy in the confidence they have of the love of God, and of seeing him for ever; and often a signal course of blessings follows them in their whole lives. But if at other times calamities fell on them, these were so much mitigated by the patience they were taught, and the inward assistances with which they were furnished, that even those crosses were converted to blessings.

I desired he would lay all these things together, and see what he could except to them, to make him think this was a contrivance. Interest appears in all *human* contrivances. Our Saviour plainly had none. He avoided applause; withdrew himself from the offers of a crown: he submitted to poverty and reproach, and much contradiction in his life, and to a most ignominious and painful death. His apostles had none neither: they did not pretend either to power or wealth; but delivered a doctrine that must needs condemn them, if they ever made such use of it. They declared their commission fully, without reserves till other times: they recorded their own weakness: some of them wrought with their own hands; and when they received the charities of their converts, it was not so much to supply their own necessities, as to distribute to others. They knew they were to suffer much for giving their testimonies to what they had seen and heard: in which, so many, in a thing so visible as Christ's resurrection and ascension, and the effusion of the Holy Ghost,

which he had promised, could not be deceived: and they gave such public confirmations of it, by the wonders they themselves wrought, that great multitudes were converted to a doctrine, which, besides the opposition it gave to lust and passion, was borne down and persecuted for three hundred years: and yet its force was such, that it not only weathered out all those storms, but even grew and spread vastly under them. Pliny, about threescore years after, found their numbers great and their lives innocent: and even Lucian, amidst all his raillery, gives a high testimony to their charity and contempt of life, and the other virtues of the Christians; which is likewise more than once done by malice itself, Julian the apostate.

If a man will lay all this in one balance, and compare with it the few exceptions brought to it, he will soon find how strong the one, and how slight the other are. Therefore it was an improper way, to begin at some cavils about some passages in the *New Testament*, or the *Old*, and from thence to prepossess one's mind against the whole. The right method had been first to consider the whole matter, and from so general a view to descend to more particular enquiries: whereas they suffered their minds to be forestalled with prejudices, so that they never examined the matter impartially.

To the greatest part of this he seemed to assent; only he excepted to the belief of *mysteries* in the Christian religion, which he thought no man could do, since it is not in a man's power to believe that which he cannot comprehend; and of which he can have no notion. The believing mysteries, he said, made way for all the jugglings of priests; for they, getting the people under them in that point, set out to them what they pleased; and giving it a hard name, and calling it a mystery, the people were tamed, and easily believed it. The restraining a man from the use of women, except one in the way of marriage, and denying the remedy of divorce, he thought unreasonable impositions on the freedom of mankind: and the business of the clergy, and their maintenance, with the belief of some authority and power conveyed in their orders, looked, as he thought, like a piece of contrivance. "And why," said he, "must a man tell me, I cannot be saved, unless I believe things against my reason, and then that I must pay him for telling me of them?"

These were all the exceptions which at any time I heard from him to Christianity. To which I made these answers.

For *mysteries*, it is plain there is in every thing somewhat that is unaccountable. How animals or men are formed in their mothers' bellies; how seeds grow in the earth; how the soul dwells in the body, and acts and moves it; how we retain the figures of so many words or things in our memories, and how we draw them out so easily and orderly in our thoughts or discourses; how sight and hearing were so quick and distinct; how we move, and how bodies were compounded and united; these things, if we follow them into all the difficulties that we may raise about them, will appear every whit as unaccountable as any mystery of religion: and a blind or deaf man would judge sight or hearing as incredible as any mystery may be judged by us: for our reason is not equal to them. In the same rank, different degrees of age or capacity raise some far above others: so that children cannot fathom the learning, nor weak persons the counsels of more illuminated minds: therefore it was no wonder if we could not understand the divine essence. We cannot imagine how two such different natures as a soul and a body should so unite together, and be mutually affected with one another's concerns; and how the soul has one principle of reason, by which it acts intellectually, and another of life, by which it joins to the body and acts vitally; two principles so widely differing both in their nature and operation, and yet united in one and the same person. There might be as many hard arguments brought against the possibility of these things, which yet every one knows to be true, from speculative notions, as against the mysteries mentioned in the Scriptures.

As that of the Trinity; that in one essence there are three different principles of operation, which, for want of terms fit to express them by, we call *persons*, and are called in Scripture *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*; and that the second of these did unite himself in a most intimate manner with the human nature of Jesus Christ; and that the sufferings he underwent, were accepted of God as a sacrifice for our sins, who thereupon conferred on him a power of granting eternal life to all that submit to the terms on which he offers it; and that the matter of which our bodies once consisted, which may be as justly called the bodies we laid down at our deaths, as these can be said to be the bodies which we formerly lived in, being refined and made more spiritual, shall be reunited to our souls, and become a fit instrument for them in a more perfect estate: and that God

inwardly bends and moves our wills, by such impressions, as he can make on our bodies and minds: these, which are the chief mysteries of our religion, are neither so unreasonable, that any other objection lies against them, but this, that they agree not with our common notions, nor so unaccountable that somewhat like them cannot be assigned in other things, which are believed really to be, although the manner of them cannot be apprehended: so this ought not to be any just objection to the submission of our reason to what we cannot so well conceive, provided our belief of it be well grounded. There have been too many niceties brought indeed, rather to darken than explain these: they have been defended by weak arguments, and illustrated by similies not always so very apt and pertinent: and new subtilties have been added, which have rather perplexed than cleared them. All this cannot be denied; the opposition of *heretics* anciently, occasioned too much curiosity among the *Fathers*; which the *school-men* have wonderfully advanced of late times: but if mysteries were received, rather in the simplicity in which they are delivered in the Scriptures, than according to the descantings of fanciful men upon them, they would not appear much more incredible, than some of the common objects of sense and perception. And it is a needless fear, that if some mysteries are acknowledged, which are plainly mentioned in the New Testament, it will then be in the power of the priests to add more at their pleasure. For it is an absurd inference from our being bound to assent to some truths about the divine essence, of which the manner is not understood, to argue that therefore in an object presented duly to our senses, such as bread and wine, we should be bound to believe against their testimony, that it is not what our senses perceive it to be, but the whole flesh and blood of Christ; an entire body being in every crumb and drop of it. It is not indeed in a man's power to believe thus against his sense and reason, where the object is proportioned to them, and fitly applied, and the organs are under no indisposition or disorder. It is certain that no mystery is to be admitted, but upon very clear and express authorities from Scripture, which could not reasonably be understood in any other sense. And though a man cannot form an explicit notion of a mystery, yet in general he may believe a thing to be, though he cannot give himself a particular account of the way of it: or rather though he cannot answer some objections which lie against it. We

know we believe many such in human matters, which are more within our reach : and it is very unreasonable to say, we may not do it in divine things, which are much more above our apprehensions.

For the severe restraint of the use of women, it is hard to deny that privilege to Jesus Christ as a law-giver, to lay such restraints as all inferior legislators do ; who, when they find the liberties their subjects take, prove hurtful to them, set such limits, and make such regulations as they judge necessary and expedient. It cannot be said but the restraint of appetite is necessary in some instances : and if it is necessary in these, perhaps other restraints are no less necessary, to fortify and secure them. For if it be acknowledged that men have a property in their wives and daughters, so that to defile the one, or corrupt the other, is an unjust and injurious thing ; it is certain, that except a man carefully governs his appetite, he will break through these restraints : and therefore our Saviour knowing that nothing could so effectually deliver the world from the mischief of unrestrained appetite, as such a confinement, might very reasonably enjoin it. And in all such cases we are to balance the inconveniences on both hands, and where we find they are heaviest, we are to acknowledge the equity of the law. On the one hand there is no prejudice, but the restraint of appetite. On the other, are the mischiefs of being given up to pleasure, of running inordinately into it, of breaking the quiet of our own family at home, and of others abroad ; the engaging into much passion, the doing many false and impious things to compass what is desired, the waste of men's estates, time, and health. Now let any man judge, whether the prejudices on this side, are not greater than that single one of the other side, of being denied some pleasure ?

For *polygamy*, it is but reasonable, since women are equally concerned in the laws of marriage, that they should be considered as well as men ; but in a state of polygamy they are under great misery and jealousy, and are indeed barbarously used. Man being also of a sociable nature, friendship and converse were among the primitive intendments of marriage ; in which as far as the man may excel the wife in greatness of mind, and height of knowledge, the wife someway makes that up with her affection and tender care : so that from both happily mixed, there arises a harmony, which is to virtuous minds one of the greatest joys of life. But all this is gone in a state of polygamy, which occasions perpetual

jarrings and jealousies: and the variety does but engage men to a freer range of pleasure, which is not to be put in the balance with the far greater mischiefs that must follow the other course. So that it is plain, our Saviour considered the nature of man, what it could bear, and what was fit for it, when he so restrained us in these our liberties.

And for *divorce*, a power to break that bond would too much encourage married persons in the little quarrellings that may rise between them, if it were in their power to depart one from another. For when they know that cannot be, and that they must live and die together, it does naturally incline them to lay down their resentments, and to endeavour to live as well together as they can. So the law of the Gospel being a law of love, designed to engage Christians to mutual love; it was fit that all such provisions should be made, as might advance and maintain it; and all such liberties be taken away, as are apt to enkindle or foment strife. This might fall in some instances to be uneasy and hard enough; but laws consider what falls out most commonly, and cannot provide for all particular cases. The best laws are in some instances very great grievances. But the advantages being balanced with the inconveniences, measures are to be taken accordingly.

Upon this whole matter I said, that pleasure stood in opposition to other considerations of great weight, and so the decision was easy. And since our Saviour offers us so great rewards, it is but reasonable he have a privilege of loading these promises with such conditions, as are not in themselves grateful to our natural inclinations: for all that propose high rewards, have thereby a right to exact difficult performances.

To this he said, we are sure the terms are difficult, but are not so sure of the rewards.

Upon this I told him, that we have the same assurance of the rewards, that we have of the other parts of Christian religion. We have the promises of God made to us by Christ, confirmed by many miracles: we have the earnest of these, in the quiet and peace which follows a good conscience: and in the resurrection of him from the dead, who hath promised to raise us up:—so that the reward is sufficiently assured to us. And there is no reason it should be given to us, before the conditions are performed, on which the promises are made. It is but reasonable that we should trust God and do our duty, *in hopes of that eternal life, which*

God, who cannot lie, hath promised. The difficulties are not so great, as those which sometimes the commonest concerns of life bring upon us. The learning some trades or sciences, the governing our health and affairs, bring us often under as great straights. So that it ought to be no just prejudice, that there are some things in religion that are uneasy, since this is rather the effect of our corrupt natures, which are further depraved by vicious habits, and can hardly turn to any new course of life, without some pain ; than of the dictates of Christianity, which are in themselves just and reasonable, and will be easy to us when renewed, and in a good measure restored to our primitive integrity.

As for the exceptions he had to the *maintenance* of the clergy, and the *authority* to which they pretended ; if they stretched their designs too far, the Gospel did plainly reprove them for it : so that it was very suitable to that church which was so grossly faulty this way, to take the Scriptures out of the hands of the people, since they do so manifestly disclaim all such practices. The priests of the true Christian religion have no secrets among them, which the world must not know ; but are only an order of men dedicated to God, to attend on sacred things, who ought to be holy in a more peculiar manner, since they are to handle the things of God. It was necessary that such persons should have a due esteem paid them, and a fit maintenance appointed for them ; that so they might be preserved from the contempt that follows poverty, and the distractions which the providing against it might otherwise involve them in. And as in the order of the world it was necessary for the support of magistracy and government and for preserving its esteem, that some state be used (though it is a happiness when great men have philosophical minds, to despise the pageantry of it,) so the plentiful supply of the clergy, if well used and applied by them, will certainly turn to the advantage of religion. And if some men, either through ambition or covetousness, used indirect means, or servile compliances, to aspire to such dignities, and being possessed of them, applied their wealth either to luxury or vain pomp, or made great fortunes out of it for their families ; these were personal failings in which the doctrine of Christ was not concerned.

He upon that told me plainly there was nothing that gave him, and many others, a more secret encouragement in their ill ways, than that those who pretended to believe, lived so that they could not be thought to be in earnest, when they said it. For he was

sure religion was either a mere contrivance, or the most important thing that could be: so that if he once believed, he would set himself in great earnest to live suitably to it. The aspirings that he had observed at court, of some of the clergy, with the servile ways they took to attain to preferment, and the animosities among those of several parties, about trifles, made him often think they suspected the things were not true, which in their sermons and discourses they so earnestly recommended. Of this he had gathered many instances. I knew some of them were mistakes and calumnies; yet I could not deny but something of them might be too true: and I publish this the more freely, to put all that pretend to religion, chiefly those that are dedicated to holy functions, in mind of the great obligation that lies on them to live suitably to their profession: since otherwise a great deal of the irreligion and atheism that is among us, may too justly be charged on them: for wicked men are delighted out of measure, when they discover ill things in them; and conclude from thence not only that they are hypocrites, but that religion itself is a cheat.

But I said to him upon this head, that though no good man could continue in the practice of any known sin, yet such might, by the violence or surprise of temptation, to which they are liable as much as others, be of a sudden overcome to do an ill thing to their great grief all their life after. And then it was a very unjust inference, upon some few failings, to conclude that such men do not believe themselves. But how bad soever many are, it cannot be denied but there are also many both of the clergy and laity, who give great and real demonstrations of the power religion has over them; in their contempt of the world, the strictness of their lives, their readiness to forgive injuries, to relieve the poor, and to do good on all occasions: and yet even these may have their failings, either in such things wherein their constitutions are weak, or their temptations strong and sudden: and in all such cases we are to judge of men, rather by the course of their lives than by the errors, that they, through infirmity or surprise, may have slipped into.

These were the chief heads we discoursed on; and as far as I can remember, I have faithfully repeated the substance of our arguments. I have not concealed the strongest things he said to me; but though I have not enlarged on all the excursions of his wit in setting them off, yet I have given them their full strength, as he expressed them; and, as far as I could recollect, have used his own

words: so that I am afraid some may censure me for setting down these things so largely, which impious men may make an ill use of, and gather together to encourage and defend themselves in their vices. But if they will compare them with the answers made to them, and the sense that so great and refined a wit had of them afterwards, I hope they may, through the blessing of God, be not altogether ineffectual.

The issue of all our discourses was this:—he told me, he saw vice and impiety were as contrary to human society, as wild beasts let loose would be; and therefore he firmly resolved to change the whole method of his life; to become strictly just and true, to be chaste and temperate, to forbear swearing and irreligious discourse, to worship and pray to his Maker: and that though he was not arrived at a full persuasion of Christianity, he would never employ his wit more to run it down, or to corrupt others. Of which I have since a further assurance, from a person of quality, who conversed much with him, the last year of his life; to whom he would often say, “that he was happy, if he did believe; and that he would never endeavour to draw him from it.”

To all this I answered, that a virtuous life would be very uneasy to him, unless vicious inclinations were removed: it would otherwise be a perpetual constraint. Nor could it be effected without an inward principle to change him: and that was only to be had by applying himself to God for it in frequent and earnest prayers: and I was sure if his mind were once cleared of these disorders, and cured of those distempers, which vice brought on it, so great an understanding would soon see through all those flights of wit, that do feed atheism and irreligion; which have a false glittering in them, that dazzles some weak-sighted minds, who have not capacity enough to penetrate further than the surfaces of things; and so they stick in these toils, which the strength of his mind would soon break through, if it were once freed from those things that depressed and darkened it.

At this pass⁴ he was when he went from London, about the be-

⁴ *At this pass.*] It was probably at this time that he wrote the following letter to the countess, now first printed from the original.

“DEERE WIFE,

“I recover so slowly and relapse so continually, that I am almost weary of myself. If I had the least strength I would come to Adderbury but in the condition I am, Kensington and back is a voyage I can hardly support; I hope you excuse my sending you no money, for till I am well enough to fetch

ginning of April⁵. He had not been long in the country when he thought he was so well, that being to go to his estate in Somersetshire⁶, he rode thither post. This heat and violent motion did so inflame an ulcer, that was in his bladder, that it raised a very great pain in those parts: yea he with much difficulty came back by coach to the lodge at Woodstock Park⁷. He was then

it they will not give me a farthing, and if I had not pawned my plate, I believe I must have starved in my sickness. Well, God bless you and the children whatever becomes of

“Your humble servant,

“ROCHESTER.”

“If Mrs. Calford be gone, pray enclose this letter with the first you send.”

⁵ *Beginning of April.*] 1680.

⁶ *Estate in Somersetshire.*] Enmore, which lord Rochester possessed in right of his wife [see p. 612], and upon the rents of which, as it is evident from frequent expressions in his letters to her, they chiefly depended. In one letter he says he reserves the revenue from Enmore for her and for her children. Lord Rochester left one son Charles, the third earl, who died in 1681, and three daughters: 1. Anne, who married, first, Henry Bayntun of Spy Park, and, secondly, Francis Greville, son of lord Brooke, from whom the present earl of Warwick descends; 2. Elizabeth, married to Edward Montagu, third earl of Sandwich [see p. 610]: 3. Malet, married to John Vaughan, lord Lisburne, ancestor of the present earl of Lisburne. The Vaughan family still use the names of Wilmot and Malet. Sir Edward Bayntun Rolt, bart., who died in 1800, descended from the eldest daughter, sold Enmore in the latter part of the last century.

⁷ *Woodstock Park.*] Of which lord Rochester was then comptroller. The following narrative, which will in some degree supply the deficiencies in this part of the relation, is transcribed from the sermon which is referred to below in the text, as having been preached at the earl's funeral, by Robert Parsons, M.A. chaplain to the right hon. Anne countess of Rochester:

“Upon my first visit to him (May 26, just at his return from his journey out of the west) he most gladly received me, shewed me extraordinary respects upon the score of mine office, thanked God who had in mercy and good providence sent me to him who so much needed my prayers and counsels, and acknowledged how unworthily heretofore he had treated that order of men, reproaching them that they were proud, and prophesied only for rewards; but now he had learned how to value them; that he esteemed them the servants of the most high God, who were to shew to him the way to everlasting life:

“At the same time I found him labouring under strange trouble and conflicts of mind, his spirit wounded, and his conscience full of terrors. Upon his journey, he told me, he had been arguing with greater vigour against God and religion than ever he had done in his life-time before, and that he was resolved to run them down with all the arguments and spite in the world; but, like the great convert, St. Paul, he found it hard to kick against

wounded both in body and mind. He understood physic and his own constitution and distemper so well, that he concluded he

the pricks; for God, at that time, had so struck his heart by his immediate hand, that presently he argued as strongly for God and virtue as before he had done against it; that God strangely opened his heart, creating in his mind most awful and tremendous thoughts and ideas of the Divine Majesty, with a delightful contemplation of the divine nature and attributes, and of the loveliness of religion and virtue. 'I never,' said he, 'was advanced thus far towards happiness in my life before; though, upon the commission of some sins extraordinary, I have had some checks and warnings considerable from within but still struggled with them, and so wore them off again. The most observable that I remember was this: one day, at an atheistical meeting at a person of quality's, I undertook to manage the cause, and was the principal disputant against God and piety, and for my performances received the applause of the whole company; upon which my mind was terribly struck, and I immediately replied thus to myself:—*Good God! that a man that walks upright, that sees the wonderful works of God, and has the use of his senses and reason, should use them to the defying of his Creator!* but, though this was a good beginning towards my conversion, to find my conscience touched for my sins, yet it went off again; nay, all my life long, I had a secret value and reverence for an honest man, and loved morality in others; but I had formed an odd scheme of religion to myself which would solve all that God or conscience might force upon me; yet I was not ever well reconciled to the business of Christianity, nor had that reverence for the Gospel of Christ as I ought to have.' Which estate of mind continued till the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah was read to him, (wherein there is a lively description of the sufferings of our Saviour, and the benefits thereof,) and some other portions of Scripture; by the power and efficacy of which word, assisted by his Holy Spirit, God so wrought upon his heart, that he declared that the mysteries of the passion appeared as clear and plain to him as ever any thing did that was represented in a glass: so that that joy and admiration, which possessed his soul upon the reading of God's word to him, was remarkable to all about him; and he had so much delight in his testimonies, that, in my absence, he begged his mother and lady to read the same to him frequently, and was unsatisfied (notwithstanding his great pain and weakness) till he had learned the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah without book.

"At the same time, discoursing of his manner of life from his youth up, and which all men knew was too much devoted to the service of sin, and that the lusts of the flesh, of the eye, and the pride of life, had captivated him; he was very large and particular in his acknowledgments about it, more ready to accuse himself than I or any one else can be; publicly crying out, 'O blessed God, can such a horrid creature as I am be accepted by thee, who has denied thy being, and contemned thy power?' Asking often, 'Can there be mercy and pardon for me? Will God own such a wretch as I?' and in the middle of his sickness said, 'Shall the unspeakable joys of heaven be conferred on me? O mighty Saviour! never, but through thine infinite love and satisfaction! O never, but by the purchase of thy blood! adding, that with all

could hardly recover : for the ulcer broke, and vast quantities of purulent matter passed with his urine. But now the hand of God

abhorreny he did reflect upon his former life ; that sincerely, and from his heart, he did repent of all that folly and madness which he had committed.

“ Indeed, he had a true and lively sense of God’s great mercy to him, in striking his hard heart, and laying his conscience open, which hitherto was deaf to all God’s calls and methods : saying, if that God who died for great as well as less sinners, did not speedily apply his infinite merits to his poor soul, his wound was such as no man could conceive or bear ; crying out, that he was the vilest wretch and dog that the sun shined upon or the earth bore ; that he now saw his error, in not living up to that reason which God endued him with, and which he unworthily vilified and contemned ; wished he had been a starving leper crawling in a ditch, that he had been a link-boy or a beggar, or for his whole life confined to a dungeon, rather than thus to have sinned against God.

“ How remarkable was his faith, in a hearty embracing and devout confession of all the articles of our Christian religion, and all the divine mysteries of the Gospel ; saying, that that absurd and foolish philosophy, which the world so much admired, propagated by the late Mr. Hobbes and others, had undone him and many more of the best parts in the nation ; who, without God’s great mercy to them, may never, I believe, attain to such a repentance.

“ I must not omit to mention his faithful adherence to, and casting himself entirely upon, the mercies of Jesus Christ, and the free grace of God, declared to repenting sinners through him ; with a thankful remembrance of his life, death, and resurrection ; begging God to strengthen his faith, and often crying out, ‘ Lord, I believe ; help thou mine unbelief : ’

“ His mighty love and esteem of the holy Scriptures, his resolutions to read them frequently and meditate upon them, if God should spare him, having already tasted the good word ; for, it having spoken to his heart, he acknowledged all the seeming absurdities and contradictions thereof, fancied by men of corrupt and reprobate judgments, were vanished, and the excellency and beauty appeared, being come to receive the truth in the love of it :

“ His extraordinary fervent devotions, in his frequent prayers of his own, most excellent and correct ; amongst the rest, for the king, in such a manner as became a dutiful subject and a truly grateful servant ; for the church and nation ; for some particular relations, and then for all men ; his calling frequently upon me at all hours to pray with him or read the Scriptures to him ; and, toward the end of his sickness, he would heartily desire God to pardon his infirmities, if he should not be so wakeful and intent through the whole duty as he wished to be ; and that, though the flesh was weak, yet the spirit was willing, and he hoped God would accept that :

“ His continual invocation of God’s grace and Holy Spirit, to sustain him, to keep him from all evil thoughts, from all temptations and diabolical suggestions, and every thing which might be prejudicial to that religious temper of mind which God had now so happily endued him withal ; crying out, one night especially, how terribly the tempter did assault him, by casting upon him lewd and wicked imaginations ! ‘ but I thank God,’ said he, ‘ I abhor

touched him ; and as he told me, it was not only a general dark melancholy over his mind, such as he had formerly felt ; but a

them all ; by the power of his grace, which I am sure is sufficient for me, I have overcome them ; it is the malice of the devil, because I am rescued from him ; and the goodness of God, that frees me from all my spiritual enemies :’

“ His great joy at his lady’s conversion from Popery to the church of England, (being, as he termed it, a faction supported only by fraud and cruelty,) which was by her done with deliberation and mature judgment ; the dark mists of which have for some months before been breaking away, but now cleared by her receiving the blessed Sacrament with her dying husband, at the receiving of which no man could express more joy and devotion than he did ; and, having handled the word of life, and seen the salvation of God, in the preparation of his mind, he was now ready to depart in peace :

“ His hearty concern for the pious education of his children, wishing that his son might never be a wit, that is, (as he himself explained it,) one of those wretched creatures who pride themselves in abusing God and religion, denying his being or his providence ; but that he might become an honest and religious man, which could only be the support and blessing of his family ; complaining what a vicious and naughty world they were brought into, and that no fortunes or honours were comparable to the love and favour of God to them, in whose name he blessed them, prayed for them, and committed them to his protection :

“ His strict charge to those persons, in whose custody his papers were, to burn all his profane and lewd writings, as being only fit to promote vice and immorality, by which he had so highly offended God, and shamed and blasphemed that holy religion into which he had been baptized : and all his obscene and filthy pictures, which were so notoriously scandalous :

“ His readiness to make restitution, to the utmost of his power, to all persons whom he had injured ; and, for those whom he could not make a compensation to, he prayed for God’s and their pardons. His remarkable justice in taking all possible care for the payment of his debts, which before he confessed he had not so fairly and effectually done :

“ His readiness to forgive all injuries done against him ; some more particularly mentioned, which were great and provoking ; nay, annexing thereto all the assurance of a future friendship, and hoping he should be as freely forgiven at the hand of God.

“ How tender and concerned was he for his servants about him in his extremities, (manifested by the beneficence of his will to them,) pitying their troubles in watching with him and attending him, treating them with candour and kindness, as if they had been his intimates !

“ How hearty were his endeavours to be serviceable to those about him, exhorting them to the fear and love of God, and to make a good use of his forbearance and long-suffering to sinners, which should lead them to repentance ! And here I must not pass by his pious and most passionate exclamation to a gentleman of some character, who came to visit him upon his death-bed ; ‘ O remember that you condemn God no more ! he is an avenging God, and will visit you for your sins ; he will, in mercy, I hope,

most penetrating cutting sorrow. So that though in his body he suffered extreme pain, for some weeks, yet the agonies of his mind

touch your conscience, sooner or later, as he has done mine. You and I have been friends and sinners together a great while, therefore I am the more free with you. We have been all mistaken in our conceits and opinions, our persuasions have been false and groundless; therefore God grant you repentance.' And seeing him the next day again, he said to him, 'Perhaps you were disobliged by my plainness to you yesterday; I spake the words of truth and soberness to you, and' (striking his hand upon his breast, said,) 'I hope God will touch your heart.'

"Likewise his commands to me, to preach abroad, and to let all men know (if they knew it not already) how severely God had disciplined him for his sins by his afflicting hand; that his sufferings were most just though he had laid ten thousand times more upon him; how he had laid one stripe upon another because of his grievous provocations, till he had brought him home to himself; that, in his former visitations he had not that blessed effect he was now sensible of. He had formerly some loose thoughts and slight resolutions of reforming, and designed to be better, because even the present consequences of sin were still pestering him, and were so troublesome and inconvenient to him: but that now he had other sentiments of things, and acted upon other principles:

"His willingness to die, if it pleased God, resigning himself always to the divine disposal; but, if God should spare him yet a longer time here, he hoped to bring glory to the name of God in the whole course of his life, and particularly by his endeavours to convince others, and to assure them of the danger of their condition, if they continued impenitent, and how graciously God had dealt with him:

"His great sense of his obligations to those excellent men, the right reverend my lord bishop of Oxford [John Fell], and Dr. Marshal, for their charitable and frequent visits to him, and prayers with him; and Dr. Burnet, who came on purpose from London to see him, who were all very serviceable to his repentance:

"His extraordinary duty and reverence to his mother, with all the grateful respects to her imaginable, and kindness to his good lady, beyond expression, (which may well enhance such a loss to them,) and to his children, obliging them, with all the endearments that a good husband or a tender father could bestow.

"To conclude these remarks, I shall only read to you his dying remonstrance, sufficiently attested and signed by his own hand, as his truest sense, (which I hope may be useful for that good end he designed it,) in manner and form following:

"'For the benefit of all those whom I may have drawn into sin by my example and encouragement, I leave to the world this my last declaration, which I deliver in the presence of the great God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, and before whom I am now appearing to be judged:

"'That from the bottom of my soul, I detest and abhor the whole course of my former wicked life; that I think I can never sufficiently admire the

sometimes swallowed up the sense of what he felt in his body. He told me, and gave it me in charge, to tell it to one for whom he was much concerned, that though there were nothing to come after this life, yet all the pleasures he had ever known in sin, were

goodness of God, who has given me a true sense of my pernicious opinions and vile practices, by which I have hitherto lived without hope and without God in the world; have been an open enemy to Jesus Christ, doing the utmost despite to the Holy Spirit of Grace. And that the greatest testimony of my charity to such is, to warn them, in the name of God, and, as they regard the welfare of their immortal souls, no more to deny his being, or his providence, or despise his goodness; no more to make a mock of sin, or condemn the pure and excellent religion of my ever blessed Redeemer, through whose merits alone, I, one of the greatest sinners, do yet hope for mercy and forgiveness. Amen.

“ ‘J. ROCHESTER.’

“ ‘Declared and signed
in the presence of

“ ‘ANNE ROCHESTER.

“ ‘ROBERT PARSONS.

“ ‘*June 19, 1680.*’

“And now I cannot but mention, with joy and admiration, that steady temper of mind which he enjoyed through the whole course of his sickness and repentance; which must proceed, not from a hurry and perturbation of mind or body, arising from the fear of death or dread of hell only, but from an ingenuous love to God, and an uniform regard to virtue, (suitable to that solemn declaration of his, ‘I would not commit the least sin to gain a kingdom,’) and with all possible symptoms of a lasting perseverance in it, if God should have restored him. To which may be added, his comfortable persuasions of God’s accepting him to his mercy, saying, three or four days before his death, ‘I shall die, but oh, what unspeakable glories do I see! what joys, beyond thought or expression, am I sensible of! I am assured of God’s mercy to me through Jesus Christ. Oh how I long to die, and be with my Saviour!’

“The time of his sickness and repentance was just nine weeks; in all which time he was so much master of his reason, and had so clear an understanding, (saving thirty hours, about the middle of it, in which he was delirious,) that he had never dictated or spoke more composed in his life: and therefore, if any shall continue to say his piety was the effect of madness or vapours, let me tell them, it is highly disingenuous, and that the assertion is as silly as it is wicked. And, moreover, that the force of what I have delivered may be not evaded by wicked men, who are resolved to harden their hearts, maugre all convictions, by saying, this was done in a corner; I appeal, for the truth thereof, to all sorts of persons who, in considerable numbers, visited and attended him, and more particularly to those eminent physicians who were near him, and conversant with him in the whole course of his tedious sickness; and who, if any, are competent judges of a phrensy or delirium.”

not worth that torture he had felt in his mind. He considered he had not only neglected and dishonoured, but had openly defied his Maker, and had drawn many others into the like impieties: so that he looked on himself as one that was in great danger of being damned. He then set himself wholly to turn to God unfeignedly, and to do all that was possible in that little remainder of his life which was before him, to redeem those great portions of it, that he had formerly so ill employed. The minister that attended constantly on him, was that good and worthy man Mr. Parsons, his mother's chaplain, who hath since his death preached according to the directions he received from him, his funeral sermon: in which there are so many remarkable passages, that I shall refer my reader to them, and will repeat none of them here, that I may not thereby lessen his desire to edify himself by that excellent discourse, which has given so great and so general a satisfaction to all good and judicious readers. I shall speak cursorily of every thing, but that which I had immediately from himself.

He was visited every week of his sickness by his diocesan, that truly primitive prelate, the lord bishop of Oxford; who though he lived six miles from him, yet looked on this as so important a piece of his pastoral care, that he went often to him; and treated him with that decent plainness and freedom which is so natural to him; and took care also that he might not on terms more easy than safe, be at peace with himself. Dr. Marshal, the learned and worthy rector of Lincoln college in Oxford, being the minister of the parish, was also frequently with him: and by these helps he was so directed and supported, that he might not on the one hand satisfy himself with too superficial a repentance, nor on the other hand be out of measure oppressed with a sorrow without hope.

As soon as I heard he was ill, but yet in such a condition that I might write to him, I wrote a letter to the best purpose I could. He ordered one that was then with him, to assure me it was very welcome to him: but not satisfied with that, he sent me an answer, which, as the countess of Rochester, his mother, told me, he dictated every word, and then signed it. I was once unwilling to have published it, because of a compliment in it to myself, far above my merit, and not very well suiting with his condition. But the sense he expresses in it of the change then wrought on him hath upon second thoughts prevailed with me to publish it, leaving out what concerns myself.

*Woodstock Park,
June 25, 1680, Oxfordshire.*

My most honoured Dr. Burnet,

My spirits and body decay so equally together, that I shall write you a letter as weak as I am in person. I begin to value churchmen above all men in the world, &c. If God be yet pleased to spare me longer in this world, I hope in your conversation to be exalted to that degree of piety, that the world may see how much I abhor what I so long loved, and how much I glory in repentance, and in God's service. Bestow your prayers upon me, that God would spare me (if it be his good will) to shew a true repentance and amendment of life for the time to come: or else if the Lord pleaseth to put an end to my worldly being now, that he would mercifully accept of my death-bed repentance, and perform that promise that he hath been pleased to make, *that at what time soever a sinner doth repent, he would receive him*. Put up these prayers, most dear doctor, to almighty God for your most obedient and languishing servant,

ROCHESTER.

He told me when I saw him, that he hoped I would come to him upon that general insinuation of the desire he had of my company: and he was loth to write more plainly, not knowing whether I could easily spare so much time. I told him, that on the other hand, I looked on it as a presumption to come so far, when he was in such excellent hands; and though perhaps the freedom formerly between us, might have excused it with those to whom it was known; yet it might have the appearance of so much vanity, to such as were strangers to it; so that till I received his letter, I did not think it convenient to come to him. And then not hearing that there was any danger of a sudden change, I delayed going to him till the 20th of July. At my coming to his house an accident fell out not worth mentioning, but that some have made a story of it. His servant being a Frenchman⁹, carried up my name wrong, so that he mistook it for another, who had sent to him, that he would undertake his cure; and he being resolved not to meddle with him, did not care to see him. This mistake lasted some hours, with which I was the

⁹ *A Frenchman.*] Named Blancourt or Blancort, whose name occurs several times in his letters.

better contented, because he was not then in such a condition, that my being about him could have been of any use to him ; for that night was like to have been his last. He had a convulsion fit, and raved ; but opiates being given him, after some hours rest, his raving left him so entirely, that it never again returned to him.

I cannot easily express the transport he was in, when he awoke and saw me by him. He brake out in the tenderest expressions concerning my kindness in coming so far to see *such an one*, using terms of great abhorrence concerning himself, which I forbear to relate. He told me, as his strength served him at several snatches, (for he was then so low, that he could not hold up discourse long at once,) what sense he had of his past life ; what sad apprehension for having so offended his Maker, and dishonoured his Redeemer : what horrors he had gone through, and how much his mind was turned to call on God, and on his crucified Saviour : so that he hoped he should obtain mercy, for he believed he had sincerely repented ; and had now a calm in his mind after that storm that he had been in for some weeks. He had strong apprehensions and persuasions of his admittance to heaven : of which he spake once not without some extraordinary emotion. It was indeed the only time that he spake with any great warmth to me : for his spirits were then low, and so far spent, that though those about him told me, he had expressed formerly great fervour in his devotions ; yet nature was so much sunk, that these were in a great measure fallen off. But he made me pray often with him ; and spoke of his conversion to God as a thing now grown up in him to a settled and calm serenity.

He was very anxious to know my opinion of a death-bed repentance. I told him, that before I gave any resolution in that, it would be convenient that I should be acquainted more particularly with the circumstances and progress of his repentance.

Upon this he satisfied me in many particulars. He said, he was now persuaded both of the truth of Christianity, and of the power of inward grace, of which he gave me this strange account. He said, Mr. Parsons, in order to his conviction, read to him the 53d chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, and compared that with the history of our Saviour's passion, that he might there see a prophecy concerning it, written many ages before it was done ; which the Jews that blasphemed Jesus Christ still kept in their hands as a book divinely inspired. He said to me, "that as he

heard it read, he felt an inward force upon him, which did so enlighten his mind, and convince him, that he could resist it no longer: for the words had an authority which did shoot like rays or beams in his mind; so that he was not only convinced by the reasonings he had about it, which satisfied his understanding, but by a power which did so effectually constrain him, that he did ever after as firmly believe in his Saviour, as if he had seen him in the clouds." He had made it be read so often to him, that he had got it by heart; and went through a great part of it in discourse with me, with a sort of heavenly pleasure, giving me his reflections on it. Some few I remember: *Who hath believed our report?* (ver. 1.) Here, he said, was foretold the opposition the Gospel was to meet with from such wretches as he was. *He hath no form nor comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him* (ver. 2). On this he said, the meanness of his appearance and person has made vain and foolish people disparage him, because he came not in such a fool's coat as they delight in. What he said on the other parts I do not well remember: and indeed I was so affected with what he said then to me, that the general transport I was under during the whole discourse, made me less capable to remember these particulars as I wish I had done.

He told me, that he had thereupon received the sacrament with great satisfaction, and that was increased by the pleasure he had in his lady's receiving it with him; who had been for some years misled in the communion of the church of Rome, and he himself had been not a little instrumental in procuring it, as he freely acknowledged. So that it was one of the joyfulest things that befel him in his sickness, that he had seen that mischief removed, in which he had so great a hand; and during his whole sickness, he expressed so much tenderness and true kindness to his lady, that as it easily defaced the remembrance of every thing wherein he had been in fault formerly, so it drew from her the most passionate care and concern for him that was possible: which indeed deserves a higher character than is decent to give of a person yet alive. But I shall confine my discourse to the dead.

He told me, he had overcome all his resentments to all the world; so that he bore ill will to no person, nor hated any upon personal accounts. He had given a true state of his debts, and had ordered to pay them all, as far as his estate that was not settled

could go ; and was confident that if all that was owing to him were paid to his executors, his creditors would be all satisfied. He said, he found his mind now possessed with another sense of things, than ever he had formerly. He did not repine under all his pain ; and in one of the sharpest fits he was under while I was with him, he said, he did willingly submit ; and looking up to heaven, said, "God's holy will be done. I bless him for all he does to me." He professed he was contented either to die or live, as should please God. And though it was a foolish thing for a man to pretend to choose, whether he would die or live, yet he wished rather to die. He knew he could never be so well, that life should be comfortable to him. He was confident he should be happy if he died, but he feared if he lived he might relapse. "And then," said he to me, "in what a condition shall I be, if I relapse after all this? But," he said, "he trusted in the grace and goodness of God, and was resolved to avoid all those temptations, that course of life, and company, that was likely to insnare him : and he desired to live on no other account, but that he might by the change of his manners, some way take off the high scandal his former behaviour had given." All these things at several times I had from him, besides some messages which very well became a dying penitent to some of his former friends, and a charge to publish any thing concerning him, that might be a mean to reclaim others ; praying God, that as his life had done much hurt, so his death might do some good.

Having understood all these things from him, and being pressed to give him my opinion plainly about his eternal state ; I told him that though the promises of the Gospel did all depend upon a real change of heart and life, as the indispensable condition upon which they were made ; and that it was scarce possible to know certainly whether our hearts are changed, unless it appeared in our lives ; and the repentance of most dying men, being like the howlings of condemned prisoners for pardon, which flowed from no sense of their crimes, but from the horror of approaching death ; there was little reason to encourage any to hope much from such sorrowing : yet certainly if the mind of a sinner, even on a death-bed, be truly renewed and turned to God, so great is his mercy, that he will receive him, even in that extremity.

He said, he was sure his mind was entirely turned, and though horror had given him his first awaking, yet that was now grown up into a settled faith and conversion.

There is but one prejudice lies against all this, to defeat the good ends of Divine Providence by it upon others, as well as on himself; and that is, that it was a part of his disease, and that the lowness of his spirits made such an alteration in him, that he was not what he had formerly been: and this some have carried so far as to say that he died mad¹⁰. These reports are raised by those who are unwilling that the last thoughts or words of a person, every way so extraordinary, should have any effect either on themselves or others: and it is to be feared that some may have so far seared their consciences, and exceeded the common measures of sin and infidelity, that neither this testimony, nor one coming from the dead, would signify much towards their conviction. That this lord was either mad or stupid, is a thing so notoriously untrue, that it is the greatest impudence for any that were about him to report it; and a very unreasonable credulity in others to believe it. All the while I was with him, after he had slept out the disorders of the fit he was in the first night, he was not only without ravings, but had a clearness in his thoughts, in his memory, in his reflections on things and persons, far beyond what I ever saw in a person so low in his strength. He was not able to hold out long in discourse, for his spirits failed: but once for half an hour, and often for a quarter of an hour, after he awakened he had a vivacity in his discourse that was extraordinary and in all things like himself. He called often for his children, his son, the now earl of Rochester¹, and his three daughters,

¹⁰ *Died mad.*] See below, the third and fourth letters of the dowager countess of Rochester.

¹ *His son, the now earl of Rochester.*] The two following letters to this son, who survived his father only one year, are now first printed from the originals.

“Charles, I take it very kindly that you write to me (though seldom) and wish heartily you would behave yourself so as that I might shew how much I love you without being ashamed: obedience to your grandmother and those who instruct you in good things is the way to make you happy here and for ever: avoid idleness, scorn lying, and God will bless you, for which I pray

“ROCHESTER.”

“I hope Charles when you receive this, and know that I have sent this gentleman to be your tutor, you will be very glad to see I take such care of you, and be very grateful, which is best shewn in being obedient and diligent. You are now grown big enough to be a man, if you can be wise enough; and the way to be truly wise is to serve God: learne your book, and observe the instructions of your parents first, and next your tutor, to whom I have entirely resigned you for this seven yeare; and according as you employ that

and spake to them with a sense and feeling that cannot be expressed in writing. He called me once to look on them all, and said, "See how good God has been to me, in giving me so many blessings; and I have carried myself to him like an ungracious and unthankful dog." He once talked a great deal to me of public affairs and of many persons and things, with the same clearness of thought and expression, that he had ever done before. So that by no sign, but his weakness of body, and giving over discourse so soon, could I perceive a difference between what his parts formerly were, and what they were then.

And that wherein the presence of his mind appeared most, was in the total change of an ill habit grown so much upon him, that he could hardly govern himself, when he was any ways heated, three minutes without falling into it: I mean *swearing*. He had acknowledged to me the former winter, that he abhorred it as a base and indecent thing, and had set himself much to break it off: but he confessed that he was so overpowered by that ill custom, that he could not speak with any warmth, without repeated oaths, which upon any sort of provocation came almost naturally from him. But in his last remorse this did so sensibly affect him, that by a resolute and constant watchfulness the habit of it was perfectly mastered; so that upon the returns of pain, which were very severe and frequent upon him, the last day I was with him; or upon such displeasures as people sick or in pain are apt to take of a sudden at those about them; on all these occasions he never swore an oath all the while I was there.

Once he was offended with the delay of one that he thought made not haste enough with somewhat he called for, and said in a little heat, "that damned fellow." Soon after I told him, I was glad to find his style so reformed, and that he had so entirely overcome that ill habit of swearing; only that word of calling any *damned*, which had returned upon him, was not decent. His answer was, "Oh that language of fiends, which was so familiar to me, hangs yet about me. Sure none has deserved time, you are to be happy or unhappy for ever; but I have so good an opinion of you, that I am glad to think you will never deceive me. Dear childe, learn your book and be obedient, and you will see what a father I will be to you. You shall want no pleasure while you are good, and that you may be so are my constant prayers

" ROCHESTER."

" For my lord Wilmot."

more to be damned than I have done." And after he had humbly asked God pardon for it, he desired me to call the person to him, that he might ask him forgiveness: but I told him that was needless, for he had said it of one that did not hear it, and so could not be offended by it.

In this disposition of mind did he continue all the while I was with him, four days together: he was then brought so low that all hope of recovery was gone. Much purulent matter came from him with his urine, which he passed always with some pain, but one day with inexpressible torment: yet he bore it decently, without breaking out into repinings, or impatient complaints. He imagined he had a stone in his passage, but it being searched, none was found. The whole substance of his body was drained by the ulcer, and nothing was left but skin and bone, and by lying much on his back, the parts there began to mortify. But he had been formerly so low, that he seemed as much past all hopes of life as now; which made him one morning, after a full and sweet night's rest, procured by laudanum, given him without his knowledge, to fancy it was an effort of nature, and to begin to entertain some hopes of recovery: for he said, he felt himself perfectly well, and that he had nothing ailing him, but an extreme weakness, which might go off in time: and then he entertained me with the scheme he had laid down for the rest of his life, how retired, how strict, and how studious he intended to be. But this was soon over, for he quickly felt that it was only the effect of a good sleep, and that he was still in a very desperate state.

I thought to have left him on Friday, but not without some passion, he desired me to stay that day. There appeared no symptom of present death; and a worthy physician then with him, told me, that though he was so low that an accident might carry him away on a sudden; yet without that, he thought he might live yet some weeks. So on Saturday, at four o'clock in the morning, I left him, being the 24th of July. But I durst not take leave of him; for he had expressed so great an unwillingness to part with me the day before, that if I had not presently yielded to one day's stay, it was likely to have given him some trouble; therefore I thought it better to leave him without any formality. Some hours after he asked for me, and when it was told him, I was gone, he seemed to be troubled, and said, "Has my friend left me? then I shall die shortly." After that he spake but once or twice till he died. He lay much silent:

once they heard him praying very devoutly. And on Monday, about two o'clock in the morning, he died, without any convulsion, or so much as a groan. (July 26, 1680.)

THUS he lived, and thus he died, in the three and thirtieth year of his age. Nature had fitted him for great things, and his knowledge and observation qualified him to have been one of the most extraordinary men, not only of his nation, but of the age he lived in: and I do verily believe, that if God had thought fit to have continued him longer in the world, he had been the wonder and delight of all that knew him. But the infinitely wise God knew better what was fit for him, and what the age deserved. For men who have so cast off all sense of God and religion, deserve not so signal a blessing, as the example and conviction which the rest of his life might have given them. And I am apt to think that the divine goodness took pity on him; and seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation, perhaps too hard for human frailty. Now he is at rest; and I am very confident enjoys the fruits of his late, but sincere repentance. But such as live, and still go on in their sins and impieties, and will not be awakened neither by this, nor the other alarms that are about their ears, are, it seems, given up by God to a judicial hardness and impenitency.

Here is a public instance of one who lived of their side, but could not die of it. And though none of all our libertines understood better than he, the secret mysteries of sin; had more studied every thing that could support a man in it; and had more resisted all external means of conviction than he had done; yet when the hand of God inwardly touched him, he could no longer *kick against those pricks*, but *humbled himself under that mighty hand*; and as he used often to say in his prayers, *he who had so often denied him found then no other shelter but his mercies and compassions*.

I have written this account with all the tenderness and caution I could use; and in whatsoever I may have failed, I have been strict in the truth of what I have related, remembering that of Job, *will ye lie for God?* Religion has strength and evidence enough in itself, and needs no support from lies, and made stories. I do not pretend to have given the formal words that he said,

though I have done that where I could remember them. But I have written this with the same sincerity, that I would have done, had I known I had been to die immediately after I had finished it. I did not take notes of our discourses last winter after we parted; so I may perhaps in the setting out of my answers to him, have enlarged on several things both more fully and more regularly, than I could say them in such free discourses as we had. I am not so sure of all I set down as said by me, as I am of all said by him to me. But yet the substance of the greatest part, even of that, is the same.

It remains that I humbly and earnestly beseech all that shall take this book in their hands, that they will consider it entirely: and not wrest some parts to an ill intention. God, the searcher of hearts, knows with what fidelity I have writ it. But if any will drink up only the poison that may be in it, without taking also the antidote here given to those ill principles; or considering the sense that this great person had of them, when he reflected seriously on them; and will rather confirm themselves in their ill ways, by the scruples and objections which I set down, than be edified by the other parts of it; as I will look on it as a great infelicity, that I should have said any thing that may strengthen them in their impieties, so the sincerity of my intentions will, I doubt not, excuse me at *His* hands, to Whom I offer up this small service.

I have now performed, in the best manner I could, what was left on me by this noble lord, and have done with the part of an *historian*. I shall in the next place say somewhat as a *divine*. So extraordinary a text does almost force a sermon, though it is plain enough itself, and speaks with so loud a voice, that those who are not awakened by it, will perhaps consider nothing that I can say. If our libertines will become so far sober as to examine their former course of life, with that disengagement and impartiality, which they must acknowledge a wise man ought to use in things of greatest consequence, and balance the account of what they have got by their debaucheries, with the mischiefs they have brought on themselves and others by them, they will soon see what a mad bargain they have made. Some diversion, mirth, and pleasure is all they can promise themselves; but to obtain this, how many evils are they to suffer? How have many wasted their strength, brought many diseases on their bodies, and precipitated their age in the pursuit of those things? and as they

bring old age early on themselves, so it becomes a miserable state of life to the greatest part of them ; gouts, stranguries, and other infirmities, being severe reckonings for their past follies ; not to mention the more loathsome diseases, with their no less loathsome and troublesome cures, which they must often go through, who deliver themselves up to forbidden pleasures. Many are disfigured beside with the marks of their intemperance and lewdness, and which is yet sadder, an infection is derived oftentimes on their innocent, but unhappy issue, who being descended from so vitiated an original, suffer for their excesses. Their fortunes are profusely wasted, both by their neglect of their affairs, (they being so buried in vice, that they cannot employ either their time or spirits, so much exhausted by intemperance, to consider them ;) and by that prodigal expence which their lusts put them upon. They suffer no less in their credit, the chief mean to recover an entangled estate ; for that irregular expence forceth them to so many mean shifts, makes them so often false to all their promises and resolutions, that they must needs feel how much they have lost that which a gentleman, and men of ingenuous tempers do sometimes prefer even to life itself, their honour and reputation. Nor do they suffer less in the nobler powers of their minds, which, by a long course of such dissolute practices, come to sink and degenerate so far, that not a few, whose first blossoms gave the most promising hopes, have so withered, as to become incapable of great and generous undertakings, and to be disabled to every thing, but to wallow like swine in the filth of sensuality, their spirits being dissipated, and their minds so numbed, as to be wholly unfit for business, and even indisposed to think.

That this dear price should be paid for a little wild mirth, or gross and corporeal pleasure, is a thing of such unparalleled folly, that if there were not too many such instances before us, it might seem incredible. To all this we must add the horrors that their ill actions raise in them, and the hard shifts they are put to to stave off these, either by being perpetually drunk or mad, or by an habitual disuse of thinking and reflecting on their actions, (and if these arts will not perfectly quiet them) by taking sanctuary in such atheistical principles as may at least mitigate the sownerness of their thoughts, though they cannot absolutely settle their minds.

If the state of mankind and human societies are considered,

what mischiefs can be equal to those which follow these courses? Such persons are a plague wherever they come; they can neither be trusted nor beloved, having cast off both truth and goodness, which procure confidence and attract love. They corrupt some by their ill practices, and do irreparable injuries to the rest; they run great hazards, and put themselves to much trouble, and all this to do what is in their power to make damnation as sure to themselves as possibly they can. What influence this has on the whole nation is but too visible; how the bonds of nature, wedlock, and all other relations, are quite broken. Virtue is thought an antique piece of formality, and religion the effect of cowardice or knavery. These are the men that would reform the world, by bringing it under a new system of intellectual and moral principles; but bate them a few bold and lewd jests, what have they ever done, or designed to do, to make them be remembered, except it be with detestation? They are the scorn of the present age, and their names must rot in the next. Here they have before them an instance of one who was deeply corrupted with the contagion which he first derived from others, but unhappily heightened it much himself. He was a master indeed, and not a bare trifler with wit, as some of these are who repeat, and that but scurvily, what they may have heard from him or some others, and with impudence and laughter will face the world down, as if they were to teach it wisdom; who, God knows, cannot follow one thought a step further than as they have conned it; and, take from them their borrowed wit and their mimical humour, and they will presently appear what they indeed are, the least and lowest of men.

If they will, or if they can think a little, I wish they would consider that by their own principles, they cannot be sure that religion is only a contrivance; all they pretend to is only to weaken some arguments that are brought for it: but they have not brow enough to say, they can prove that their own principles are true. So that at most they bring their cause no higher, than that it is *possible* religion *may not* be true. But still it is *possible* it *may* be true, and they have no shame left that will deny that it is also *probable* it may be true; and if so, then what madmen are they who run so great a hazard for nothing? By their own confession it may be there is a God, a judgment, and a life to come; and if so, then he that believes these things, and lives according to them, as he enjoys a long course of health and quiet of mind,

an innocent relish of many true pleasures, and the serenities which virtue raises in him, with the good will and friendship which it procures him from others; so when he dies, if these things prove mistakes, he does not out-live his error, nor shall it afterwards raise trouble or disquiet in him if he then ceases to be: but if these things be true, he shall be infinitely happy in that state, where his present small services shall be so excessively rewarded. The libertines on the other side, as they know they must die, so the thoughts of death must be always melancholy to them; they can have no pleasant view of that which yet they know cannot be very far from them. The least painful idea they can have of it is, that it is an extinction and ceasing to be, but they are not sure even of that. Some secret whispers within make them, whether they will or not, tremble at the apprehensions of another state; neither their tinsel wit, nor superficial learning, nor their impotent assaults upon the weak side as they think of religion, nor the boldest notions of impiety, will hold them up then. Of all which I now present so lively an instance, as perhaps history can scarce parallel.

Here were parts so exalted by nature, and improved by study, and yet so corrupted and bebased by irreligion and vice, that he who was made to be one of the glories of his age was become a proverb, and if his repentance had not interposed, would have been one of the greatest reproaches of it. He knew well the small strength of that weak cause, and at first despised, but afterwards abhorred it. He felt the mischiefs, and saw the madness of it; and therefore, though he lived to the scandal of many, he died as much to the edification of all those who saw him; and because they were but a small number, he desired that he might even when dead, yet speak. He was willing nothing should be concealed that might cast reproach on himself and on sin, and offer up glory to God and religion. So that though he lived a heinous sinner, yet he died a most exemplary penitent.

It would be a vain and ridiculous inference for any from hence to draw arguments about the abstruse secrets of predestination; and to conclude that if they are of the number of the elect, they may live as they will, and that Divine Grace will, at some time or other, violently constrain them, and irresistibly work upon them. But as St. Paul was called to that eminent service for which he was appointed, in so stupendous a manner, as is no warrant for others to expect such a vocation; so if upon some

signal occasions such conversions fall out, which, how far they are short of miracles, I shall not determine, it is not only a vain but a pernicious imagination, for any to go on in their ill ways, upon a fond conceit, and expectation that the like will befall them : for whatsoever God's extraordinary dealings with some may be, we are sure his common way of working is by offering these things to our rational faculties, which, by the assistances of his grace, if we improve them all we can, shall be certainly effectual for our reformation ; and if we neglect or abuse these, we put ourselves beyond the common methods of God's mercy, and have no reason to expect that wonders should be wrought for our conviction ; which though they sometimes happen, that they may give an effectual alarm for the awaking of others, yet it would destroy the whole design of religion, if men should depend upon, or look for such an extraordinary and forcible operation of God's grace.

And I hope that those who have had some sharp reflections on their past life, so as to be resolved to forsake their ill courses, will not take the least encouragement to themselves in that desperate and unreasonable resolution of putting off their repentance till they can sin no longer, from the hopes I have expressed of this lord's obtaining mercy at the last ; and from thence presume that they also shall be received, when they turn to God on their death-beds. For what mercy soever God may shew to such as really were never inwardly touched before that time ; yet there is no reason to think that those who have dealt so disingenuously with God and their own souls, as designedly to put off their turning to him, upon such considerations, should be then accepted with him. They may die suddenly, or by a disease that may so disorder their understandings, that they shall not be in any capacity of reflecting on their past lives. The inward conversion of our minds is not so in our power, that it can be effected without Divine Grace assisting. And there is no reason for those who have neglected these assistances all their lives to expect them in so extraordinary manner at their death. Nor can one, especially in a sickness, that is quick and critical, be able to do those things that are often indispensably necessary to make his repentance complete ; and even in a longer disease, in which there are larger opportunities for these things, yet there is great reason to doubt of a repentance begun and kept up merely by terror, and not from any ingenuous principle. In which, though I will not take

on me to limit the mercies of God, which are boundless ; yet this must be confessed, that to delay repentance, with such a design, is to put the greatest concernment we have upon the most dangerous and desperate issue that is possible.

But they that will still go on in their sins, and be so partial to them, as to use all endeavours to strengthen themselves in their evil course, even by these very things which the providence of God sets before them, for the casting down of these strong holds of sin ; what is to be said to such ? it is to be feared, that if they obstinately persist, they will by degrees come within that curse, *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still : and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still. But if our gospel is hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.*

“ FIVE LETTERS ² OF ANN, COUNTESS DOWAGER OF ROCHESTER, WROTE WHEN EIGHTY YEARS OLD, TO HER SISTER-IN-LAW, LADY ST. JOHN, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF HER SON’S BEHAVIOUR DURING HIS SICKNESS, COPIED FROM THE ORIGINALS IN THE HANDS OF MRS. MEREDITH ³, GRAND-DAUGHTER TO LADY ST. JOHN.”

LETTER I.

Sweet Sister,

[June, 1680.]

It has pleased God to lay his afflictive hand upon my poor son, in visiting of him with a sore sickness ; and whether for life

² *Five letters.*] We have seen (p. 605) that Burnet’s work was probably revised by his friend Tillotson. The archbishop’s biographer, Dr. Birch, says, “The credit of the doctor’s book, and the sincerity of the earl’s repentance, would be fully established, if they wanted any additional evidence, by the publication of FIVE LETTERS, still extant, by his mother, Anne, countess dowager of Rochester, and sister of sir Walter St. John of Battersea, bart., to that gentleman’s lady, Johanna, daughter of the lord chief justice St. John [and grandmother of lord Bolingbroke]. These letters were written during her son’s last illness ; and show him to have been, during the course of it, fully possessed of his understanding. One particular in them deserves to be mentioned here ; that, when one of the earl’s physicians, thinking to please him, told him that the king drank his health some days before, he looked earnestly upon him, and said never a word, but turned his

or death, we cannot guess : but he is reduc'd to great weakness, in the outward man. But, in the midst of punishment, HE has remember'd mercy, and strengthen'd him in the inward man, to the comfort of me, his poor mother. For never all the former sicknesses he has had, did, in the least measure, work so much upon him, to the knowledge and acknowledgment of God, and to repentance of his former life, and the sense how he has gone astray, as this doth.

I am not able to write you a long letter : I can only say this, that, tho' he lies under as much misery, almost, as human man can bear, yet he bears his sufferings with so much patience, and resignation to God's will, that, I confess, I take more comfort in him, under this visitation, than ever I did in all my life before ; and tho' the Lord has been pleas'd not to work this work upon him till the last hour, yet, I have great reason to believe, he will find mercy, thro' the merits and satisfaction of Christ, on whom he throws himself, for the favour of God.

O sister, I am sure, had you heard the heavenly prayers he has made since this sickness ; the extraordinary things he has said, to the wonder of all that has heard him, you would wonder, and think that God alone must teach him ; for no man could put into him such things as he says. He has, I must tell you too, converted his wife⁴ to be a protestant again. Pray, pray for his perseverance, dear sister ; and pardon me, that I can say no more, but to rest madam,

Your affectionate servant,

ANN ROCHESTER.

I did not receive the letter Mr. Foot says you sent by the post.

To the Lady St. John, at her house,
at Battersea.

face from him."—*Life of Tillotson*, p. 73. Dr. Birch had evidently seen and used the transcript (headed as above) which had been made by his friend, Dr. John Ward, professor of rhetoric in Gresham College. Dr. Ward bequeathed his MSS., in Nov. 1757, to the British Museum, and from them the letters are now printed. Bishop Jebb has printed them, in his edition of Burnet's *Lives and Characters*, from a transcript made by Mrs. Chapone.

³ *Mrs. Meredith.*] Johanna, daughter of Thomas Cholmondeley of Vale Royal, by Anne, daughter of sir Walter St. John. She married Amos Meredith, eldest son of sir William Meredith, bart., of Ashley. Her husband died in May, 1744, in his father's life time.

⁴ *Converted his wife.*] See p. 256.

LETTER II.

My dear Sister,

[June, 1680.]

Mr. Blankort⁵ did not deliver me your letter, till this Monday morning; and just now, I am going to Adderbury⁶, where I have not been these five weeks; but intend to return to my son again in a day. The account I can give you of him, is much as my last: he continues weak; but is sometimes better than he is others. The greatest comfort he enjoys, is his sleep; and that he does much. He has a kind of a hectick fever⁷ upon him, as the doctors call it; which is not at all times; for, sometimes, his temper is good outwardly, but, the doctor says, he is hot inwardly; yet I cannot think it, because he is seldom dry. He drinks asses' milk⁷, and it digests well with him; and some other spoon-meats; but he takes no broaths made with meat for fear of heat. He spits mightily, within these two days; which some say is good for him: but I find all evacuations weaken him. I confess, I cannot discern amendment in him yet; but, as long as life is, we have hopes. I thank God, his sense continues very well, and when his strength will give him leave, expresses himself with great devotion, both upon account of his former ill life, with great humility he lays himself low, before the throne of Grace, begging favour and pardon from God, upon the account of the merits of Christ alone; acknowledging himself the greatest of sinners. Truly, sister, I think I may say, without partiality, that he has been never heard say, when he speaks of religion, an unsensible word, nor of any thing else; but one night, of which I writ you word, he was disordered in his head; but then, he said no hurt; only some little ribble-rabble, which had no hurt in it. But it was observed by his wife and I particularly that, whenever he spoke of God that night, he spoke well and with great sense; which we wondered at. Since that night, he has never had a minute of disorder in his head; that was amost a fortnight ago.

This last night, if you had heard him pray, I am sure, you would not have took his words for the words of a madman; but such as came from a better spirit than the mind of mere man. But let the wicked of the world say what they please of him, the re-

⁵ *Mr. Blankort.*] Lord Rochester's French servant, see p. 653.

⁶ *Adderbury.*] About ten miles north of Woodstock, near Banbury, where lord Rochester's countess usually lived. See p. 607.

⁷ *Hectick fever . . . asses' milk.*] See p. 602.

proaches of them are an honour to him: and I take comfort, that the devil rages against my son; it shows his power over him is subdued in him, and that he has no share in him. Many messages and compliments his old acquaintance send him: but he is so far from receiving of them, that still his answer is, . . . ' Let me see none of them, and I would to God, I had never conversed with some of them.' One of his physicians, thinking to please him, told him the king drank his health the other day; he look'd earnestly upon him, and said never a word, but turn'd his face from him. I thank God, his thoughts are wholly taken off from the world, and, I hope, whether he lives or dies, will ever be so. But they are fine people at Windsor, God forgive them! Sure there never was so great a malice perform'd, as to intitle my poor son to a lampoon⁸, at this time, when, for ought they know,

⁸ *Lampoon.*] It is scarcely to be wondered at that "men of the world" and libertines, such as Buckingham and others of lord Rochester's former profligate tutors and companions, the "fine people at Windsor," should, in this manner, and even at this time, try to avenge themselves for his satires on them, aggravated as their ill feelings probably were by what they heard of his repentance for his sins, and of his abhorrence of those who were associated with him in them. The publication, immediately after lord Rochester's death, of Dr. Burnet's account of his penitence, cast shame upon the survivors, who profited not by the example and the warning which it held forth.

Lord Rochester had confessed to Burnet, as we have seen, the composition of many libels and satires, "in which he had a peculiar talent," and, before better thoughts were, by God's grace, infused into his mind, he had attempted to excuse and even to justify them; but in all the plenitude of his confession he had avowed the writing nothing worse. One very important fact towards a due estimation of his character, is that he had scarcely printed one; the circulation of these satires was chiefly confined to those about the court, and the evil was therefore in a manner circumscribed, and known only to those who were perhaps too bad to be made worse. On his death-bed lord Rochester gave "strict charge to those in whose custody his papers were, to burn all his profane and lewd writings, as being only fit to promote vice and immorality, by which he had so highly offended God, and shamed and blasphemed that holy religion into which he had been baptized." There is no reason to think that this request was neglected or disobeyed: on the contrary his mother is known to have destroyed them. But if, as Burnet says, it was the case during lord Rochester's life, "when any thing extraordinary in the way of satire came out, as a child is fathered sometimes by its resemblance, so it was laid at his doors as its parent and author," can we wonder that after his death his name was made use of to cover the infamy of others, those others, once his false friends, now his worst enemies, who were led to avenge themselves by blaspheming his memory? It is certain, and we use the words advisedly, that lord Rochester is not the author, nor to be held responsible for all, *if any*, of this

he lies upon his death-bed, My comfort is, that he will partake of that joy, unspeakable and full of glory, in the highest Heavens, that you wish him, I hope. Last night, the very expression you have made, in your good wishes for his soul, he made to God, in the conclusion of his prayer, last night, . . . 'That he might enjoy that unspeakable bliss, of a place in heaven, (tho' he were but a door-keeper⁹;) to sing to the Lord with the heavenly host.'

I do believe, if any has reported, that he should speak ridiculous, it has been the popish physician; who, one day, listen'd at the door, whilst my son was conversing with a divine: but my son spoke so low that he could hear but half words; and so he might take it for nonsense, because he had a mind so to do. But, I thank God, my son lays hold on the merits of his Saviour, Jesus Christ, for all his comfort from God: in whose arms, I

kind that may have been published as his after his death. This is capable of proof. Yet how unfairly has he been treated, and upon what insufficient grounds besides! To a vile travesty of Burnet's work, purporting to be inscribed to the duchess of Mazarin, one of Charles' mistresses, St. Evremond's name has been forged. Count Anthony Hamilton's too well known romance, wherein not one word of truth is to be found, save the mere names of the persons mentioned in it, and written to place money in the pocket of the worthless French coxcomb who is the subject of it, and who, at the age of eighty, was base enough to hawk it about for sale, was not written till twenty years after Rochester's death, nor printed till 1713, more than thirty years after his death, and nearly half a century after the time it speaks of! The author represents lord Rochester as the practised and guilty hero of many adventures, placing them all before his marriage, yet he was married before he was nineteen years old! On this work Horace Walpole has stamped his tinsel approbation, which has been received by the blind herd of common readers; and he has also given, as far as he could, currency to a belief in the forgeries to which we have alluded, by calling lord Rochester "a man whom the Muses were fond to inspire, but ashamed to avow." Yet lord Rochester wrote scarcely any thing worse than did Horace Walpole himself, whose friends unasked did for him, what Rochester requested might be done with penitence and tears. Dr. Johnson appears to have partly believed the charge, and he has thereupon condemned lord Rochester; but, however unjust in this respect he may inadvertently have been, he has done good service by the strong, yet judicious praise which he has given to Burnet's work—praise which has caused it to be read by thousands, it is to be hoped, with benefit, who might otherwise have been deterred by the very name of Rochester. It is a very significant fact, that during the last hundred years no peer of England has borne or taken the title of Rochester; Rochester is the only city in England of which that can be said.

⁹ *A door-keeper.*] Ps. lxxiv. 10.

trust, he will be receiv'd, whene're he goes out of this world ; which is the greatest comfort she has, who is

Madam,

Your affectionate Sister,

ANN ROCHESTER.

My daughter Ro. and my son, remember their service to you and my brother, to whom I present my affections.

For the lady St. John's at sir Walter St John's house at Battersay, These.

LETTER III.

June 19. [1680.]

I must, dear sister, give you an account of the first hopes of comfort I have of my son Rochester ; who, tho' he is very weak, yet these two days has produced strange alterations in him. He sleeps very well, is but little feverish, his great tortures of pain almost abated, gathers some strength, tho' but little yet. But God is infinitely merciful, upon all accounts, both to his soul and body. 'Tis my great hopes he will persevere in the way God has put him in for his soul's happiness.

I cannot omit one passage lately : Mr. Fanshaw¹⁰, his great friend, has been here to see him ; and as he was standing by my son's bed-side, he look'd earnestly upon him, and said, ' Fanshaw ! think of a God, let me advise you ; and repent you of your former life, and amend your ways. Believe what I say to you ; there is a God, and a powerful God, and he is a terrible God to unrepenting sinners ! the time draws near, that he will come to judgment, with great terrour to the wicked ; therefore, delay not your repentance : his displeasure will thunder against you, if you do believe me, do not defer the time. You and I have been long acquainted, done ill together. I love the man ; and speak to him out of conscience, for the good of his soul.' Fanshaw stood, and said never a word to him, but stole away out of the room. When my son saw him go, ' Is a gone ?' says he, ' poor wretch ! I fear his

¹⁰ *Mr. Fanshaw.*] Most probably Charles, afterwards fourth viscount Fanshawe, of Ireland, of whom Pepys, in his *Diary*, February 23, 1668, thus speaks : " A fellow at court, a brother of my lord Fanshawe's, (a witty, but rascally fellow, without a penny in his purse) that was asking him what places there were in the navy fit for him, and Brisbane tells me in mirth, he told him the clerke of the acts, and I wish he had it, so I were well and quietly rid of it." He died in 1710.

heart is harden'd.' After that, Fanshaw said to some in the house, that my son should be kept out of melancholy fancies. This was told my son again : upon which says he, 'I know why he said that ; it was because I gave him my advice ; but I could say no less to him than I did, let him take it as he pleases.'

Dear sister, my hope is great, and God is good, on whom I depend for good, both for his soul and body. I believe, I have tired you with my discourse. I have nothing more at present, but to assure you

I am, Madam,
Your faithful friend and servant,
A. Ro.

You must not let Mr. Fanshaw know what I have told you. Before I sealed this, I received your's, and two waters for my son Ro. ; he and his lady give you thanks, and present their service to you. I thank God, my son continues, at all times, very devout, ever since God struck him with a sense of his sins. He is very tender and fearful, but it does not carry him to despair. He is sensible the satisfaction of Christ is his support ; and relies wholly upon Christ's merits, for his salvation. This day has not been so good a day with him, as yesterday ; he has had some faint fits.

[direction torn off.]

LETTER IV.

June 26. [1680.]

I am sure, dear sister, 'tis your desire to hear sometime how my poor weak son does ; he gives us little hopes of his life, his weakness increasing so much. But as his outward man decays, I thank God, his inward increases and strengthens ; for he is very pious, and devout, and willing to resign himself into the arms of his Saviour, when God pleases to take him.

I hear Mr. Fanshaw reports¹ my son is mad ; but, I thank

¹ *Mr. Fanshaw reports.*] The following statement is now first printed from the original.

"When Wilmot, lord Rochester, lay on his deathbed, Mr. — Fanshaw came to visit him, with an intention to stay about a week with him. Mr. Fanshaw sitting by the bedside, perceived his lordship praying to God through Jesus Christ, and acquainted Dr. Radcliffe (who attended my lord R. in this illness and was then in the house) with what he had heard, and told him that my lord was certainly delirious, for to his knowledge (he said) he believed neither in God nor Jesus Christ. The doctor (who had often heard him pray in the same manner) proposed to Mr. F. to go up to his lordship,

God, he is far from that. I confess for a night, and part of a day, for want of rest, his head was a little disorder'd; but it was long since Mr. Fanshaw saw him. When he reprov'd him for his sinful life, he was as well in his head, as ever he was in his life; and so he is now, I thank God. I am sure, if you heard him pray, you wou'd think God had inspired him with true wisdom indeed; and that neither folly nor madness comes near him. I wish that wretch Fanshaw had so great a sense of sin, as my poor child has; that so he might be brought to repentance, before it is too late: but he is an ungrateful man to such a friend.

Dear sister, pray for us; and believe me to be,

Madam,

Your faithful friend & servant,

A. ROCHESTER.

My son and my daughter present their service to you; and we all thank you for your waters.

[The direction torn off.]

to be further satisfied touching this affair. When they came to his room, the doctor told my lord what Mr. F. said, upon which his lordship addressed himself to Mr. F. to this effect: 'Sir, it is true you and I have been very lewd and profane together, and then I was of the opinion you mention: but now I am quite of another mind, and happy am I that I am so. I am very sensible how insensible I was whilst of another opinion. Sir, you may assure yourself that there is a Judge of future state;' and so entered into a very handsome discourse concerning the last judgment, future state, &c., and concluded with a serious and pathetic exhortation to Mr. F. to enter into another course of life, adding that he (Mr. F.) knew him to be his friend, that he never was more so than at this time: and sir (said he), to use a scriptural expression, I am not mad, but speak the words of truth and soberness. Upon this Mr. F. trembled, and went immediately a foot to Woodstock, and there hired a horse to Oxford, and thence took coach to London. At the same time, Dr. Shorter (who also attended my lord in this illness) and Dr. Radcliffe walking together in the park, and discoursing touching his lordship's condition, which they agreed to be past remedy, Dr. Shorter, fetching a very deep sigh, 'Well, I can do him no good, but he has done me a great deal.' When Dr. Radcliffe came to reside in London, he made enquiry about Dr. Shorter, and understood he was, before that time, a libertine in principles, but after that professed the Roman Catholick religion. I heard Dr. Radcliffe give this account at my lord Oxford's table (then speaker of the house of commons, June 16, 1702). Present (besides Mr. Speaker) lord Weymouth, Mr. Bromley of Warwickshire, Mr. William Harvey, Mr. Pendarvis, Mr. Henry St. John, and I wrote it down immediately.

"WM. THOMAS."

LETTER V.

July the 2d [1680.]

I did, dear madam, receive your's dated the 28th of June; full of kindness, and full of Christianity, in your good wishes and kindness to my poor sick son; who, I thank God, is yet alive: but, whether it will please God to restore him again out of his bed of sickness, none but HIMSELF knows. He is full of mercy and good upon all accounts; and my prayers are, that, whether my poor son lives or dies, the Lord may be glorified in all. His conversion is mercy enough for us: tho' we enjoy him not in this world, the comfortable hopes, that he will be a saint in Heaven, is beyond my expression.

I cannot tell you that there is much sign of a recovery of my son, tho' his fever has left him: little heats he has still; which, we imagine, proceeds from his ulcer. But that as I like worst in him, is, he gathers no strength at all; but his flesh wastes much, and we fear a consumption, tho' his lungs are very good. He sleeps much; his head, for the most part, is very well. He was this day taken up, and set up in a chair, for an hour; and was not very faint, when he went to bed. He does not care to talk much, but when he does, speaks, for the most part, well. His expressions are so suddenly spoken, that many of them are lost, and cannot be taken; yet, I believe, some of what he has said will be remembred.

I told my son, that I heard Mr. Fanshaw said, that he hop'd he wou'd recover, and leave those principles he now profess'd. He answered, 'Wretch! I wish I had convers'd all my life-time with link-boys, rather than with him, and that crew; such, I mean, as Fanshaw is. Indeed, I wou'd not live, to return to what I was², for all the world.' I desire the continuance of your

² *To return to what I was.*] We have a parallel to the temptations to which Rochester was subjected from his former wicked companions, in a picture, the scene of which is laid in humble life.

"When the clattering of their nail-shod feet was over, I went close to the bed-side, and said, 'Richard, you must be careful about these men. I strongly suspect that they came here, upon learning that you were so much better, in order to tell you, that they expected soon to see you amongst them again. Was this so?' 'It was, sir,' he answered. 'Ah! Richard, Richard,' I went on; 'you will be in great danger, if you recover enough to go abroad. Will these people attend to what I have been pressing upon them?' 'Only, I fear, for a little while,' was his reply. 'And I fear so too,' I said; 'so that you must beware of them to the very utmost of your

prayers, and all the good people who has been kind, in remembering my son in their prayers. I told him, that you pray'd for him heartily. He said, . . 'Pray thank my good aunt; and remember my service to her, and my uncle.' My daughter remembers her service to you. Dear sister, whatever becomes of me, through my afflictions, I am sincerely

Madam,

Your faithful friend, and affectionate servant,

A. ROCHESTER.

For the Lady St. John at Batersay.

Leave this to be sent with safety, at Mr. Dryden's³ in Kings Street, at the sign of the pestle and mortar, Westminster, London.

The following letter, the original of which is amongst the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, shows that besides the helps mentioned by bishop Burnet, in p. 635, that the earl acknowledged himself under special obligations to Dr. Thomas Pierce, afterwards dean of Salisbury.

"THE EARL OF ROCHESTER TO DR. THOMAS PIERCE, OF
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXON.

"My indisposition renders my intellectuals almost as feeble as my person; but, considering the candour and extream charity power, if you wish to remain in the favour of God, and in the faith of Christ, and in the hope of being saved.—And I must remind you of one thing which is very terrible; that they who fall back into their former courses, after having been once rescued from them, become ten times more the children of the devil than before.—God grant that this may not be your case. And now I will kneel down and pray with you:’ which having done, I rose and hastened away.”

The above is from *Death-bed Scenes and Pastoral Conversations*, vol. i. chap. vi. p. 228, one of the most instructive and valuable works in pastoral theology ever written; and which I venture to recommend strongly to my readers, especially to the younger clergy. The work purports to be by John Warton, D.D., but the real author is the late William Wood, B.D., student of Christ Church, vicar of Fulham, and prebendary of Canterbury.

³ *At Mr. Dryden's.*] “Erasmus Dryden, the poet's immediate younger brother, was in trade, and resided in King-street, Westminster. He succeeded to the family title and estate, upon the death of sir John Dryden, and died at the seat of Canons-Ashby, November 3, 1718.”—*Scott's Life of Dryden*, p. 25.

your natural mildness hath always shewed me, I am assured at once both of a favorable construction of my present lines, which can but faintly express the sorrowful character of an humble and afflicted mind, and also those great comforts, your inexhaustible goodness, learning, and piety plenteously affords to the drooping spirits of poor sinners; so that I may truly say, holy man, to you I owe what consolation I enjoy, in urging God's mercyes against despair; and holding me up under the weight of those high and mountainous sins my wicked and ungovernable life hath heaped upon me.

"If God shall be pleased to spare me a little longer here, I have unalterably resolved to become a new man, so as to wash out the stains of my lewd courses with my tears, and weep over the profane and unhallowed abominations of my former doings; that the world may see how I loth sin and abhor the very remembrance of those tainted and unclean joys, I once delighted in; these being, as the apostle tells us, the things whereof I am now ashamed. Or, if it be his great pleasure now to put a period to my days, that he will accept of my last gasp; that the smoak of my death-bed offering may not be unsavoury to his nostrils, and drive me, like Cain, from before his presence. Pray for me, dear doctor; and all you that forget not God, pray for me fervently. Take heaven by force, and lett me enter in with you, as it were in disguise; for I dare not appear before the dread Majesty of that Holy One I have so often offended.

"Warn all my friends and companions to a true and sincere repentance, to-day, while it is called to-day: before the evil day come, and they be no more. Let them know that sin is like the angeles book in the Revelations; it is sweet to the mouth, and bitter in the belly. Lett them know that God will not be mocked: that he is an holy God, and will be served in holiness and purity; that he requires the whole man, and the early man. Bid them make haste, for the night cometh when no man can work. Oh! that they were wise, that they would consider this, and not with me, with wretched me, delay it untill their latter end. Pray, dear sir, continually pray for your poor friend,

"ROCHESTER."

*"Ranger's Lodge in Woodstock Park,
July, 1680."*

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON.

Had not the danger of losing the established religion and laws animated some of the last age with a zeal which despised all other dangers ; instead of living under a well-constituted government, mild and regular beyond the example of any age or kingdom, we should either have been subject to an arbitrary and illegal dominion at home, or, which is more probable, have long ago submitted, with all the nations round us, to those powerful enemies, who for a century past have been attempting to enslave the world.—And what other human blessings can be compared with that, which is the security and preservation of them all, the liberty of *laws* ? What other except that, which secures to us, more than human blessings, the liberty of *religion* ? What praise, and esteem, and veneration, are due to those, who obtained them for us !

DOCTOR W. S. POWELL

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following narrative is abridged from *The Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, compiled from the Minutes of the Rev. Mr. Young, late dean of Salisbury, by F. H——, M.A. London, 1717. 8vo.*—The editor regrets that the memoir is not more worthy of the excellent man whom it describes.

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON.

JOHN TILLOTSON was the son of Robert Tillotson, of Sowerby, in the county of York, a clothier, by Mary the daughter of Thomas Dobson, of Sowerby, gentleman, in the parish of Halifax: he was there born either the latter end of September, or the beginning of October, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty.

His first education and impressions were among those who were then called Puritans, but of the best sort: yet even before his mind was opened to clearer thoughts, he felt somewhat within him, that disposed him to larger notions, and a better temper. The books which were put into the hands of the youth of that time, were generally heavy; he could scarce bear them, even before he knew better things. He happily fell on Chillingworth's book, which gave his mind the ply that it held ever after, and put him on a true scent. He was soon freed from his first prejudices, or rather, he was never mastered by them: yet he still stuck to the strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and a due tenderness for the men of that persuasion; and by the strength of his reason, together with the clearness of his principles, he brought over more serious men from their scruples to the communion of the church, and fixed more in it, than any man I ever knew^a.

After he had with a quick proficiency gone through the grammar-schools, and arrived to an uncommon knowledge in the learned languages, he was on April 23, 1647, admitted pensioner of Clare-hall, in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. David Clarkson. He commenced bachelor of arts at Midsummer,

[^a See his Funeral Sermon.]

1650, and was elected fellow before Christmas that year. In 1654 he took the degree of master of arts, and in 1666 went out doctor in divinity.

In the years 1661 and 2 he was curate to Dr. Hacket, vicar of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, as abundance of the parishioners living there did well remember; particularly Mr. Mott the parish-clerk and school-master, who gave the following account of him, viz. "That sir Thomas Dacres gave him his board, who then lived at the great house near the church; that he behaved himself there exceeding well, and did a great many good things; among the rest, by his mild and gentle behaviour, and persuasive eloquence, he prevailed with an old Oliverian soldier, who set up for an Anabaptist preacher there, and preached in a red coat, and was much followed in that place, to desist from that encroachment upon the parish minister, and the usurpation of the priest's office, and to betake himself to some honest employment. Some years after he and Dr. Stillingfleet hired the great house before-mentioned, and lived there together in summer-time."

It has been confidently reported, that he never had a cure of souls; but in Batteley's edition of Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, part 3, p. 124, it appears that he was presented by sir Thomas Barnadiston to the rectory of Ketton, alias Keddington, in the county of Suffolk; his mandate of induction is there set down verbatim, as it is entered in the register of the archdeacon of Sudbury. He did not continue there a full year, but removed again to London, and procured Keddington to be bestowed upon his curate: "a benefice" (says the bishop of Sarum in his funeral sermon) "being offered him in the country, he once intended to have left this great scene, and gone to that retirement, where he spent almost a year; but he was happily recalled by that honourable society" (Lincoln's-inn) "for whom he always retained just impressions of gratitude. And though in the intervals of terms he could have given a large part of the year to his parish, yet so strict he was to the pastoral care in the point of residence, that he parted with it even when his incomes here could scarce support him."

In the year 1664 he was chosen preacher to Lincoln's-inn, where he continued some years, and was wonderfully admired and loved by that honourable and learned society, for his eloquent sermons.

The same year he was chosen Tuesday-lecturer of St. Lawrence's church, in London. Here it was that he preached those incomparable sermons, concerning the divinity and incarnation of our blessed Saviour, in vindication of himself from the calumny of Socinianism, with which his enemies charged him. "When the party" (says the late learned bishop of Sarum^b) "had given credit to a most impudent calumny that was raised by the papists against the late primate, of his being a Socinian, his book against those errors had for some time made even the party itself ashamed to support that any longer; at last an ignorant and malicious writer^c was found out to maintain that charge still, which had made too great a noise to be easily parted with. But I am heartily glad to see justice done to the name of so great a man, by one^d who has answered that libel in so full and so convincing a manner. He has concealed no part of their objections; and by setting down all those parts of the archbishop's sermons, upon which these men have studied to fix their malice, not only in some short periods, which malicious men have made a noise with, but in all that went before and after, he gives so fair as well as true a representation of that great prelate's sense, that I am confident no ill impressions will stick with any who will be so just as to consider the whole matter, the vindication as well as the calumnies, with sincere and equitable minds."

The author of the *Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin*, who was a grand Socinian himself, has so fully cleared the archbishop from that imputation, and proved that he lived and died of a contrary opinion, that I hope it will not be unacceptable to the reader to insert the place at large. "Now also he (Mr. Firmin) grew into intimacy with Dr. Whichcot, Dr. Worthington, Dr. Wilkins, Mr. Tillotson. Dr. Wilkins was afterwards bishop of Chester, Mr. Tillotson (for he was not yet made doctor) archbishop of Canterbury: but in their dignity, and to the very last, Mr. Firmin had the same place and degree in their esteem and friendship, that at any time formerly he had. While Dr. Tillotson preached the Tuesday's lecture at St. Lawrence's so much fre-

[^b Reflections upon a pamphlet, entitled, "Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson," &c.]

[^c A book, entitled, "Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity."]

[^d Dr. Williams's "Vindication of the Sermons of his grace John, archbishop of Canterbury," &c.]

quented by all the divines of the town, and by a great many persons of quality and distinction; when the doctor was obliged to be at Canterbury, where he was dean, or was out of town, either for diversion or health, he generally left it to Mr. Firmin to provide preachers for his lecture, and Mr. Firmin never failed to supply his place with some very eminent preacher; so that there never was any complaint on the account of Dr. Tillotson's absence. And this Mr. Firmin could easily do; for now there was hardly a divine of note (whether in London, or in the country, that frequented London) but Mr. Firmin was come acquainted with him. Which thing helped him much to serve the interests of many hopeful young preachers and scholars, candidates for lectures, schools, cures, or rectories; for whom he would solicit with as much affection and diligence, as other men do for their sons, or near relations. Her late majesty (queen Mary) of most happy memory, having heard much of Mr. Firmin's usefulness in all public designs, especially those of charity; and that he was heterodox in the articles of the Trinity, the divinity of our Saviour, and the satisfaction; she spoke to archbishop Tillotson, and earnestly recommended it to him to set Mr. Firmin right in those weighty and necessary points. The archbishop answered, that he had often endeavoured it; but Mr. Firmin having so early and long imbibed the Socinian doctrine, was not now capable of a contrary impression. However his grace published his sermons (formerly preached at St. Lawrence's) concerning those questions, and sent Mr. Firmin one of the first copies from the press. Mr. Firmin, not convinced by his grace's reasonings, or his arguments from holy Scripture, caused a respectful answer (although some have stretched one expression too far) entitled, *Considerations on the explications and defences of the doctrine of the Trinity*, to be drawn up and published, himself giving his grace a copy of it. I must not omit to do the archbishop right against those who pretend, that the archbishop, notwithstanding those sermons, was in his heart an unitarian. For Mr. Firmin himself told me, shortly after the archbishop had published those sermons, that going to Lambeth, and the archbishop happening to dine in private, he sent for Mr. Firmin to him, and said to this effect, that the calumnies of the people had obliged him to publish his sermons, some time since preached at St. Lawrence's against the tenets of Socinus: that he had sincerely preached, as he then thought, and continued still to think of those points:

that however no body's false imputations should provoke him to give ill language to persons who dissented conscientiously, and for weighty reasons; that he knew well this was the case of the Socinians, for whose learning and dexterity he should always have a respect, as well as for their sincerity and exemplariness. Afterwards, when Mr. Firmin gave him a copy of the *Considerations*, after he had read it, he only said, *my lord of Sarum shall humble their writers*. Nor did he afterwards at any time express the least coldness on the account of the answer made to him, but used Mr. Firmin as formerly, enquiring as his custom was, *how does my son Giles?* so he called Mr. Firmin's son by his second wife."

In his funeral sermon we have the following account of his preaching this lecture. "I need not tell you," says the eloquent preacher, "how many years, and with what labour and success he divided himself between that society" (Lincoln's Inn) "and this place. I am confident you have profited so much by it, that you will remember it long; and that you do reckon it as a great item of the account you must all one day give, that you were so long blessed with his ministry. The numerous assembly that this lecture brought together, even from the remotest parts of this wide city; the great concourse of clergymen, who came hither to form their minds; the happy union that thereby the clergy of this great body grew into, and the blessed effects this had, are things which it is to be hoped an age will not wear out of men's minds. Some great charity, some public service, or good design, was the work of most of those days. Every one saw him considered as the head of this learned and eminent body; and he was the only person that made no reflections on it himself. He was still so affable and humble, so modest, and so ready to serve the youngest and meanest in it, that such as saw all that, must needs feel the impressions of it go deep, and stick long with him."

In 1669, he was made canon of Christ Church, in Canterbury, and prebend of St. Paul's in 1675: he was also preferred to the deanery of Canterbury in 1672; and in 1689, he was made clerk of the closet to king William the third; and upon the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet from the deanery of St. Paul's to the bishoprick of Worcester, he succeeded him in the same year.

In 1674, king Charles the second, who had an apprehension and judgment (when he applied to business) equal to the greatest of his predecessors, did clearly perceive it to be the sense of his

council, and the voice of his people, that he should support the established church, with a strict hand upon the papists, and with a moderate restraint of the dissenters, chiefly because their division gave advantage to the other enemy. On this principle of wisdom, his majesty commanded his own inclination, and during the long recess of parliament, to quiet the minds of his people, he published this declaration for enforcing a late order made in council.

The King's Declaration.

CHARLES R.

The administration of justice, according to the settled and known laws of our kingdom, we take to be the most reasonable and proper method for attaining and preserving the peace and safety both of church and state. As therefore we find it necessary that the laws should be put in execution with more care and diligence than of late they have been, so also we think it expedient, that the orders we have already given for that purpose, should be made public in such a manner that all men may find themselves obliged to take notice of the same, and to give a due obedience thereunto. For which reason we have thought fit to declare, and do hereby publish and declare our royal will and pleasure, that our order made in council on Wednesday, the third day of this instant, February, and since printed and published, be exactly observed by all and every person and persons to whom it shall or may appertain : and more particularly we require and command, that the convictions of popish recusants be every where encouraged, quickened, and made effectual : and that all convictions, as soon as they shall be perfected, be forthwith certified into the Exchequer, and that speedy process do issue upon all such convictions as are or shall be certified : and that care be taken, that no persons of quality, who shall be suspected to be popish recusants, be omitted to be presented : and that no delay be used, nor any practice suffered, which may hinder or obstruct the completing of such convictions as are now preparing. And we do strictly charge and command, that no mass be said in any part of this kingdom, the chapels of our dearest consort the queen, and the chapels of foreign ministers, only excepted. And to prevent all extraordinary resort to those chapels, by such who are not menial servants to the queen, or to foreign ministers, we declare, that every such offender shall incur the forfeiture of one

hundred marks, provided by the statute made in the twenty-third year of queen Elizabeth, whereof one-third part shall be given to the informer for his farther reward and encouragement. And we require all officers and ministers of justice to cause diligent search to be made in all other places where they shall hear or suspect that mass is said, and to cause all offenders in this kind to be apprehended and proceeded with according to law. And we forewarn all our subjects, that they presume not to send any person to be educated abroad in any popish college or seminary; and we command all parents or guardians of any person or persons, now remaining in any such college or seminary, that they cause the said person or persons speedily to return home, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Moreover, we require all persons born in any of our dominions, and out of prison, who have taken orders by any authority derived from the church or see of Rome (except Mr. John Huddleston¹) to depart the kingdom before the twenty-fifth day of March next, according to the tenor of our late proclamation; and also to depart the court within the fourteen days appointed by our late order in council. And we forbid all papists, or reputed papists, to come into our palaces at Whitehall or St. James's, or into any other place where our court shall be, contrary to our late prohibition, upon pain of imprisonment in the Tower, if he be a peer of the realm; or in some other prison if he be of lesser quality. And lastly, we appoint, that care be taken for the suppression of conventicles, hereby declaring that all our licences were long since recalled, and that no conventicle hath any authority, allowance, or encouragement from us. And our pleasure is, that these our commands be published and proclaimed in the usual manner.

Given at our court at Whitehall this 12th day of
February, in the 27th year of our reign. [1675.]

This declaration referred to an order in council made on the third day of February, wherein the king, upon advising with several of his bishops, agreed upon six orders and resolutions then taken for the more effectual conviction of popish recusants, and the suppression of conventicles: of which the last was this: "And his majesty doth farther order and appoint, that effectual

[¹ *Huddleston*.] A Benedictine monk, who had been instrumental to the preservation of the king, after his defeat at Worcester.]

care be taken for the suppression of conventicles: and whereas divers pretend licences from his majesty, and would support themselves by that pretence, his majesty declares, that all his licences were long since recalled; and that no conventicle hath any authority, allowance, or encouragement from his majesty."—The nonconformists on this occasion thus partially expressed themselves. His majesty called the bishops up to London, to give him advice what was to be done for the securing of religion, &c. and they, after divers consultations with the ministers of state, advised him to recall his licences, and put the laws against the nonconformists in execution; and this was done by a declaration and proclamation, declaring the licences long since void, and requiring the execution of the laws against papists and conventicles. No sooner was the proclamation published, but special informers were set on work to promote the execution. A little before the licences were recalled, Mr. Baxter openly declared in his pulpit, "that it was not in opposition to the public churches that he kept up a meeting, but to help the people in their necessity, who were many more than the parish church could hold." Hereupon it was confidently reported that he was conforming —. Another session of parliament approaching, bishop Morley and bishop Ward were in appearance very sensible of popery, and therefore very forward for abatements, and taking in the nonconformists, and moved it to many. At length Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Stillingfleet desired a meeting with Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Mr. Pool, and Mr. Baxter, in order to consider of an accommodation², and said they had the encouragement of several lords, both spiritual and temporal. Mr. Baxter at first met the two doctors alone, and they considered and canvassed various draughts, and at length fixed on one in which they agreed. This being communicated to the nonconformists, was agreeable; but when they communicated it to the bishops, there was an end of the treaty. A great many things could not be obtained, upon which Mr. Baxter sent to Dr. Tillotson, to know whether he might have leave to speak of it, in order to the promoting concord, and to signify how far they were agreed, that their names might be some advantage to the work, and he thereupon returned him the following letter, dated April 11, 1675.

² *An accommodation.*] For an account of an earlier attempt of the same kind, in the years 1667-8, see *Life of Sir Matthew Hale*, p. 553 of this volume.

Sir,

I took the first opportunity after you were with us, to speak to the bishop of Salisbury, who promised to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint the bishop of Chichester with it in order to a meeting; but upon some general discourse I plainly perceived several things could not be obtained. However, he promised to appoint a time of meeting, but I have not heard from him since. I am unwilling my name should be used in this matter, not but that I do most heartily desire an accommodation, and shall always endeavour it; but I am sure it will be a prejudice to me, and signify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which, as circumstances are, cannot pass in either house without the concurrence of a considerable part of the bishops, and the countenance of his majesty, which at present I see little reason to expect.

I am,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

J. TILLOTSON.

The terms agreed on were much of the same nature with those delivered the year before by Mr. Baxter to the earl of Orrery; the chief of which were these,

“That no covenant, promise, or oath, should be required to ordination, institution, or induction, but the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The subscribing to the doctrine and sacraments of the church of England, as expressed in the thirty-nine articles, and a general declaration against rebellion and sedition. That till the nonconformists could be better provided for by vacancies, they should have liberty to be school-masters, or assistants to incumbents, or to preach lectures in their churches; either such lectures as were already endowed with maintenance, or such as the people should be willing to maintain; and that in the mean time their meeting-places that were convenient should be continued in use as chapels. That liberty be allowed for neighbours joining together in praying to God and praising him, and repeating sermons, in their private houses without molestation. That for the Liturgy, &c. none be obliged to read the apocryphal lessons: that it be enough if an incumbent once in a quarter or half year, read the greatest part of the service for that time; and that it be at other times done by his curate or assistant. That lecturers be not obliged to read the service; or at most, that it be enough, if

once in half a year they read the greatest part of what is appointed for that time. That parents have liberty to dedicate their own children to God in baptism, without being obliged to find god-fathers and godmothers. That the use of the sign of the cross be left to the minister's inclination and discretion. That ministers be not forced to baptize a child, whose parents are denied the communion of the church, unless some serious Christian undertake for its education, according to the Christian covenant. That none be forced to receive the sacrament while unfit or averse. That ministers be not forced to deliver the sacrament to any unbaptized persons; or to such as will not own their baptismal covenant, and publicly profess their adherence to it; or to such as are guilty of scandalous immoralities, till they have professed repentance. That ministers be not forced to publish an excommunication, or absolution, against their consciences, upon the decree of a lay-chancellor, &c. or harassed by attending their courts, to bring witnesses against those to whom they have refused the sacrament upon the aforesaid reasons. That it be left to the discretion of ministers, whom they will absolve in sickness, and to whom they will give the sacrament, and over whom they at their interment will use those few words which import the justification and salvation of the deceased: and that the sick and dying have the liberty of choosing what ministers they will to attend and assist them without restraint. That no ministers be forced to deny the sacrament to such as think it unlawful to take it kneeling. That the use of the surplice be left indifferent. And that people who live under an ignorant or scandalous minister, have liberty to join with those with whom they can better profit, in any neighbouring church in the same diocese, paying the incumbent his dues. That no ordained ministers be put upon renouncing their ordination, but upon proof of their fitness for the ministry, receive by word, or a written instrument, a legal authority to exercise their ministry in any congregation in his majesty's dominions, where they shall be lawfully called. That no excommunicate person, as such, be imprisoned or ruined. And that, after all, Christian lenity be used to all conscientious dissenters; and that the tolerable be tolerated, under laws of peace and safety. Upon the whole he added, that if the sacraments were but left free to be administered, and received by none but volunteers; and liberty granted to ministers to preach in those churches where the Common Prayer was read by others: and the subscriptions

contained nothing that a conscientious man might need to scruple : he thought it might take in all, even the independents as well as presbyterians."

Mr. Baxter gave the earl of Orrery these proposals ; but he, after some time, returned them with bishop Morley's strictures and animadversions upon them, and they came to nothing.

In the year 1680, the house of commons finding no other way to keep popery out of the nation, than by excluding the duke of York from the succession to the crown, they brought in a bill to disable him. On November the 11th, it passed the commons ; on the 15th, it was carried up to the lords by the lord Russel, and there at the second reading it was thrown out by a majority of thirty voices, of which eight were bishops. Upon this the clergy in and about the city of London presented an address of thanks to the king for not agreeing to the bill of exclusion, which Dr. Tillotson refused to sign.

In the year 1681 died the reverend and pious Mr. Gouge, of whom Dr. Tillotson in his funeral sermon gives this excellent character, viz. "that he was of a disposition ready to embrace and oblige all men ; allowing others to differ from him, even in opinions that were very dear to him ; and provided men did but fear God, and work righteousness, he loved them heartily, how distant soever from him in judgment about things less necessary : in all which he is very worthy to be a pattern for men of all persuasions whatsoever." Mr. Gouge was a person of uncommon piety and charity, and an indefatigable diligence in doing good. That which gives occasion to mention him here, is, that he procured *the Church Catechism, the Practice of Piety*, and that best of books, *the Whole Duty of Man*, besides several other pious and useful treatises, to be translated into the Welch tongue, and great numbers of them to be printed, and sent down to the chief towns in Wales, to be sold at easy rates to those that were able to buy them, and to be freely given to those that were not. But that which was the greatest work of all, and amounted indeed to a mighty charge, he procured a new and very fair impression of the Bible and Liturgy of the church of England in the Welch tongue (the former impression being dispersed, and hardly twenty of them to be had in all London) to the number of eight thousand : one thousand whereof were freely given to the poor, and the rest sent to the principal cities and towns in Wales, to be sold to the rich at very reasonable and low rates, viz. at four shillings a piece, well

bound and clasped ; which was much cheaper than any English Bible was ever sold that was of so fair a print and paper. Towards the carrying on this charitable work, large and bountiful contributions (chiefly by his industry and prudent application) were obtained from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions, from the nobility and gentry of Wales and the neighbouring countries, and several of that quality in and about London : from divers of the right reverend bishops, and of the clergy ; amongst the rest, Dr. Tillotson (then dean of St. Paul's) was a great promoter of this good and charitable undertaking, and contributed towards it fifty pounds. And indeed it was a work of that charge, that it was not likely to have been done any other way ; and for which this age, and perhaps the next, will have great cause to thank God on his behalf.

In the year 1682, he laid a farther obligation upon the public, by giving them a volume of excellent sermons, consisting of fifteen in number, from bishop Wilkins's papers, to which he prefixed the following preface :

“ I easily foresee, that in this censorious and inquisitive age, two questions will be asked concerning the publishing of these sermons, why no sooner ? or why at all ? since so many come abroad every day, that the age is almost oppressed with them. To the *first* I answer, because I was not at leisure before to review them, and to get them transcribed out of a hand not legible enough for the press. To the *other*, because though there be many sermons, yet not many such ; whether we consider in them the usefulness and weight of the matters treated of ; or the suitable manner of handling them, in a stile of so much clearness, and closeness, and strength, as was fitted (as he himself was wont to wish) to the capacity of the weakest, and the conviction of the strongest ; or the solid and well poised judgment of the author in points of difficulty ; or lastly, the admirable candour and moderation of his temper in matters of difference and dispute.

“ And I purposely mention his moderation, and likewise adventure to commend him for it ; notwithstanding that this virtue, so much esteemed and magnified by wise men in all ages, hath of late been declaimed against with so much zeal and fierceness, and yet with that good grace and confidence, as if it were not only no virtue, but even the sum and abridgment of all vices. I say, notwithstanding all this, I am still of the old opinion, that moderation is a virtue, and one of the peculiar ornaments and advantages

of the excellent constitution of our church, and must at last be the temper of her members, especially the clergy, if ever we seriously intend the firm establishment of this church, and do not industriously design by cherishing heats and divisions among ourselves, to let in popery at these breaches.

“As to the author himself, I cannot forbear, out of a generous indignation to see the ashes of so worthy a man trampled upon, to take notice of a very slight, and, I think, unjust character given of him in a late book, entituled, *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*; whether by the author of that book, or by some other hand, is variously reported, and I am not curious to know. The former part of the character is chiefly made up of invidious reflections upon his carriage, and the circumstances of his condition in the late times; in all which, because I did not then know him, I leave him to be vindicated or censured by those who were witnesses of his whole behaviour and temper in that time. The latter part of it consists of flat and ill-favoured commendations; as, that he was *philosophicæ et mathematicæ addictissimus*, a great well-willer to philosophy and the mathematics; the exact character of an empirick and an almanack maker, when these two excellencies happen to be in conjunction: and then, that to the study of divinity he added, *eloquentiam in concionando non contemnendam*, an eloquence in preaching not to be despised: which though it be but a very cold and slender commendation both of his divinity and his eloquence, yet I must own something of kindness in it, because there is in good earnest a sort of eloquence in preaching that is to be despised. To finish the kindness, and that nothing might be omitted that might any ways cast an odium upon him, as he is placed next before Mr. Hobbes, so I cannot but observe in comparing their characters, that there is apparently far less of envy and detraction in that of Mr. Hobbes, than in this of the reverend bishop; for which I can imagine no other reason but this, that Mr. Hobbes was then alive to speak for himself, but the dead bite not.

“Upon the whole, it hath often been no small matter of wonder to me, whence it should come to pass that so great a man, and so great a lover of mankind, who had the inclination, the skill, and the opportunity to oblige so very many, and was so highly valued and revered by all that knew him; should yet have the hard fate to fall under the heavy displeasure and censure of those who knew him not: and that he who never did any

thing to make himself one personal enemy, should have the ill fortune to have so many. I think I may truly say, that there are or have been, very few in this age or nation, so well known, and so greatly esteemed and favoured, first by a judicious prince, and then by so many persons of high rank and quality and of singular worth and eminency in all the learned professions, as our author was.

“And this surely cannot be denied him, it is so well known to many worthy persons yet living, and hath been so often acknowledged even by his enemies, that in the late times of confusion, almost all that was preserved and kept up of ingenuity and learning, of good order and government in the university of Oxford, was chiefly owing to his prudent conduct and encouragement. Which consideration alone, had there been no other, might have prevailed with some there to have treated his memory with at least common kindness and respect. Not to do this to the dead, and in a character of him that was intended to live to posterity, seems very hard; and yet I shall only make this soft reflection upon it, that there is no readier way for any man to bring his own worth into question, than by endeavouring to detract from the universally acknowledged worth of other men.

“Having said this out of justice as well as friendship to the author, and by way of necessary vindication of him, from the envy endeavoured to be raised against him by some in this present age, I leave these discourses of his to justify themselves and him to posterity.

“J. TILLOTSON.”

In 1683, my lord Russel was beheaded for treason, as was pretended; but in reality, for his vigorous opposition to popery and arbitrary government. During his imprisonment, he was frequently visited by those two learned divines, Dr. Burnet late bishop of Sarum, and our most excellent primate. When that lord was under condemnation, he writ him the following letter, which will fairly clear him from a false representation made of him as no friend to that doctrine of the church of England, *passive obedience*.

“My Lord,

“I was heartily glad to see your lordship this morning in that calm and devout temper at the receiving the blessed sacrament;

but peace of mind, unless it be well grounded, will avail little : and because transient discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it : therefore in tender compassion of your lordship's case, and from all the good-will that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your lordship's deliberate thoughts these following considerations concerning the points of resistance, if our religion and rights should be invaded, as your lordship puts the case ; concerning which I understand by Dr. Burnet that your lordship had once received satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change.

“First, that the Christian religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of authority.

“Secondly, that though our religion be established by law (which your lordship urges as a difference between our case and that of the primitive Christians) yet in the same law which establishes our religion it is declared, *that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms, &c.* Besides that, there is a particular law declaring the power of the militia to be solely in the king. And that ties the hands of subjects, though the law of nature, and the general rules of Scripture had left us at liberty ; which I believe they do not ; because the government and peace of human society could not well subsist upon those terms.

“Thirdly, your lordship's opinion is contrary to the declared doctrine of all protestant churches ; and though some particular persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of protestants. And I beg your lordship to consider, how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the protestant religion, to go contrary to the general doctrine of protestants.

“My end in this is to convince your lordship, that you are in a very great and dangerous mistake ; and being so convinced, that which before was a sin of ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous nature, as in truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep repentance ; which if your lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your error, by a penitent acknowledgement of it to God and men, you will not only obtain forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty scandal to the reformed religion. I am very loth to give your lordship any disquiet in the distress you are in, which I commiserate from my heart, but am much more concerned that you do not leave the world in a delusion and false peace, to the hindrance of your eternal happiness. I heartily

pray for you, and beseech your lordship to believe that I am with the greatest sincerity and compassion in the world,

My lord,

Your lordship's most faithful
and afflicted servant,

"*July 20, 1683.*

"J. TILLOTSON."

And in his last prayer with his lordship on the scaffold, he thus concludes, "Grant, Lord, that all we who survive, by this and other instances of thy providence, may learn our duty to God and the king." What could a man have said more in behalf of any doctrine of the church of England? And though he did comply with the revolution, yet it is most certain that he never changed his opinion in this point, although his enemies charge him with "e apostacy from his once avowed principle and doctrine of the church of England, the once venerable doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience: in which our church hath taught her children how they should behave themselves towards men, and approve themselves towards God, if she and they should come to be persecuted for the trial of their faith, as the purest churches and best Christians have been in former ages."

I cannot make a better reply to this accusation, than in the words of the late learned bishop of Sarum, in his answer to the foresaid pamphlet, which does undeniably prove that here was no change of principles, nor departing from former opinions.

"As I have" (says his lordship) "expressly and publicly owned a reserve for resistance in case of a total subversion; so I must add, that to my knowledge, other divines still understood that doctrine of non-resistance with this reserve; though they did not think it necessary to mention it. If a man were to exhort married persons to their duty, he might use that general expression of St. Paul, *that the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and that as the church is subject unto Christ, so wives ought to be subject to their own husbands in every thing*: he might say all this, without an exception; and yet in the case of intolerable cruelty, the wife may see to her own preservation; but desertion or adultery sets her more at liberty. In the same manner, when we exhort

[* See a pamphlet, entitled, "Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson," &c. p. 35.]

children to obey their parents in all things; we do not suppose the case of their parents going about to kill them, nor argue what they may do in such a case. Extraordinary cases ought not to be supposed, when we give the directions that belong to the ordinary course of life; and therefore divines might preach submission in very large and full expressions, who yet might believe, that a total subversion was a case of another nature, which might warrant more violent remedies. This I am sure was our late primate's opinion. This was that which we laid before that great, but innocent victim, that was sacrificed to the rage of a party, I mean the lord Russell, who was condemned for treasonable words, though there was not one witness that swore one word against him: it being only deposed, that treasonable words were said in his hearing; to which, as was sworn, he was consenting, though no words of his were expressed, that imported any such consent. The true case of that whole matter was stated thus; a visible design was carried on to bring in popery and arbitrary government. In order to that, *quo warranto's* were brought against several cities and boroughs, which would have changed the constitution of the house of commons; and sheriffs unduly elected were put on the city of London, on design, as it was believed, to pack juries. These things were thought just grounds of resistance; the late primate and myself were of another opinion. We knew, or at least had reason to believe we knew, the secret of the king's religion who then reigned; and did not doubt of the bad designs that were then on foot, and of the illegal actings of that time; yet we still thought that remote fears and consequences, together with illegal practices, did not justify resistance; but that the laws both of the gospel and of the land, did bind us in that case to submission. That lord upon this, said, he did not see a difference between a legal and a Turkish constitution, upon this hypothesis: and when we told him, that a total subversion changed the case, he answered, then it would be too late to resist. In all that affair the late primate had the same opinion, and no other than that he had to the last. Some particular considerations restrained him from writing about it; but he did not decline to explain this, as oft as there was occasion given for it.

“Upon the whole matter, there are two questions in the point of resistance: the one is, whether subjects may resist merely upon the account of religion, or not, either to force a general

reformation, or to secure themselves from persecution? the other is concerning the constitution of states and kingdoms; and of this in particular, how far they have retained or lost their liberties? the one is a point of divinity, the other is a point of law and history. As to the first, I do not know one of all the divines that have sworn to the present government, who are not still of the same opinion that they were formerly of, and that do not still judge resistance on the account of religion to be unlawful. Nor does it any way reflect on them, if they should have changed their opinion in the other point, which falls not so properly within their studies. They might have been misled by chimerical notions of imperial and political laws; they might have thought that the zeal with which some had promised to stand it out against a popish king, threatening they would tell him to his face (at least owning that it was their duty to do it) that he was an idolater, a bread-worshipper, a goddess-worshipper^f, with a great many other fine names, that they said they would give him. They might, I say, have thought, that we were safe under the conduct of men, who were so bold when there was no danger; but were much tamer and more cautious as the danger came nearer them. Thus many might go into wrong notions of our government, and think we had no liberties left us, but what were at the discretion of our princes. It is no derogation from the learning and studies of divines to own, that though they are still of their former opinion in that which is theological, and that was only incumbent on them to know; yet in matters of law and policy, they might have been led into mistakes. This answers all that pompous objection, with which so much noise is made, and upon which so many ill words have been fastened. A great many have not at all changed their opinion, even in this second point; and others do see that they were mistaken in their opinion concerning our constitution, and the nature of laws and legal security; and the right that arises out of these, in the case of a total subversion.”

He has been also represented as no lover of the liturgy of the church of England. Dr. Calamy tells the following story of him^g: “Dr. Tillotson frankly owning in a sermon, that the Dissenters had some plausible objections against the Common-

[^f Jovian, p. 96.]

[^g Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History, &c. p. 226.]

Prayer, archbishop Sancroft sending for him to reprimand him, he stood to what he had asserted. The archbishop asked him which parts of the Common Prayer he meant; and he mentioned the Burial Office; upon which that archbishop owned to him that he was so little satisfied with that office himself, that for that very reason he had never taken a cure of souls." And because the truth of this story has been called in question, Dr. Calamy says, that he had it under the hand of Mr. Stancliffe, who wrote that passage in the margin of his abridgement, and afterwards was so kind as to send him the book for his own use. I shall not contest the truth of this story, let it be true or false, this worthy prelate's zeal and affection for the church of England will sufficiently appear by the great numbers he brought over to her communion.

This year (1683) he published the works of the learned Dr. Isaac Barrow, master of Trinity college, in Cambridge. And the year following he published the works of his intimate friend, the excellent Mr. Hezekiah Burton.

Now let us view this good man in a scene of friendship. In the year 1687, his intimate acquaintance, Mr. Nicholas Hunt, of Canterbury, lay dangerously ill of a cancer, and when Dr. Tillotson was informed that he was past recovery, he sent him the following excellent letter of consolation, to comfort and support him under the pressure of his lingering indisposition :

“Edmonton, January 16th, 1687-8.

“Sir,

“I am sorry to understand by Mr. Janeway's letter to my son, that your distemper grows upon you; and that you seem to decline so fast. I am very sensible how much easier it is to give advice against trouble in the case of another, than to take it in our own.

“It hath pleased God to exercise me of late with a very sore trial, in the loss of my dear and only child, in which I do perfectly submit to his good pleasure, firmly believing that he always does that which is best; and yet, though reason be satisfied, our passion is not so soon appeased; and when nature has received a wound, time must be allowed for the healing of it. Since that, God hath thought fit to give me a nearer summons, and a closer warning of my own mortality, in the danger of an apoplexy: which yet, I thank God for it, hath occasioned no very melancholy

reflections; but this perhaps is more owing to natural temper, than philosophy and wise considerations.

“Your case, I know, is very different, who are of a temper naturally melancholy, and under a distemper apt to increase it; for both which great allowances ought to be made. And yet, methinks, both reason and religion do offer us considerations of that solidity and strength, as may very well support our spirits under all frailties and infirmities of the flesh; such as these:

“That God is perfect love and goodness; that we are not only his creatures, but his children, and are as dear to him as to ourselves; that he does not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men; and that all evils of afflictions which befall us, are intended for the cure and prevention of greater evils of sin and punishment; and therefore we ought not only to submit to them with patience, as being deserved by us, but to receive them with thankfulness, as being designed by him to do us that good, and to bring us to that sense of him and ourselves which nothing else perhaps would have done: that the sufferings of this present life are but short and light, compared with those extreme and endless miseries which we have deserved; and with that exceeding and eternal weight of glory which we hope for in the other world; that if we be careful to make the best preparations for death and eternity, whatever brings us nearer our end, brings us nearer to our happiness; and how rugged soever the way be, the comfort is, that it leads us to our Father’s house, where we shall want nothing we can wish for. Now we labour under a dangerous distemper, which threatens our life, what would we not be contented to bear, in order to a perfect recovery, could we but be assured of it? and should we not be willing to endure much more, in order to happiness, and that eternal life which God that cannot lie hath promised? Nature, I know, is fond of life, and apt to be still lingering after a longer continuance here; and yet a long life, with the usual burthens and infirmities of it, is seldom desirable; it is but the same things over again, or worse. So many more nights and days, summers and winters, a repetition of the same pleasures, but with less pleasure and relish every day; a return of the same, and greater pains and trouble, but with less strength and patience to bear them. These and the like considerations I use to entertain myself withal, not only with contentment but comfort; though with great inequality of temper at several times, and with much mixture of human frailties,

which will always stick to us, while we are in this world. However, by these kinds of thoughts death seems more familiar to us, and we shall be able by degrees to bring our minds close up to it, without starting at it. The greatest tenderness I find in myself is with regard to some near relations; especially the dear and constant companion of my life, which I confess doth very sensibly touch me: but then I consider, and so, I hope, will they also, that this separation will be but a very little while; and that though I shall leave them in a bad world, yet under the care and protection of a good God, who can be more and better to them than all other relations, and will certainly be so to those that love him, and hope in his mercy.

“I shall not need to advise you what to do, and what use to make of this time of your visitation. I have reason to believe, that you have been careful in the time of your health to prepare for the evil day, and have been conversant in those books which give the best directions to this purpose; and have not, as too many do, put off the great work of your life to the end of it. And then you have nothing to do, but as well as you can, under your present weakness and pains, to renew your repentance for all the errors and miscarriages of your life; and earnestly to beg God’s pardon and forgiveness of them, for his sake who is the propitiation for our sins: to comfort yourself in the goodness and the promises of God, and the hopes of that happiness you are ready to enter into; and in the mean time to exercise faith and patience for a little while; and be of good courage, since you see land; the storm which you are in will soon be over, and then it will be as if it had never been; or rather the remembrance of it will be pleasant.

“I do not use to write such long letters, but I do heartily compassionate your case, and should be glad if I could suggest any thing that might help to mitigate your trouble, and make the sharp and rugged way through which you are to pass into a better world, a little more smooth and easy.

“I pray God to fit us both for that great change which we must once undergo; and if we be but in any good measure fit for it, sooner or later, makes no great difference.

“I commend you to the Father of all mercies, and the God of all consolation; beseeching him to increase your faith and patience, and to stand by you in your last and great conflict; that when you walk through the valley of the shadow of death, you may fear

no evil; and when your heart fails, and your strength fails, you may find him the strength of your heart, and your portion for ever.

“Farewell, my good friend, and whilst we are here, let us pray for one another, that we may have a joyful meeting in another world. So I rest, sir,

“Your truly affectionate friend and servant,

“J. TILLOTSON.”

Mr. Hunt received this letter with great joy, and during his long sickness behaved himself with a truly Christian fortitude; shortly after, it pleased God to remove him from this painful life to that of bliss and immortality.

The revolution found Dr. Tillotson dean of Canterbury and residentiary of St. Paul's, both eminent stations in the church, though inferior to his merit; yet was the possessor humble enough to think them too considerable for one person. However he made the best use of them, their revenues serving only to enlarge his capacity of doing good, and giving him an occasion to scatter the seeds of virtue in more different soils, by which some at least might fall upon good ground, and multiply exceedingly. One, who knew him perhaps as well as any man, assures us, that he neither slackened his labours, nor advanced his fortunes by his preferments. He did not content himself with such a residence as answered the statute; that was barely doing his duty, and only the avoidance of scandal, a pitch of virtue too low for one who had so just a notion of piety, and so lively a sense of the force of example. He gave as much of his time and labours to his cathedral, as was consistent with his obligation to attendance on the court. Neither when he was there, by the necessity of his duty (for he was the king's chaplain) did he make that use of a court soil as is usual, but contented himself with deserving, not soliciting greater preferments.

In the year 1689, it was soon discovered what interest this great man might have made, if his temper would have allowed him, in the court of king William and queen Mary, who were so fond and desirous of having him near them, to advise them, as well in the public, as their own private religious concerns, that they gave him the place of clerk of the closet, on purpose to oblige him to a more frequent resort to court. These princes, who had so happily preserved our endangered religion, sought out

for the best means, and fittest instruments to secure and establish it against any future relapse ; and as soon, therefore, as the civil liberties were a little settled, the ecclesiastical came next under their consideration. The powerful interest of the papists in the late reign, had laid the poor nonconformists under the penalty of several severe laws, which were accounted no small dishonour to the protestant name. But now these being suspended by an act of toleration, and a Christian liberty indulged to dissenters ; some who were not contented with this favourable act alone, strove to back it with another, which was calculated to take them all into the bosom of the church of England. This scheme was well known by the name of the comprehension, of which some were very fond, and others wholly averse to it ; both parties thinking themselves in the right, and actuated by the true spirit of Christianity, fell into very indecent and unchristian treatment of each other ; the common, but fatal effects of attempts in alterations of religion. However, a bill was brought in and passed in the house of peers, but when it came to the commons they desired his majesty to summon a convocation, and lay the matter before them. And here the patrons and sticklers for church power, would do well to consider the service Dr. Tillotson did their cause upon this occasion, and retract some, at least, of the severe calumnies they have loaded his memory with, as one who was no friend to his own order, and bent upon abridging it of its undoubted privileges. What notice we take of the fact, as it is related by Dr. Nichols, shall not only be historical, but, if possible, such as may wipe off these aspersions ; such remarks having a fair connection to the life of the person which we are relating. First, then, take the account of Dr. Nichols^h : “ Whilst this bill was passing, Dr. Tillotson, a person of excellent judgment, and then clerk of the closet to the king, declared his opinion against it. And as he had a great interest in the king’s affections, so he made use of it in bringing him over to his opinion in this matter. He laid before him how frequently we had been reflected on by the papists, that our reformation was founded chiefly upon parliamentary authority ; that we should not give them a handle for any such objection for the future : that the affairs of the church did chiefly belong to synodical authority, and if they were passed by the venerable

[^h Vide a Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England. 12mo. p. 116, 17.]

members of the convocation, they would not only be more acceptable to the body of the clergy, but would be more religiously observed by the laity. Adding, moreover, that lest affairs of this nature, consisting of such a multitude of particulars, might too slowly go on in so numerous a body, the best way would be, as had formerly been done, to commissionate several of the most eminent of the clergy to consider of some methods how to heal the wounds of the church, and to establish a perpetual peace among us: what they should agree upon, to be considered over again by the more consummate wisdom of a convocation: and what these should consent to, should be established first by the synodical, and afterwards by the parliamentary authority."

This was certainly very reasonable advice, and of no small moment to the church, as it took off the objection of a parliamentary religion, an objection which the papists have urged with all their force of argument and wit. I shall not consider whether the Roman catholics' way of reasoning is just, it being sufficient to say, that they imputed it as an high scandal to the church of England, to owe its settlement to such a hand; and therefore the mitigation of that scandal was wresting an arrow out of the quiver of the enemy, or at least rendering it incapable of wounding when it was thrown. Beside, that this prudent course which Dr. Tillotson advised, seemed the most probable of any to take effect, as not irritating the spirits of men by lessening their authority on either side, the ecclesiastical and civil powers being both preserved in their rights, and exercising their distinct provinces by this method which he prescribed. How much controversy and contention do we here see vanish into nothing! only by putting business in the proper channel it should flow in, which a less cool head might have easily confounded, and got a reputation too for doing either party so considerable a service, as engaging them in a quarrel. But I believe I need not urge the wise management of this worthy person any farther, as an argument of his respect to the church, or his tender regard to her authority. Dr. Calamy¹, and sure the words of an enemy may be useful, says, *that it was a very bad piece of advice*, and would insinuate to his readers, as if the adviser himself repented it afterwards. But till he can find a better reason for it, than his bare conjecture, we ought to believe, that the man who was honest enough to give

[¹ Vide his Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, p. 446.]

such good counsel, had before considered the matter so well, as to take care that it should never give him any other uneasiness, than what arose from its want of success.

The king, in compliance to this advice, summoned a convocation; and issued out another commission to thirty divines to prepare matters to be laid before the convocation, in this affair of the comprehension. It may not be improper, considering the great share Dr. Tillotson had in this business, to insert the commission in this place, which is as follows:

“Whereas the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place and authority, should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient.

“And whereas the Book of Canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the state of the church: and whereas there are defects and abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions; and particularly, there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners either in ministers or people; and whereas it is most fit that there should be a strict method prescribed for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and manners.

“We therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good order, and edification, and unity of the church of England, committed to our charge and care; and for the reconciling, as much as is possible, of all differences among our good subjects; and to take away all occasion of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize and impower you, &c. and any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet from time to time, as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, and to consider of such other matters as in your judgments may most conduce to the ends above mentioned.”

Ten of the commissioners were then bishops, viz. Dr. Lam-
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plugh, archbishop of York, Dr. Compton, Dr. Mew, Dr. Lloyd, Dr. Sprat, Dr. Smith, sir Jonathan Trelawny, Dr. Burnet, Dr. Humfreys, and Dr. Stratford, who were the bishops of London, Winchester, St. Asaph, Rochester, Carlisle, Exeter, Salisbury, Bangor, and Chester. Twenty other dignitaries were added to them; as Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Patrick, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Meggot, Dr. Sharp, Dr. Kidder, Dr. Aldrich, Dr. Jane, Dr. Hall, Dr. Beaumont, Dr. Montague, Dr. Goodman, Dr. Beveridge, Dr. Battely, Dr. Alston, Dr. Tennison, Dr. Scott, Dr. Fowler, Dr. Grove, and Dr. Williams.

Dr. Nichols^k thus proceeds: "The reverend persons do now forthwith apply themselves to the business which was laid before them, and begin their work with a review of the Common-Prayer Book. And first of all the calendar comes under examination, from whence the apocryphal lessons are expunged, and chapters out of the canonical books are substituted to be read in their room. The creed, which is called Athanasius's, because it is found fault with by some persons by reason of the damnatory sentences, is permitted to be changed for the Apostles' creed at the discretion of the minister. The collects throughout the whole course of the year are revised, most of them being made anew, and rendered more suitable to the epistles and gospels of the day: and this with so much elegance and purity of stile, with so much pious force and ardour, as nothing could tend more to excite devotion in the minds of the hearers, and to raise up their souls to God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Simon Patrick, who had an excellent talent this way; Dr. Gilbert Burnet added a further life, and force, and spirit to them; after this they underwent the exquisite judgment of Dr. Stillingfleet; the last and finishing stroke being given to them by Dr. Tillotson, who polished over whatever was left rough in the compositions, with his smooth language and flowingness of his easy eloquence. They likewise agreed upon a new translation of the Psalms to be read in the daily service of the church, more agreeable to the original than the present is; which province was assigned to Dr. Kidder, a person excellently well versed in the oriental tongues. Some few expressions and words, which lying scattered about the liturgy, are found fault with by its adversaries, were collected by Dr. Tennison; such clear expressions being substituted in their stead, as were not liable to be excepted against by the most

[^k Vide Nichols's Defence, p. 118, et seq.]

captious. There are some few other things proposed, but which were entirely to be referred to the synod. First of all, that the cross in baptism should be in the election of the parents either to have it signed in the children's foreheads, or omitted. Secondly, if any nonconformist minister should return to the church, he was not, as the custom is now, to undergo a new ordination; but to be admitted into the church by a conditional ordination, like as we are wont to do in the baptism of those persons, of whom it is uncertain whether they are baptized or no; the bishop's hands being imposed on them, as was the custom among the ancients¹, in receiving those clergy in the church who had been ordained by heretics. Which was the method used by archbishop Bramhall^m, primate of Ireland, when he gave ordination to any, who had received presbyterian orders in the times of the late confusion.

“The convocation soon after assembled, all the clergy either avowedly or in their minds highly approving or condemning what had been done by the commissioners with relation to the alterations. The greater part of the clergy of the convocation being displeased with those who had declared for the alterations, were very earnest to make Dr. Jane the regius professor of Oxford, prolocutor of the convocation. The rest being persons of very great esteem in the church, gave their votes for Dr. Tillotson; but being over-powered by numbers, their attempt in that affair was but in vain.

“After this the king ordering the convocation to attend him, he declares his mind to them to this purpose: he gives them earnest assurances of his favour; and tells them how much it was his desire, that all his subjects should live peaceably and lovingly one with another, and unite in one manner of worship: that to this end he had appointed commissioners to prepare, and lay before the convocation such things as they thought fit should be altered: that he heartily wished a good agreement among them, and that the points in dispute might be handled with that mild and charitable temper which becomes ministers of the Gospel.

“But many of the convocation men had entertained an opinion

[¹ “Dionys. Alexand. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 2. Con. Nic. 1. Can. 8. Just. sive Author Resp. ad Orthodox. Resp. 18. Theod. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 8.”]

[^m Vide Bishop Bramhall's Life, before his Works.]

which was never to be eradicated out of their minds, that by this device of alterations, a design was laid to undermine the church : that episcopacy being already abolished in Scotland, there were now attempts made against the same in England. That they were afraid many of the commissioners for the alterations were embarked in the same unwarrantable project, or imposed upon by the fallacies of designing men. That the dissenters, although out of the church, were already very formidable enemies to it, but if let into the church they would overturn its constitution. That the church was sufficiently protected by the act of uniformity, which if once repealed, they knew not what the then present parliament, which they thought shewed too much friendship to the dissenters, might establish in lieu thereof. That they had rather have what was present and safe, than what was future and uncertain.

“The other party pleaded thus : that the unhappy contentions between the nonconformists and us had too long raged : that now both of us being tired with quarrelling, wished for peace : that unless the convocation did offer some terms of accommodation, the bishops would not be able to justify themselves, in making good what they had in the late reign so religiously promised. That it was understood by all who so highly approved their propositions, that they made this offer of reconciliation with the dissenters, in the name of all the members of our church, and therefore it would be an unworthy thing to promise that, in the time of our adversity, which in our prosperity we should refuse to make good. That the king being now earnestly bent upon this design, would use all his interest to promote it ; but if we should provoke him by making him undergo a repulse in this attempt, he would not so easily be brought again to comply with it, when we ourselves should desire it : that the king had ordered nothing to be laid before the parliament, but what should be before agreed to by the convocation : that if the parliament should design any thing unkind to the church, they might establish it by a secular law for all that the convocation could do to hinder it. And lastly, though the nonconformists should obstinately refuse to come into the church upon the concessions which were made for their sakes, yet nothing was laid before the convocation but what would tend to the greater honour of the church : that by these alterations the constitution of the church would be bettered, and all pretence of separation would be taken away.

“Disputes on both sides were carried on with great eagerness, and at last the synod is dissolved, without concluding any thing. But no misfortune so sensibly afflicted the church, as this dissension between the clergy. For hitherto our clergy had lived with great concord among themselves, not to be divided by any arts of their adversaries. For in the late times, under their most afflicted condition, when they were turned out of, or sequestered from, their livings, by reason of their good correspondence with one another, they bore their afflictions the more easily. And afterwards, when their condition was bettered, no envy, which is wont to dissolve the friendship of others, was able to interrupt their amity: but now, when all of them, perhaps, in their several ways, were desirous to promote the good of the church, they unfortunately accused each other for carrying on designs for its ruin.” Thus far Dr. Nichols.

In the year 1691, after a long and patient expectation on the side of the government, that the nonjuring bishops would comply to take the oaths, which they at last absolutely refused, it was resolved to deprive them, and fill up the vacant sees. Among these, archbishop Sancroft was one, whom no overtures nor condescensions on the part of some great reconcilers, could bring to acquiesce in the conduct of the Revolution, and take the oaths to the king and queen. It is not to our purpose to examine into the reasons of his refusal; a great and good man he surely was, though without any disrespect to his memory, we may say, far inferior to his successor Dr. Tillotson. He it was who was pitched upon in these difficult times to sit at the head, and steer the church. His natural modesty made him earnestly at first withstand the royal favour, though he was at last prevailed upon to accept of it; and certainly a fitter person in every man's opinion, but his own, could not be found. It will not be improper to set down the words of a great historian, which give us both the motives of his refusal, and acceptance of that high dignity. “He withstood it not,” (says the bishop of Salisburyⁿ,) “from any feeble or fearful considerations relating to himself: he was not afraid of a party, nor concerned in such censures and calumnies as might be thrown upon him: he was not unwilling to sacrifice the quiet of his life, which he apprehended might soon decline and sink under so great a load. The pomp of greatness,

[ⁿ In his Funeral Sermon.]

the attendance upon courts, and a high station, were indeed very contrary to his genius: but though these were grounds good enough to make him unwilling to rise higher in the world, yet none of them seemed strong enough to fix him to an obstinate refusal. That which went the deepest in his own mind, and which he laid out the most earnestly before their majesties, was, that those groundless prejudices with which his enemies had loaded him, had been so industriously propagated, while they were neglected by himself, that he believed that he, who (as his humility made him think) could at no time do any great service, was less capable of it now than ever. But their majesties persisting in their intentions, he thought it was the voice and call of God to him, and so he submitted: yet with a heaviness of mind that no man knew better than myself. But as he engaged in it, he formed two settled resolutions, from which he never departed. The one was, that whensoever the state of their majesties affairs was such, that he could hope to be dismissed from that post, he would become a most importunate suitor to be delivered from it. The other was, that if the infirmities of age should have so overtaken him that he could not go through the fatigue and labours of it, then he would humbly offer it up to their majesties: and he charged some of his most particular friends to use all freedom with him in this matter, if they should observe it, before it were perceived by himself." Thus the bishop of Salisbury; and for my own part, I think it unfair to suspect an account given from one who had so many opportunities of a right information from a personal knowledge, and intimate acquaintance with this great man. This kind of holy force, if we may so call it, had been used in the primitive times to many of the fathers; nor was his carriage less humble, or his conduct less glorious than theirs, in the short scene which he acted on this stage. Consonant to this, see that most excellent form of prayer^o which he composed on this occasion: and the preparation thereto, for that great trust with which he was about to be invested, take in his own words, viz.

" May 30, 1691. The day before my consecration to the archbishopric, which was on Whit-Sunday, at St. Mary-le-Bow, when, on Whit-Sunday eve I retired to Edmonton, to spend that day in fasting and prayer, to implore the blessing of Almighty God upon that action, and the assistance of his grace and Holy

[^o See the 14th volume of his Posthumous Works, p. 204 et seq.]

Spirit to be vouchsafed to his sinful and unworthy servant, whom his wise providence, and the importunate desire of their majesties, king William and queen Mary, the best of princes, (whom God in great mercy to a most sinful and perverse people hath by a most signal providence set upon the throne of these kingdoms, and sent (I trust) to be our deliverers and benefactors for many generations yet to come) have called to the government and conduct of this miserably distracted church in a very difficult and dangerous time.

“I began with a short prayer to Almighty God to prepare my heart for the duty of this day, and to assist me in the discharge of it, in such a manner as might be acceptable in his sight, through Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour and Redeemer.

“I proceeded next to a thanksgiving to Almighty God for his mercy and goodness to me in the conduct of my whole life, from my first entrance into the world, to this day.

“Next, I made an humble and penitent confession of my sins, and earnest supplication for the pardon and forgiveness of them.

“Next a prayer for God’s blessing upon me, and his holy Spirit to be conferred upon me, in the solemn dedication of me the day following to this high and holy office.

“Then I read the prayers in the consecration office. I concluded with a prayer for the king and queen, and a short ejaculation.”

This his behaviour, was, I think, truly primitive, and a sure presage of that peace and tranquillity the church would enjoy under so good a pastor. But no sooner was he possessed of this eminent station, than that restless party who had opposed all his former kind offices relating to the comprehension, began to murmur, and express their resentments at his promotion; but such men gave him no uneasiness. “He being” (says Dr. Nichols^p) “a man of an extraordinary piety, and a great lover of peace; and for fear that any reflection should be cast upon our religion, upon account of the disagreement of the most considerable men of the church, upon the controversy concerning alterations, he did omit letting the convocation sit for a considerable time. Neither was there any man, at that time, that was displeased at this long recess of that body. They that were for alterations did hope, that after a considerable intermission, all men’s passions would be so asswaged, that they would consent together in the

[^p Vide Defence, &c., p. 124, &c.]

same opinion. And those of the other party were not displeased, that those matters which they had not a liking to, were not again importunately urged upon them; especially when the occasion was taken away, of being obliged to reject what was proposed to them by their prince, and that they were not necessitated to incur the displeasure of their present archbishop." Thus (says the bishop of Salisbury) he went on, while his enemies were still endeavouring to bear down a reputation, which gave him, as they thought, too great an authority.

In the year 1693, his grace published four incomparable sermons concerning the divinity and incarnation of our blessed Saviour. "The true reason whereof," (the reader is told in a short advertisement before them) "was not that which is commonly alleged for printing books, the importunity of friends; but the importunate clamours and calumnies of others, whom the author heartily prays God to forgive, and to give them better minds: and to grant that the ensuing discourses, the publication whereof was in so great a degree necessary, may by his blessing prove in some measure useful."

But among the inconveniences which he expected in the due discharge of this difficult office, he found one advantage, which was his retirement from that multitude of labours, which either his necessary business, or his friendships poured in upon him. This left him at leisure to bend his thoughts towards the good of the whole church, sometimes himself proposing useful designs for it, sometimes encouraging those of others, and always praying for its prosperity. To this end he, who lived but for the good of others, began to choose out some more of his excellent sermons, such as he thought were the best calculated for the universal promotion of virtue and piety. These he especially directed for inculcating the principles of *early religion, family duties, and the education of children*; considerations of the most extensive and necessary influence on the minds and lives of mankind. See how the good bishop speaks of them in the tenderness of a fatherly and primitive spirit, in the following preface, which certainly breathes the soul of that incomparable man.

"Being, I hope, for the remainder of my life, released from that irksome and unpleasant work of controversy and wrangling about religion, I shall now turn my thoughts to something more agreeable to my temper, and of a more direct and immediate tendency to the promoting of true religion, to the happiness of human society, and the reformation of the world.

“I have no intention to reflect upon any that stand up in defence of the truth, and contend earnestly for it, endeavouring in the spirit of meekness to reclaim those that are in error. For I doubt not but a very good man may upon several occasions be almost unavoidably engaged in controversies of religion; and if he have a head clear and cool enough, so as to be master of his own notions and temper in that hot kind of service, he may therein do considerable advantage to the truth: though a man that hath once *drawn blood in controversy*, as Mr. Mede expresseth it, is seldom known ever perfectly to recover his own good temper afterwards.

“For this reason a good man should not be very willing, *when his Lord comes, to be found so doing*, and as it were *beating his fellow-servants*: and all controversy, as it is usually managed, is little better. A good man would be loth to be taken out of the world reeking hot from a sharp contention with a perverse adversary; and not a little out of countenance, to find himself in this temper translated into the calm and peaceable regions of the blessed, where nothing but perfect charity and good-will reign for ever.

“I know not whether St. Paul, who had been *taken up into the third heavens*, did by that question of his, *Where is the disputer of this world?* intend to insinuate, that this wrangling work hath place only in this world, and upon this earth, where only there is a dust to be raised; but will have no place in the other. But whether St. Paul intended this or not, the thing itself I think is true, that in the other world all things will be clear and past dispute: to be sure, among the blessed, and probably also among the miserable, unless fierce and furious contentions, with great heat without light, about things of no moment and concernment to them, should be designed for a part of their torment.

“As to the following sermons, I am sensible that the style of them is more loose and full of words, than is agreeable to just and exact discourses: but so I think the style of popular sermons ought to be. And therefore I have not been very careful to mend this matter; chusing rather that they should appear in that native simplicity in which, so many years ago, they were first framed, than dressed up with too much care and art. As they are, I hope the candid and ingenuous readers will take them in good part.

“And I do heartily wish that all that are concerned in the respective duties, treated on in the following sermons, would be

persuaded so to lay them to heart, as to put them effectually in practice: that how much soever the reformation of this corrupt and degenerate age in which we live is almost utterly to be despaired of, we may yet have a more comfortable prospect of future times, by seeing the foundation of a better world begun to be laid in the careful and conscientious discharge of the duties here mentioned: that by this means *the generations to come may know God, and the children yet unborn may fear the Lord.*

“I have great reason to be sensible how fast the infirmities of age are coming upon me, and therefore *must work the works of Him, whose providence hath placed me in the station wherein I am, whilst it is day, because the night cometh, when no man can work.*

“I knew very well, before I entered upon this great and weighty charge, my own manifold defects, and how unequal my best abilities were for the due discharge of it; but I did not feel this so sensibly as I now do every day more and more. And therefore that I might make some small amends for greater failings, I knew not how better to place the broken hours I had to spare from almost perpetual business of one kind or other, than in preparing something for the public that might be of use to recover the decayed piety and virtue of the present age; in which iniquity doth so much abound, and the love of God and religion is grown so cold.

“To this end I have chosen to publish these plain sermons, and to recommend them to the serious perusal and faithful practice both of the pastors and people committed to my charge; earnestly beseeching Almighty God, that by his blessing they may prove effectual to that good end for which they are sincerely designed.”

I need not relate the good effects of these, or any other of his grace's excellent compositions, they were visible in that eager thirst the world had after them; and if well watering the flock be one great duty in the shepherd, never did any pastor perform it better. Yet in the midst of these good works he could not escape the envy and malice of men; and it were easy to gather a plentiful bundle of their invectives, if we thought such an entertainment fit to be transmitted to posterity. But they are dead, some in their authors, some in their malignant pens, and all in the memory of good men. It will be enough to touch upon them generally, in the words of one^a we have often been obliged to quote.—“How

[^a The bishop of Salisbury.]

false soever these calunnies were generally known to be, the confidence with which they were averred, joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had a greater operation than could have been imagined; considering how long he had lived on so public a scene, and how well he was known. It seemed a new and unusual thing, that a man who in a course of above thirty years had done so much good, so many services to so many persons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing to any one person, who had a sweetness and gentleness in him, that seemed rather to lean to excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But the returns of impudence and malice which were made to the Son of God himself, and to his apostles, taught him to bear all this with submission to the will of God; praying for those who despitefully used him, and upon all occasions doing them good for evil. Nor had this any other effect on him, either to change his temper or his maxims, though perhaps it might sink too much into him, with relation to his health. He was so exactly true in all his representations of things or persons that he laid before their majesties, that he neither raised the character of his friends, nor sunk that of those who deserved not so well of him (I love not to say enemies), but offered every thing to them with that sincerity that did so well become him, that truth and candour was almost perceptible in every thing he said or did. His looks and whole manner seemed to take away all suspicion concerning him. For he thought nothing in this world was worth much art, or great management. With all these things he struggled, till at last they overcame him, or rather he overcame them, and escaped from them." For on the 17th day of November, in the year 1694, he was seized with a sudden illness, which proved fatal to him, and mournful to all the friends of true piety. The first attacks came upon him while he was in that employment in which he delighted most, at church, and in the worship of God. He bore them with his usual neglect of himself: and though his countenance shewed he was ill, he would neither interrupt nor break off from those sacred exercises, nor make haste to look after his health. Ah! the unhappy neglect of a life that deserved so well to be carefully preserved! The fit came on slowly, but seemed to be fatal. All symptoms were melancholy. It soon turned to a dead palsy. The oppression was so great, that it became very uneasy for him to speak, but it appeared that his

understanding was still clear, though others could not have the advantage of it: he only said, *that he had no burden on his conscience.* All remedies proved ineffectual. He expressed no concern to live, nor fear to die, but patiently bore his burthen, till it sunk him on the fifth day, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Thus he lived and thus he died. He was buried on the 30th of the same month, in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, the bishop of Salisbury preaching his funeral sermon, taking for his text St. Paul's Epistle to Tim. chap. iv. ver. 1. *I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.* In his discourse, though from the natural talents of the preacher, which were very great, and the intimacy of their friendship, of which none had a greater share, one might reasonably expect justice to the memory of the deceased; yet was it such a subject that even bishop Burnet could not himself reach in all its views, and describe with an adequate eloquence. He has said indeed a great deal, and his enemies have thought a great deal too much.

Speaking of his early candour and moderation towards those persons who differed from him, "he did not," says his lordship, "treat them with contempt and hatred; and he disliked all levities and railings upon those subjects. This gave him great advantages in dealing with them, and he still persisted in it, how much soever it was either disliked or suspected by angry men. As he got into a true method of study, so he entered into friendships with some great men, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. There was then a set of as extraordinary persons in the university where he was formed, as perhaps any age has produced; they had clear thoughts, and a vast compass; great minds and noble tempers. But that which gave him his last finishing, was his close and long friendship with bishop Wilkins. He went into all the best things that were in that great man, but so, that he perfected every one of them: for though bishop Wilkins was the more universal man, yet he was the greater divine: if the one had more flame, the other was more correct. Both acted with great plainness, and were raised above regarding vulgar censures. But if bishop Wilkins had a talent so peculiar to himself, that perhaps never man could admonish and reprove with such weight and authority, and in a way so obliging as he did; so no man knew better than this his great friend, the art of gaining upon men's hearts, and of making

themselves find out that which might be amiss in them, though the gentleness and modesty of his temper had not so well fitted him for the rough work of reproofing.

“ Having dedicated himself to the service of the church, and being sensible of the great good that might be done by a plain and edifying way of preaching, he was very little disposed to follow the patterns then set him, or indeed those of former times. And so he set a pattern to himself, and such an one it was, that it is hoped it will be long and much followed. He began with a deep and close study of the Scriptures, upon which he spent four or five years, till he had arrived at a true understanding of them. He studied next all the ancient philosophers and books of morality. Among the fathers, St. Basil and St. Chrysostom were those he chiefly read. Upon these preparations he set himself to compose the greatest variety³ of sermons, and on the best subjects, that perhaps any one man has ever yet done. His joining with bishop Wilkins in pursuing the scheme of an *universal character*⁴, led him to consider exactly the truth of language and stile, in which no man was happier and knew better the art of preserving the majesty of things under a simplicity of words; tempering these so equally together, that neither did his thoughts sink, nor his stile swell: keeping always the due mean between a low flatness and the dresses of false rhetoric. Together with the pomp of words he did also cut off all superfluities and needless enlargements; he said what was just necessary to give clear ideas of things, and no more: he laid aside all long and affected periods: his sentences were short and clear; and the whole thread was of a piece, plain and distinct. No affectations of learning, no squeezing of texts, no superficial strains, no false thoughts, nor bold flights; all was solid and yet lively, and grave as well as fine: so that few ever heard him, but they found some new thought occurred; something that either they had not considered before, or at least so distinctly, and with so clear a view as he gave them.

³ *The greatest variety.*] “ A person well acquainted with Dr. Tillotson, has often related in my hearing, that Dr. T. told him, he had written in his time a thousand sermons.” From some MS. notes, written apparently by a well-informed person, in a copy of Dr. Birch’s *Life of Tillotson*, in the possession of the editor.

⁴ *An universal character.*] See “ *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, by John Wilkins, D.D. Dean of Ripon, and F.R.S. 1668.” fol.

“ Whether he explained points of divinity, matters of controversy, or the rules of morality, on which he dwelt most copiously, there was something peculiar in him on them all, that conquered the minds, as well as it commanded the attention of his hearers; who felt all the while that they were learning somewhat, and were never tired by him; for he cut off both the luxuriations of stile, and the length of sermons; and he concluded them with some thoughts of such gravity and use, that he generally dismissed his hearers with somewhat that stuck to them. He read his sermons⁵ with so due a pronounciation, in so sedate and solemn a manner, that they were not the feeblers, but rather the perfecters, even by that way, which often lessens the grace, as much as it adds to the exactness of such discourses.

“ He saw, with a deep regret, the fatal corruption of this age, while the hypocrisies and extravagancies of former times, and the liberties and looseness of the present, disposed many to atheism and impiety. He therefore went far into this matter: and as he had considered all the ancient and modern apologies for the Christian religion, with an exactness that became the importance of the subject, so he set the whole strength of his thoughts and studies to withstand the progress that this was making. In order to that he laboured particularly to bring every thing out of the clearest principles, and to make all people feel the reasonableness of the truths, as well as of the precepts of the Christian

⁵ *He read his sermons.*] Dr. Birch has said, in his *Life of Tillotson*, that “he was never capable of committing his sermons to memory, or preaching *extempore*, according to the custom of the earlier part of his time,” p. 22. But in relation to the former of those two points, the manuscript annotator, whom I have before cited, declares; “What Dr. Maynard, his immediate successor in Lincoln’s Inn, has told me, is a flat contradiction to this. The doctor, finding the archbishop one day in his study, with some papers before him, his grace told the doctor, that he was looking over his sermons, with a design to print some of them: ‘For,’ said his grace, ‘when a man has a little reputation for preaching, they will be printing them, when he is dead.’ The doctor telling him he was glad his grace had preserved his sermons, because he thought his grace had preached from short notes only; the archbishop replied, ‘he had always written every word, before he preached it; but used to get it by heart, till he found it heated his head, a day or two before; and after that, he was forced to leave it off.’

“The same Dr. Maynard also told me, that Dr. Wake, at the same time preacher at Gray’s Inn, one day told him, he was resolved to preach no longer without book; ‘for every body has now left it off, even Dr. Tillotson.’”

religion. When he saw that popery was at the root of this, and that the design seemed to be laid, to make us first atheists, that we might be the more easily made papists, and that many did not stick to own, that we could have no certainty for the Christian faith, unless we believed the infallibility of the church; this gave him a deep and just indignation. It was such a betraying of the cause of God, rather than not to gain their own, that in this the foundation was laid of his great zeal against popery. This drew his studies for some years much that way. He looked on the whole complex of popery as such a corruption of the whole design of Christianity, that he thought it was incumbent on him, to set himself against it, with the zeal and courage which became that cause, and was necessary for those times. He thought the idolatry and superstition of the church of Rome did enervate true piety and morality; and that their cruelty was such a contradiction to the meekness of Christ, and to that love and charity which he made the character and distinction of his disciples and followers, that he resolved to sacrifice every thing, except a good conscience, in a cause for which he had resolved, if it should come to extremities, to become a sacrifice himself.

“His enemies soon saw how much he stood in their way, and were not wanting in the arts of calumny, to disable him from opposing them with that great success which his writings and sermons had on the nation. His life was too pure in all the parts of it, to give them a pretence to attempt on that. So regular a piety, such an unblemished probity, and so extensive and tender a charity, together with his great and constant labours, both in private and public, set him above reproach. That honourable society^r which treated him always with so particular a respect, and so generous a kindness, and this great city, not only the neighbourhood of this place, which was so long happy in him, but the whole extent of it, knew him too well, and esteemed him too much, for those his enemies to adventure on the common arts of defaming: subtle methods were to be used, since his virtue was too exemplary to be soiled in the ordinary way.

“His endeavouring to make out every thing in religion from clear and plain principles, and with a fulness of demonstrative proof, was laid hold on to make him pass for one that could believe nothing that lay beyond the compass of human reason:

[^r Lincoln's-inn.]

and his tender method of treating with dissenters, his endeavours to extinguish that fire, and to unite us among ourselves, against those who understood their own interest well, and pursued it closely, inflaming our differences, and engaging us into violent animosities, while they shifted sides, and still gained ground, whether in the methods of toleration, or of a strict execution of penal laws, as it might serve their ends; those calm and wise designs of his, I say, were represented as a want of zeal in the cause of the church, and an inclination towards those who departed from it. But how unhappily successful soever they might be, in infusing those jealousies of him, into some warm and unwary men, he still went on in his own way. He would neither depart from his moderation, nor take pains to cover himself from so false an imputation. He thought the openness of his temper, the course of his life, his sincerity, and the visible effects of his labours, which had contributed so much to turn the greatest part of this vast city to a hearty love of the church, and a firm adhering to the communion of it, in which no man was ever more eminently distinguished than he was: he thought, I say, that constant zeal with which he had always served such as came to labour in this great city, and by which he had been so singularly useful to them; he thought the great change that had been made in bringing men's minds off from many wild opinions, to sober and steady principles, and that in so prudent a manner, that things were done without men's perceiving it, or being either startled or fretted by the peevishness which is raised and kept up by contradiction or disputing, in which, without derogating from other men's labours, no man had a larger share than himself; upon all these reasons, I say, he thought that his conduct needed no apology, but that it was above it.

After the restoration of the church, anger upon those heads was both more in fashion, and seemed more excusable; men coming then out of the injustice and violence by which they had been so long ill used, and were so much provoked; yet neither that, nor the narrowness of his fortune, while he needed supports, and saw what was the shortest way to arrive at them, could make him change his strain.

“ His life was not only free from blemishes, which is but a low size of commendation; it shined in all the parts of it. In his domestic relations, in his friendships, in the whole commerce of business, he was always a pattern, easy and humble, frank and

open, tender-hearted and bountiful, kind and obliging, in the greatest as well as the smallest matters. A decent but grave cheerfulness made his conversation as lively and agreeable, as it was useful and instructing: he was ever in good humour, always the same, both accessible and affable: he heard every thing patiently: was neither apt to mistake nor to suspect: his own great candour disposing him to put the best constructions, and to judge the most favourably of all persons and things. He passed over many injuries, and was ever ready to forgive the greatest, and to do all good offices even to those who had used him very ill. He was never imperious nor assuming: and though he had a superior judgment to most men, yet he never dictated to others. Few men had observed human nature more carefully, could judge better, and make larger allowances for the frailties of mankind than he did. He lived in a due neglect of his person, and contempt of pleasure, but never affected pompous severities. He despised wealth, but as it furnished him for charity, in which he was both liberal and judicious.

“Thus his course in the private virtues and capacities of a Christian was of a sublime pitch: his temper had made him incapable of the practices either of craft or violence.

“In his function, he was a constant preacher, and diligent in all the other parts of his duty: for though he had no care of souls upon him, yet few that had, laboured so painfully as he did; in visiting the sick, in comforting the afflicted, and in settling such as were either shaken in their opinions, or troubled in mind. He had a great compass in learning: what he knew, he had so perfectly digested, that he was truly the master of it. But the largeness of his genius, and the correctness of his judgment, carried him much farther, than the leisure that he had enjoyed for study, seemed to furnish him: for he could go a great way upon general hints. Thus he lived, thus he ran, and thus *he finished his course*.

“*He kept the faith*. If fidelity is meant by this, no man made promises more unwillingly, but observed them more religiously than he did. The sacred vows of his function were conscientiously pursued by him: he reckoned himself dedicated to the service of God, and to the doing of good. In this he lived; and seemed to live to no other end. But if by *keeping the faith*, be to be understood the preserving and handing down the sacred trust of the Christian doctrine, this he maintained pure and undefiled.

Even in his younger days, when he had a great liveliness of thought, and fineness of imagination, he avoided the disturbing the peace of the church with particular opinions, or an angry opposition about more indifferent, or doubtful matters. He lived indeed in great friendship with men that differed from him. He thought the surest way to bring them off from their mistakes, was by gaining upon their hearts and affections: and in an age of such great dissolution as this is, he judged that the best way to put a stop to growing impiety, was first to establish the principles of natural religion, and from that to advance to the proof of the Christian religion, and of the Scriptures: which being once solidly done, would soon settle all other things. Therefore he was in great doubt, whether the surest way to persuade the world to the belief of the sublime truths that are contained in the Scriptures, concerning God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and concerning the person of Christ, was to enter much into the discussing of those mysteries. He feared that an indiscreet dwelling and descanting upon those things, might do more hurt than good. He thought the maintaining these doctrines as they are proposed in the Scriptures, without entering too much into explanations or controversies, would be the most effectual way to preserve the reverence that was due to them, and to fix them in men's belief. But when he was desired by some, and provoked by others, and saw just occasions moving him to it, he asserted those great mysteries with that strength and clearness, that was his peculiar talent. He thought the less men's consciences were entangled, and the less the communion of the church was clogged with disputable opinions or practices, the world would be the happier, consciences the freer, and the church the quieter. He made the Scriptures the measure of his faith, and the chief subject of all his meditations.

“He indeed judged that the great design of Christianity was the reforming men's natures, and governing their actions, the restraining their appetites and passions, the softening their tempers, and sweetening their humours, the composing their affections, and the raising their minds above the interests and follies of this present world, to the hope and pursuit of endless blessedness: and he considered the whole Christian doctrine as a system of principles, all tending to this. He looked on men's contending about lesser matters, or about subtleties relating to those that are greater, as one of the chief practices of the powers of dark-

ness, to defeat the true ends for which the Son of God came into the world; and that they did lead men into much dry and angry work, who while they were hot in the making parties, and settling opinions, became so much the slacker in those great duties, which were chiefly designed by the Christian doctrine.

“I have now viewed him in this light, in which St. Paul does here view himself, and have considered how much of that character belonged to him. I have reason to believe that he went over these things often in his own thoughts, with the same prospect that St. Paul had: for though he seemed not to apprehend that death was so near him, as it proved to be, yet he thought it was not far from him. He spoke often of it as that which he was longing for, and which he would welcome with joy.”

We see that this is but a summary view of this great man, and such a one as carries with it all the marks of truth, candour, and sincerity. If we should add the character which others, less suspected by some of partiality than the foregoing author, give, we shall find that they exceed what his friend had said. Dean Sherlock, speaking of the great and noble designs queen Mary^a had formed to promote true religion, and the service of the church of England, could not help upon this occasion giving a just encomium upon the archbishop in the following manner: “I have” (says he) “reason to say this from those frequent intimations I have had from our late admirable primate, who had great designs himself to serve the Christian religion, and the church of England, in its truest interests; and had inspired their majesties and particularly the queen, who had more leisure for such thoughts, with the same great and pious designs. It may be no churchman ever had, and I am sure, not more deservedly, a greater interest in his prince’s favour^b; and the great use he made of it was to do public service to religion, and whatever some men might suspect, to the church of England, though it may be not perfectly in their way; and the greatest fault I knew he had, was that some envious and ambitious men could not bear his

[^a See his Sermon preached at the Temple on the Queen’s death.]

^b *His prince’s favour.*] “When Mr. Chadwick, the archbishop’s son-in-law, presented a volume of his father’s sermons to the king, his majesty said to him, ‘I have read all your father’s works, and I will read this. He was the best man that ever I knew, and the best friend that ever I had.’ Which words the king always repeated upon every like occasion.” MS. notes, before cited.

greatness, which he himself never courted, nay, which he industriously avoided. Before this, all England knew, and owned his worth: and had it been put to the poll, there had been vast odds on his side, that he would have been voted into the see of Canterbury; for no man had ever a clearer and brighter reason, a truer judgment, or more easy and happy expression, nor a more inflexible fearless honesty. He was a true and hearty friend wherever he professed to be so; though he had many enemies at last, he took care to make none; he was obliging to all men; and though he could not easily part with a friend, he could easily forgive an enemy. But I cannot give you the character of this great man now; what I have already said, I confess, is an excursion, which I hope you will pardon, to the passion of an old friend; and learn from two great examples, that neither the greatest innocence, virtue, or merit, can defend either crowned or mitred heads from the lash of spiteful and envenomed tongues." Thus far dean Sherlock.—Another friend says of him; "When he was importuned to use his interest with great men for his friends, upon any vacancies of preferment in their gift, he would sometimes desire to be excused from it, telling them that he had often paid dear for such favours, since he had been forced in return, and upon their request, to give livings to others, which were of double or treble value to those he had obtained from them, and yet this could not be avoided; and therefore he intreated those who had expectations from him, patiently to wait till preferments fell, which were in his own gift, and disposal."

Not to add the many panegyrics upon him from printed books, I cannot pass by one from a manuscript diary of a late learned and pious divine, because there is a particular in it which must arise from a personal knowledge of bishop Tillotson.—"He taught⁷," says he, "by his sermons, more ministers to preach well, and more people to live well, than any other man since the apostles' days; he was the ornament of the last century, and the glory of his function; in the pulpit another Chrysostom, and in the episcopal chair a second Cranmer. He was so exceeding charitable, that while in a private station, he always laid aside two-tenths of his income for charitable uses."

Of his grace's writings, one volume in folio, consisting of fifty-

⁷ He taught.] See *Life of the Rev. Mr. William Burkit, M.A. Vicar and Lecturer of Dedham*, by Nath. Parkhurst, M.A. London, 1704. 8vo. p. 32.

two sermons, and the *Rule of Faith*, were published in his lifetime, and corrected by his own hand. Those which came abroad after his death from his chaplain Dr. Barker, make two volumes in folio, the value of which, if we may judge from the price of the copy, being two thousand five hundred guineas, is not inferior to the former. This, indeed, was the only legacy he left to his family, his extensive charity consuming his yearly revenues as constantly as they came into his hands. If charity be the characteristic of a true disciple, surely he who exhausted all he had in the noblest manner, and trusted in Providence for the future support of his own family, deserves that name more truly, than any in these late corrupted ages can pretend to. But the God, whom he served in the strictness of the letter of the commandment, suffered not them to want; the royal bounty exerting itself to his widow, as I find in the two following grants, taken from the original records in the office of the Rolls in Chancery-lane; viz.

Anno 7^o Guliel. Tertii.

“The king (May 2) granteth unto Elizabeth Tillotson, widow, and relict of John, late archbishop of Canterbury, an annuity of 400*l.* during the term of her natural life.”

Anno 10^o Guliel. Tertii.

“The king (August 18th) granteth unto Elizabeth Tillotson, relict of archbishop Tillotson, 200*l.* per annum, as an addition to her annuity of 400*l.* per annum, granted to her by letters patent, dated May 2, 1695.”

As to the family of the archbishop, all that we can learn of them is, that his lady was the daughter^s of Dr. French, whose widow bishop Wilkins married: that he himself mentions the loss of his only daughter, in his letter to Mr. Hunt; and that she was married to James Chadwick, esq. to whom bishop Williams dedicates his *Vindication* of his grace's sermons from the charge of Socinianism.

^s *Was the daughter.*] “I have often heard it pleasantly related, that when Dr. Wilkins proposed Dr. Tillotson to his daughter, upon her desiring to be excused, her father said to her, ‘Betty, you shall have him, for he is the best polemical divine this day in England.’” MS. notes, before cited.

Thus much could we collect of this great man, which though but imperfect, the bishop of Salisbury, who supplied us with some memoirs, and promising us many more, dying while this work was in hand; but if any one can give us any further notices of any thing that relates to him, we shall hereafter insert them with all due acknowledgment and gratitude.

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* "The Thursday before Easter, called Maundy Thursday," (says Wheatly, *Illustration of the Common Prayer*, p. 207, edit. 1794,) "from the *commandment* which our Saviour gave his apostles to commemorate the sacrament of his supper, which he this day instituted; or, as others think, from that *new commandment*, which he gave them to love one another, after he had washed their feet, in token of the love he bare to them." But Spelman and others derive the word from the French, *maund*, a basket, because on that day it was the custom to give alms to those poor men, whose feet the king washed, in imitation of our Saviour's lesson of humility. See Junius's *Etymologicum*.

THE END.

